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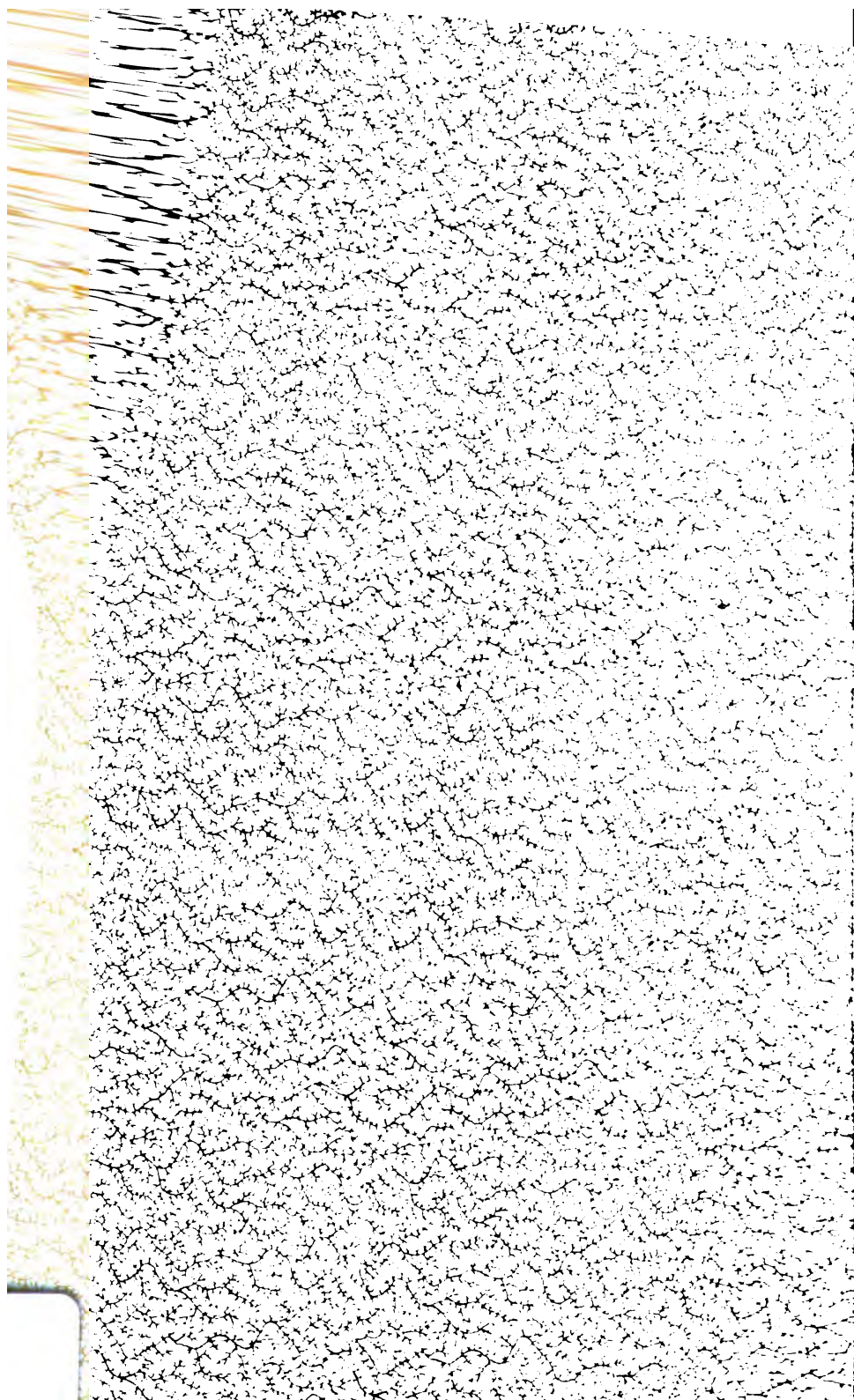
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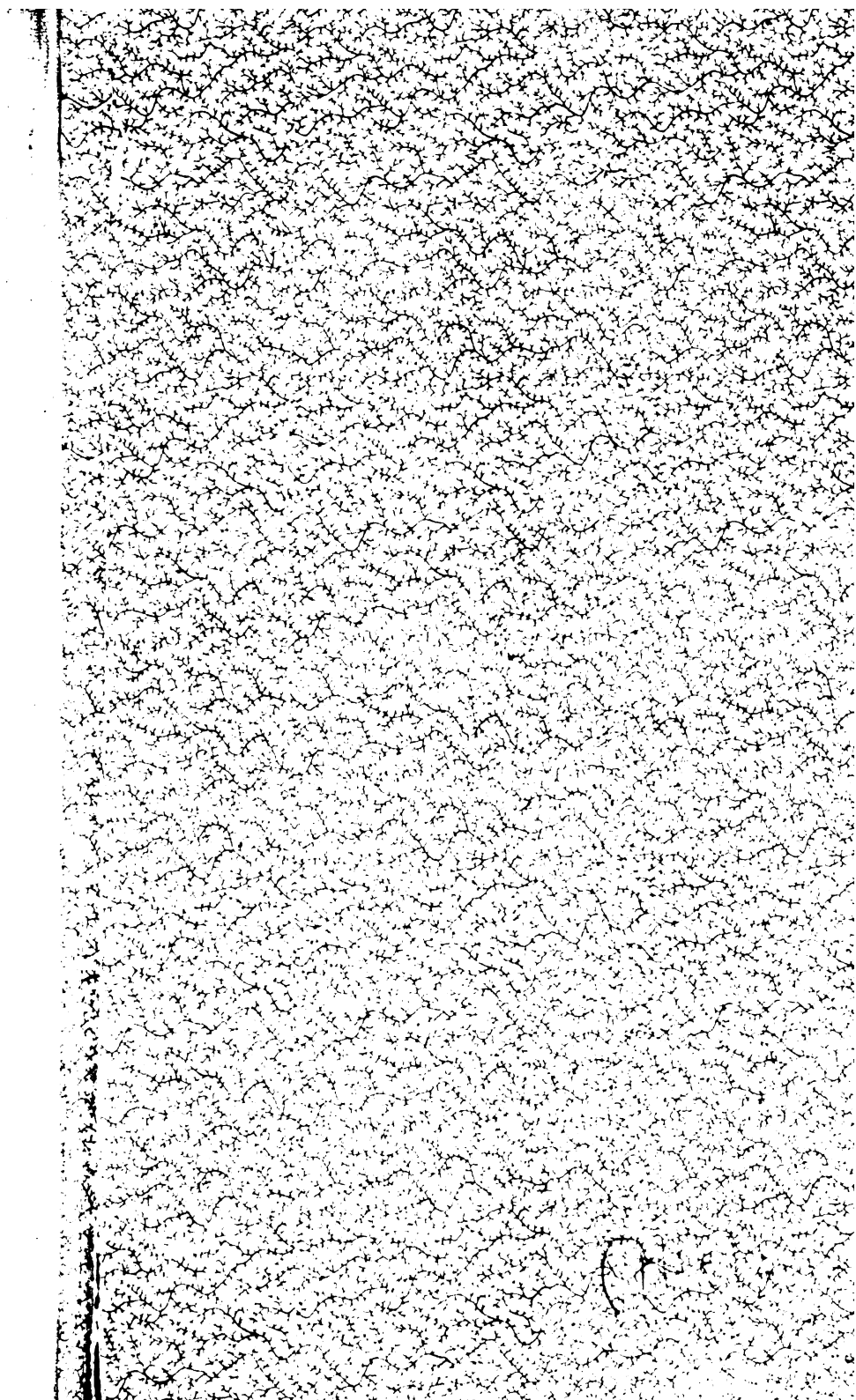
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THE
HISTORIANS OF SCOTLAND.

VOL. V.

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Lives

of

S. Ninian and S. Kentigern.

COMPILED IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

EDITED FROM THE BEST MSS.

BY

ALEXANDER PENROSE FORBES, D.C.L.,

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PREFACE.

THERE is a propriety in the simultaneous publication of the Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern, for not only was the scene of their apostolic labours the same, but the authors to whom we are indebted for their mention were so nearly contemporaneous, that the three narratives form a trilogy complete in itself. Indeed, between the works of S. Ailred and Joceline there is a remarkable similarity of manner and of sentiment. The tone of thought which runs through these books is the same, and the most prejudiced critic must allow that they display an interesting picture of a very remarkable epoch in the history of Scotland, when both the civil constitution was undergoing a remarkable development, and the ecclesiastical polity exhibiting great vitality. The long reign of William the Lion is fraught with political significance, as bearing upon the future of the country over which he reigned, especially in the foundation of the burghs and municipalities; and perhaps at no time did the Church of Scotland so vigorously fulfil her divine mission as at the period of the twelfth century, when

the recently imported religious orders were still in their purity, and had as yet exhibited few signs of that spiritual decay which afterwards overcame them.

Again, in the Lives there is the same reference to previous Celtic documents, and it cannot be denied that, while their chief importance consists in the faithful record which they exhibit of the tone of thought of the twelfth century, there is also much ancient history preserved in them—preserved perhaps not in a very critical way, but still such as we could ill afford to lose. Of the obscure history of the kingdom of Cambria or Strathclyde they supply the most copious notices.

It has been the attempt of the Editor to illustrate this as far as he was able, and to gather together whatever could bear upon the subject. This he has embodied both in the Introduction and in the Notes, and it only remains for him to express his acknowledgment for the generous aid which he has received from various literary friends.

In addition to the efficient help received from Dr. Travers and Mr. Skene, he must thank Dr. Stuart, Mr. Dickson, the Rev. James Gammack, the Rev. W. D. Macray, Professor Cosmo Innes, for their efforts in his behalf; Mr. P. E. Pusey and Mr. David Littlejohn for the trouble which they have taken in verifying references in the Bodleian Library; the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, Patrick Chalmers, Esq. of

Aldbar, and Andrew Jervise, Esq., for the generosity with which they have put costly books at his disposal ; the Very Rev. Dean Nicolson for aid in collating the Brussels manuscript of the Life of S. Ninian. The assistance of other friends is acknowledged in the notes throughout the volume ; and he must close this record of obligation by stating that his friend the late Rev. Arthur West Haddan gave him the use of the proof-sheets of the then unfinished volume of the Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents of Great Britain, of which, with Professor Stubbs, he was editor, and which has been published since his lamented death.

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1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

PART I.—THE LIFE OF S. NINIAN

BY S. AILRED.

THE life of S. Ninian given in this volume is the work of S. Ailred of Rievaulx. It was first printed by John Pinkerton¹ from a beautiful manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Laud. F. xv. cent. xii.; hodie, Laud. Misc. 668, ff. 78-89, sæc. xii.); for the Bollandists, though using the life as given by Capgrave, and commenting upon it, had not reproduced it. They mention two other manuscripts of the life as being known to them, one belonging to the Monasterium Rubæ Vallis, the other to the Carthusian Convent at Cologne.² Inquiry has been made for these, but they have not been found. According to a decree of Napoleon I., in 1809 or 1810, such of the mss. of the Carthusians of Cologne as were not sent to the National Library at Paris were assigned, with those belonging to the other convents, to the École Centrale at Cologne, and are now in the Library of the Marzellen Gymnasium there, but the Vita S. Niniani does not seem to be among them.

Having failed to discover these, the Editor was reduced to the use of such materials as he had access to. First, he made a careful collation of the Bodleian ms., which is the actual text produced. It will be seen on comparison that

¹ *Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum, qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniae nunc vocata Scotia vel in ejus insulis. Quasdam edidit ex mss., quasdam collegit J. Pinkerton, qui et variantes lectiones et notas pauculas adjecit. Londini, typis J. Nichols, 1789.*

² *Acta SS.*, Sept. 16, t. v. p. 322.

many of Pinkerton's readings have been amended, and in more than one instance a sentence has been supplied.

In addition to this, a MS. in the British Museum (Cott. Tib. D. iii. fol. 186-192, sæc. xiii.) has been collated. It is a century posterior in date, but is undoubtedly a transcript of the Bodleian exemplar. The variations are few, and have been carefully noted at the bottom of the page.

Thirdly, in the Burgundian Library at Brussels there is a volume of *Lives of the Saints*, in which the *Life of S. Ninian* appears in an abridged form. It appears to be that from which Capgrave has printed his life.¹

S. Ailred at the beginning of his work describes the source whence he drew the materials for the history of S. Ninian as "*liber de vita et miraculis ejus barbario scriptus.*"

Archbishop Ussher in the addenda to his most learned work, *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis*, says—"Extat et apud Hibernos nostros ejusdem Niniani Vita; in qua ob importunam tum a matre tum a consanguineis frequentatam visionem, desertâ Candidâ Casâ, ut sibi et suæ quieti cum discipulis vacaret, Hiberniam petiisse atque ibi impetrato a rege loco apto et amœno Cluayn-coner dicto cœnobium magnum constituisse, ibidemque post multos in Hiberniâ transactos annos obiisse traditur."²

This Irish life, which contains matter hardly reconcileable with that by S. Ailred, and which is at variance with the tradition of the neighbourhood, that S. Ninian died and was buried in Whithern, cannot now be found.

The Bollandists state that they had a translation of this life made by Father Fitzsimon,³ but they think very poorly of it. According to them it was full of falsehoods. Not only is the

¹ *Nova Legenda Anglie*, impressa Londoniæ in domo Winandi de Worde, commorantis ad signum solis, in vico nuncupato (the flete strete) A.D. mccccxvi. xxvii. die Februarii.—fol. ccxli.-ccxliii.

² Ussher's Works, t. vi. pp. 209, 565, ed. Elrington.

³ *Acta SS.*, Sept. 16, t. v. p. 321.

saint made to die in Ireland, but his mother is described as a Spanish princess; his father inconsistently wishes to bring him back into the world after assenting to his being trained for the ecclesiastical state; a miracle so indecent that the Bollandists only hint at it taking place as soon as he puts his foot on Ireland; a bell comes down from heaven to call together his disciples; a wooden church is raised by him, the beams of which very fierce stags bring down to the place, and a harper who never before or after had to do with architecture was the builder. On the saint's flight into Galloway, he demands hospitality for a night from a smith and his son, which is refused, whereupon S. Ninian fixes his staff to a depth of three finger-lengths in the anvil, so that it cannot be removed by human force. On the smith and his son asking pardon, the staff is removed, and the saint receives a grant of the lands, which are to be called Wytterna, Terna and Wyt being respectively the names of the smith and his son.

Some connexion of the saint with Ireland is certain, for not only is his foundation at Whithern identified with the Magnum Monasterium where so many youths from Ulster were trained, but his name, with the affectionate prefix *mo*, is found on his day in the Irish Kalendars. Ængus the Culdee has "Moinend nuall cech genai;" that is, Moinend, the shout of every mouth, and the gloss has "Moinend Cluana Conaire Tomain hi tuais-cuirt .h. Faelain," i.e. Moinend of Cluain Conaire Tomain, in north Hy-Faelain. The Martyrology of Tallaght has "Monenn Cluana Conaire."¹ That of Donegal has Maoineann, Bishop of Cluain Conaire, in the north of Ui Faelain.² The Drummond Kalendar has at the day "Et in Hiberniâ natale Sanctorum confessorum et sacerdotum Lasren Monein et Lasren."

We have already mentioned the Life in Capgrave (fol. ccxlii.-ccxliii.)

¹ Dr. Kelly's ed., p. xxxiv.; Dublin, n. d.

² Mart. Don. p. 249; Dublin, 1864.

One more source of information is noticed by the learned Alcuin in a letter addressed "fratribus Deo servientibus" at Candida Casa; he mentions there Father Nynias, the bishop who was distinguished by great miracles, "sicut mihi nuper delatum est per carmina metricæ artis, quæ nobis per fideles nostros discipulos Eboracensis Ecclesiæ Scholasticos directa sunt."¹

In later times the poet Barbour in his extreme old age composed a metrical life of Ninian, which was discovered in the library of the University of Cambridge by Henry Bradshaw, Esq.

Jocelin in his life of S. Kentigern states that that saint, accompanied by many people, came to Cathures, which is now called Glasghu, and there abode near a cemetery formerly consecrated by S. Ninian.²

A life of S. Ninian, Bishop of Candida Casa, occurs among the Lives of the English Saints published by T. Toovey, in 1845. It has been attributed to the Rev. John Barrow, D.D., late Principal of S. Edmund Hall, Oxford.

S. Ailred, the biographer of S. Ninian, whose name is softened from the Saxon Ethelred, and who also appears as Ailredus, Alredus, Ælredus, Elredus, Adelredus, Hetheldredus, Altredus, Atheldredus, Ealredus, Hailredus, Eleredus, Baldredus, Aluredus, Ealfredus, and Valredus, was the son of Æillavus, or Eilef Lawreu, a priest, who had charge of the church of Hexham,³ and who, in his sickness having sent for Rodbert Biset, gave over with great devotion the revenues of the church, which he had appropriated, "liberum et quietum de se." He gave livery of his possessions with a *filaterium*, a word derived from the scriptural phylactery, and meaning a cross in which relics were imbedded (*vide* Du Cange *ad verb.*), in the presence of his sons Ailred, Samuel, Ethelwold, and others.

It will be seen that S. Ailred belonged to a hereditary family

¹ MS. Cott. Vesp. A. xiv. f. 160 b., cit. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's Descriptive Catalogue, vol. i. p. 45.

² Vita Kentigerni, c. ix., Vitæ Antiqq. SS., ed. Pinkerton, p. 219.

³ Prior Richard's History of the Church of Hexham, p. 50.

of priests who owned the church of Hexham as they would a leasehold or freehold property.¹ His grandfather Eilaf had played off Archbishop Thomas of York against his own reforming diocesan William de S. Carileph, and had got a grant of the temporalities of Hexham, then so devastated by the Conqueror's invasion in 1069 that he had to support himself by hunting. Nevertheless he began the restoration of the church, in which he was succeeded by his son the father of S. Ailred. A gradual reform taking place under Thomas II., Archbishop of York, Eilaf, not uncompensated, gave up Hexham to Edric, and in 1113 a college of canons was established, which under Thurstan eventually grew into a house of Augustinians. Eilaf himself, after making the grant to which we have just alluded, assumed the habit of a Benedictine monk at Durham, and, dying contrite and devout after a few days, is recorded in the *Liber Vitæ* of that house as "*Æilaf sacerdos et monachus.*"

S. Ailred began life at the court of David, King of Scotland, whose subject he was by virtue of the Scottish possession of Cumberland and Northumberland at that time, and with whose son Henry he seems to have been educated. At the age of twenty-four, in 1133, he became a Cistercian at Rievaulx in Yorkshire, under Abbot William, the friend and correspondent of S. Bernard, whose letter to him, exhorting him to patience and calmness of soul, is a wonderful combination of faith and practical wisdom.² In 1142 he became Abbot of Revesby, and next year of Rievaulx. Rievaulx Abbey, of which Ailred was the distinguished ornament, was founded by Walter Espec in 1131. Alexander III., the Pope who divided the allegiance of Western Christendom with the Antipope Victor IV., in 1160, the very year in which his claim was disallowed by the Council of Pavia, took it under his protection by a Bull, in which many privileges were conferred upon it. The Abbots, whose names are recorded, are—William + 1146; Maurice; Ailred, cir. 1160; Bernard +

¹ Raine's Priory of Hexham, p. li. pref.

² Op. S. Bernard., Ep. 360, t. i. p. 277; Paris. 1838.

1186; Sylvan (who, with Rolland, Bishop-elect of Dol, was employed to treat with William the Lion for a compromise in the case of the disputed election to the see of S. Andrews), 1189; Godfrey; Ernaldus + 1199, who resigned. In Pope Nicholas's *Taxatio* of 1391 it is rated at £241, 10s. The Act 26 Henry VIII. gives £351, 19s. 6d. gross rental, £278, 10s. 2d. clear. It was granted at that time to Thomas Earl of Rutland, a descendant of the founder. In Dugdale's time, as it is at this day, it was occupied by the Duncombes.¹

Revesby, in Lincolnshire, the other Abbey with which S. Ailred was connected, was founded in 1142 by William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln, and was dedicated to S. Mary and S. Laurence. In Pope Nicholas's *Taxatio* it was rated at £294, 11s. 8d.; at the dissolution at £394, 4s. 10d. gross, £287, 2s. 4½d. net. It was granted to Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.²

That S. Ailred should write the life of Ninian, which life, however, is not in Capgrave's enumeration of his works, nor again in Cave's, is natural, from the fact that we know he visited Galloway:—"Descendens in Galwediam Alredus invenit regulum terræ illius contra filios suos iratum, filios in patrem sævientes, et in se invicem fratres. Est autem terra illa fera silvestris et barbara, bestiales homines et barbarum omne quod gignit. Veritas ibi non invenitur, sapientia locum non habet. Nam neque fides neque charitas diu perdurat in eâ. Castitas totiens patitur naufragium quotiens libido voluerit, nec est inter castam et scortum ulla distantia: mulieres per menses viros alternant. Inter religiosos tamen quidam aliorum consilio et ductu satis religiosi existunt, sed propriâ industriâ raro perfecti. Sunt enim naturaliter hebetes, et animale habentes spiritum voluptatibus carnis semper intendunt. Invenit itaque Alredus principes provinciæ irâ et dissensione turbatos; quorum odia et rancores nec rex Scotiæ humiliare nec episcopus mitigare suffecit; multoque sanguine terram polluerunt. Quos

¹ Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 274.

² *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 453.

Alredus non solum pacificavit, sed patrem filiorum habitum religionis suscipere inflexit, et qui multa millia hominum vita privaverat vitæ participem eternæ fieri docuit.”¹

Reginald of Durham mentions that S. Ailred was present at Kirkcudbright in 1164 on the Feast of S. Cuthbert, when a penitent was miraculously freed from an iron belt which he wore. On the same day a bull, offered in oblation to S. Cuthbert, was baited in the churchyard by the clerics, “qui Pictorum linguâ Scollofthes connominantur.” On being reproved, one mocked the saint, and was gored by the bull.²

Ten years before this he had assisted at the great translation of the relics of S. Acca, S. Alchemund, S. Fredenbert, S. Tilbert, and S. Eata, at Hexham, and he became the chronicler of the event.³ His other works are a description of the Battle of the Standard, the genealogy of the Kings of England, including an eulogium of S. David of Scotland, the History and Miracles of S. Edward the Confessor, a homily on the occasion of the translation of the relics of that saint in 1163,⁴ a short letter about a nun of Watton, and also a Life of King Edward in verse addressed to Laurence, Abbot of Westminster, a treatise on the virtues of Walter Espec, an account of the foundation of the monasteries of S. Mary’s at York and of Fountains, some sermons De Tempore et de Sanctis, thirty-one sermons on Isaiah the prophet, a Speculum Charitatis, a Tract on Jesus the Child of twelve years old, three books on Spiritual Friendship, a Rule for nuns, and a Tractatus on the Sunday within the octave of the Epiphany, and on the burdens of the Church.⁵

Henriquez⁶ adds considerably to this list, but says “Nota

¹ Capgrave, *Nova Legenda*, fol. xii.

² Reg. Dunelm., Surtees ed. pp. 178, 179.

³ Raine’s *Annals of Hexham*, pref. lxxiii.

⁴ *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, by Thomas Wright, p. 194; London, 1846.

⁵ See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* p. 673; *Bibliotheca maxima Patrum*, tom. xxiii.

⁶ *Fasciculus Sanctorum Ordinis Cisterciensis*, liber ii. p. 261, Col. Agripp. 1631.

quod hujus scripta quædam cum scriptis Edilredi Abbatis Wardensis confunduntur." His own account of the saint is at second-hand from Bale and Pitseus. In the *Menologium Cisterciense* of the same author at the 12 Jan. (Prid. Idus Januarii):—"In Angliâ Sanctus Aelredus Rievallis Abbas, sacrarum literarum scientiâ et morum integritate conspicuus: qui postquam dignitates sibi oblatas humiliter contempsisset, omnium virtutum genere decoratus, migravit a sæculo, Sanctorum numero post mortem ascriptus."¹

S. Ailred long enjoyed the favour of Henry II., and was instrumental in inducing him to submit to Pope Alexander III.² He died on the ides of January 1166, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. So early as 1250 he was regarded as a saint.³ He suffered from calculus and arthritica passio for years before his death.

With every wish to deal fairly with the work of S. Ailred, we must pronounce it almost worthless as a historical tract. There is hardly one fact additional to those with which we were already acquainted from the celebrated passage in *Bæda*, quoted by himself at the beginning of his biography. Indeed, at the beginning the author admits that the barbarous work which he professed to polish only elucidated the same facts. Even the miracles lack much of the local colouring which gives so much interest to some of the Irish legends. It is entirely wanting in the mournful interest which gives such a charm to the invective of *Gildas*.

On the other hand, the style, for the eleventh century, is exceedingly good. The diction is flowing, and the sentiments gracefully expressed. The account of the early religious life of S. Ninian is admirable, and even the declamation on the evilness of the times, though slightly turgid, is not without eloquence. A historical work like this is not the place to

¹ *Menologium Cisterciense notationibus illustratum*; Antwerp. 1630, p. 14.

² *Chronic. Johan. Abbatis S. Petri de Burgho*, p. 79; cit. Wright.

³ Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, *ad diem*.

enlarge on its religious aspect, but the vein of real piety which runs through it all, while it is evidence of the beautiful moral nature of the author, gives the lie to those crude notions of the world lying in spiritual darkness during the mediæval times, and of the absence of gospel light from epochs distinguished by some of the strongest outcomes of the Christian sentiment, such as the wars of the Crusades—wars for an idea—the idea of the special sacredness of that holy land,

“Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage to the bitter cross.”

The Bollandists,¹ as has been already mentioned, do not give the life of S. Ninian, but they comment upon it, and illustrate it. First they allude to the question who the Picts, whom he is stated to have converted, were, and quote the statements (1.) of Dion,² that the Britanni were divided into Caledonians and Meatae, of whom the latter lived near the wall which divided the island into two parts, the Caledonians being behind them; (2.) of Ammianus Marcellinus, who divided them into Dicalcdones and Vecturiones, the former being those who occupied the western parts of the island, as if at the right hand, while the Vecturiones occupied the left; and (3.) of Bæda, who again divides the Picts into Northern and Southern. After citing these authorities, they decline to enter on the question whether the Picts were different from the Britons or a nation imported from other quarters.

Then they discuss the name of Candida Casa, mentioning that Camden identified it with the Leucophibia, *quasi Leuc' oikia*, of Ptolemy, and that Malmesbury³ mentioned that the name was taken from the work, “quod ecclesiam ibi ex lapide Britonibus miraculum fecerit.” They decline to enter into “the odious controversy” whether it belonged to the Scots or Saxons, quoting only what Bæda says in the well-known

¹ Acta SS. Sept. 16, tom. v. p. 318.

² Lib. xvii.

³ Lib. iii. de Gestis Pont. Anglic.

place, "Cujus sedem episcopalem S. Martini episcopi nomine et ecclesia insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit jam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet;" but, in presence of a confessed perplexity as to the epoch, content themselves with giving what the Scots writers assert with respect to the conversion of their country. They first quote Hector Boethius,¹ Leslæus,² and George Thomson,³ for the conversion of Scotland under Pope Victor in the time of the Emperor Severus, though they take leave to question them, chiefly from Scotch testimonies, such as the legend of the arrival of the relics of S. Andrew. Admitting the expression of Tertullian, "Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca Christo vero subdita sunt," they understand it to mean that there may have been here and there a handful of Christians in Scotland:—"Non nego Donaldum quendam, sive is Scotorum rex, sive vir inter suos princeps fuerit, Christianis sacris initiatum fuisse, et exemplo suo nonnullos Christo lucrificasse. Hoc unum nego, *utpote nullo nixum fundamento*, Scotorum nempe vel Pictorum gentem universam, ab A.C. 203, veritates Evangelicæ recepisse ita ut ab eâ numquam defecerit. Scotorum et Pictorum a fide defectionem Corotico clarissime ostendunt duriora S. Patricii verba."

Turning from these, they accept, on the authority of a paper by Papebroch on the time of the conversion of the Picts, the statement of Fordun regarding the death of S. Ninian⁴ in the time of Theodosius the younger, which was determined by his having flourished in the time of S. Martin, who died in the eighth year of Arcadius and Honorius. Then they mention that Pitseus, Alford, the Magdeburg Centuriators, assign 432 as his

¹ Scotorum Hist. lib. vi. fol. 86; Paris. 1575.

² Lib. iii. de Origine, etc., p. 114; Romæ, 1678.

³ De Antiquitate Christianæ Religionis apud Scotos, authore Georgio Thomsono Sooto. Romæ, ex Typographio Barth. Bonfadini MDCXIII.; Superiorum Permissu—has no pagination, but is a small quarto of nine pages and a half.

⁴ Lib. iii. c. 9.

date, while a MS. preserved in their library, as well as another made by Patrick Ninian Wemyss, S.J., which he sent to Solerius in 1720, gives 437 as the year. Wilson dates it so late as 512, but this is incompatible with the saint's connexion with S. Martin.¹ Alford makes his mission commence from 394, in the papacy of Siricius. They conclude, "*Pictorum igitur Australium conversionem late figo vel sub finem sæc. iv. vel sub initium v., cum hoc solum ex Beda certum sit eos diu ante annum 565 ad fidem adductos fuisse.*"²

S. Ninian's name occurs in the Roman Martyrology.³ It is absent from those of Ado and Usuardus, but occurs in the Auctaria of Grevenus and Molanus.⁴ Wilson in his Martyrologium Anglicanum has "*Sacrum ejus corpus in eâdem S. Martini Ecclesiâ sepultum, ibidem magnâ veneratione servatum fuit, usque ad tempora Henrici regis viii. (Editio altera habet Jacobi regis vi., quæ lectio omnino preferenda est.) Multa etiam præclara templa atque altaria in ejus honorem pristinis Catholicorum temporibus erecta ac dedicata fuerunt in regno Scotiæ.*" The following is an incomplete list of these dedications:—

ABERDEENSHIRE.

1. ANDAT IN METHLICK, Collections on the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p. 320.

2. PITMEDDEN IN OYNE, *ib.* p. 579.

3. FETTERNEIR, Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. iii. p. 389.

¹ Joannis Wilsoni Martyrolog. Anglicanum, 1608.

² Alford (Michael, alias Griffith, English Jesuit, b. 1587.)—*Fides Regia Britannica, Saxonica, Anglica, una illa eademque Sancta Catholica Romana; sive Annales Ecclesiastici in quibus Britannorum, Saxonum, Anglorum orthodoxa fides a Christo nato ad annos 1189 historica demonstratione deducitur atque probatur*, 4 tom., Lond. 1663.

Britannia illustrata; sive Lucii Hebrææ, Helenæ, Constantini, primorum Regum et Augustorum Christianorum Patria et Fides. 4to. Antverpiæ, 1641.

³ Baronii Mart. Rom. p. 574, ed. Mogunt. 1631.

⁴ Sollerii Usuardus, p. 539, ed. Antwerp. 1714.

4. CHAPEL IN ABERDEEN, Chalmers's Caledonia, i. 315.
5. ALTARAGE IN S. NICHOLAS, ABERDEEN, New Statistical Account, Aberdeen, p. 329.

ARGYLE.

1. ISLAND OF SANDA, Origines Parochiales, ii. 9.
2. KILNINIAN, in Mull, Chalmers's Caledonia, i. 315.
3. LANDS OF S. NINIAN, Kintyre, Retours, Argyle, 21, 93.

AYRSHIRE.

1. DUNDONALD, Chalmers's Caledonia, iii. p. 411.
2. COLMONELL, Ayr, *ib.* i. 315.
3. KINCASE, N. S. A., Ayr, p. 173.
4. MONKTON, *ib.*
5. KILSANCTNINIANE IN ARDMILLAN, Retours, Ayr, 352.
6. KILDONAN, Orig. Par., ii. 737.

BANFF.

1. CHAPEL OF ENZIE IN RATHVEN, Jervise's Epitaphs, p. 277.
2. BELLIE, Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, ii. p. 267.

BUTE.

1. S. NINIAN'S BAY AND POINT, N. S. A., Bute, 96.

CAITHNESS.

1. HEAD OF WICK, N. S. A., Caithness, 160, Orig. Par., ii. 772.

DUMBARTON.

1. KIRKINTILLOCH, Regist. Ep. Glasg., p. 390.

DUMFRIES.

1. ALTARAGE, in Parish Church, Act. Dom. Conc. et Sess., vol. v. f. 206 (MS. General Register House).

EDINBURGH.

1. S. NINIAN'S LANDS, Liberton, Retours, Edinburgh, 1097.
2. S. NINIAN'S CHAPEL, near the Leper Hospital, Liber Cartarum S. Egidii, p. 134.
3. ALTARAGE, in S. Giles, Lib. Cart. S. Crucis, pp. 64, 160.
4. BRIDGE-END, Leith, *ib.* p. 244.

FIFE.

1. PREBEND OF S. NINIAN, Ceres, Retours, Fife, 261.
2. CHAPEL IN CONSTABULARY OF KINGHORN, *ib.* 315.
3. ALTARAGE, in Parish Church of Falkland, Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. xli. No. 44 (MS. General Register House).

FORFARSHIRE.

1. WELL AT ARBIRLOT, Proceedings of Antiquarian Society, ii. 449.
2. FERNE, Jervise, Lands of the Lindsays, p. 179.
3. BENSIE, *ib.* p. 279.
4. CHAPEL AT ALYTH, *ib.* p. 285.
5. S. VIGEANS, N. S. A., Forfar, 495.
6. S. NINIAN'S CROFT, Arbroath, Retours, Forfar, 154.
7. ALTARAGE, in Brechin Cathedral, Jervise's Memorials of Angus, p. 470.
8. MAINS (?).

INVERNESS.

1. KEILSANCTRINAN IN URQUHART, Retours, Inverness, 41.

KINCARDINE.

1. S. NINIAN'S CHAPEL AND DEN, Stonehaven, Retours, Kincardine, 70.
2. DUNOTTAR.

KINROSS.

1. CHAPEL AT SAUCHIE, Retours, Kinross, 22.

LANARK.

1. WELL AT LAMINGTON, Orig. Par. i. 173.
2. STONEHOUSE, *ib.* i. p. 108.
3. WISTOUN, *ib.* 147.
4. COVINGTON, Retours, Lanark, 82.
5. HOSPITAL, Glasgow, Act. Parl. v. 563.

LINLITHGOW.

1. CHAPEL AT LINLITHGOW, N. S. A., Linlithgow, p. 175.
2. BLACKNESS, Chalmers's Caledonia, iii. 411.

MORAY.

1. CHAPEL IN DISER (Dyke), Retours, Elgin, 141.
2. ALTARAGE' in Elgin Cathedral, Chalmers's Caledonia, i. 315.

PERTH.

1. KINNOULL, Retours, Perth, 152.
2. ST. NINIAN'S LANDS, Coupar, *ib.* p. 70.
3. LANY.
4. ALTARAGE IN DUNKELD CATHEDRAL, Mylne, Vitæ Dunkelden. Eccles. episcoporum.

RENFREW.

1. ALTARAGE IN RENFREW, Orig. Par., i. 74.
2. GOVAN, N. S. A., 688.

ROSS-SHIRE.

1. BALCONIE, IN KILTEARN, O. S. A., i. 293.
2. ROSSKEEN, Orig. Par., ii. 469.
3. FORTROSE, Chalmers's Caledonia, i. 315.

ROXBURGH.

1. BOWDEN, Orig. Par., i. 287.

SHETLAND.

1. DUNROSSNESS, N. S. A., Shetland, 94.

STIRLING.

1. S. NINIAN, N. S. A., Stirling, 323.
2. WELL AT STIRLING, *ib.* 426.
3. CHAPEL AT STIRLING, Regist. de Dunferm. p. 344.
4. CAMPSIE, Regist. Episc. Glasg. p. 88.

SUTHERLAND.

1. NAVIDALE, N. S. A., Sutherland, p. 201.

WIGTONSHIRE.

1. PENNINGHAM, N. S. A., Wigton, 176.
2. CRUIVES OF CREE, Chalmers's Caledonia, iii. 411.

Among the charters of Sir W. K. Murray of Ochtertyre there is a paper of the Marischal family, in which, about 1380, the Earl Marischal of the day states that in building his castle of Dunottar he had unconsciously infringed upon a piece of ground where in former times there had been a chapel dedicated to S. Ninian. The Court of Rome sanctioned the matter on payment of certain moneys.¹

Some of the relics of S. Ninian were saved at the Reformation, and preserved in the Scots College at Douai. An arm was recovered by Father Alexander Macquarry, and given in charge to the Countess of Linlithgow. It was intrusted by Alexander Seton to Father John Robb to be brought to the Seminary.² In Father Augustin Hay's *Scotia Sacra*,³ pp. 387-395, we read—"I heard that there was only one bone, which

¹ Information by Dr. John Stuart.

² *Acta SS.* Sept. t. v. p. 327.

³ MS. Advocates' Library.

goeth from the elbow to the sheikle-bone, that was kept religiously in the Chapell of St. Margaret by the Scots of Douay College, enclosed in a figure of wood, representing a Bishop. The relic is enclosed in the right arm."

Father John Robb succeeded Father G. Turnbull as Superior of the Scots College at Douai, and died there of fever 13th March 1639.¹ There were two Alexander Setons,—one in Germany in 1612, on being sent to the Scots mission, died on the road; the other, a natural son of the Earl of Dunfermline, was sometimes called Ross. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1687, and lived to a great age.² I cannot trace out Father Macquarry. The Countess of Linlithgow was Helenor, daughter of Andrew, seventh Earl of Errol, who married Alexander, first Earl of Linlithgow.³ The charge of the Princess Elizabeth was committed to her and her husband, and they discharged their duty so well that they received the thanks of the King and Council.⁴ That a Roman Catholic should have charge of the Princess is not wonderful, for Anne of Denmark had secretly conformed, and had Father Robert Abercromby for her confessor.⁵

The name of S. Ninian was restored to the Kalendar of the Scottish Church in the Prayer-book of 1637. Churches belonging both to the Roman and Anglican communions have been dedicated to him in this century.

We may dismiss as resting on no real foundation the assertion of Pitseus and Dempster, that S. Ninian was the author of a book of meditations on the Psalms, and another, *de Sanctorum Sententiis*.⁶

¹ Oliver's Collections, p. 36.

² *Ib.* p. 37, with ms. note by the late Rev. G. A. Griffin.

³ Douglas's Peerage, vol. v. p. 549, ed. Edinburgh, 1813.

⁴ *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 127.

⁵ Conarus, *de Duplici Statu Religionis*, Romæ, 1628, p. 270.

⁶ Pitseus, *de Illustribus Britannicæ Scriptoribus*, p. 87; Dempster's *Hist. Ecol.*, vol. ii. p. 502, ed. Edin. 1829.

His Office in the Breviary of Aberdeen is as follows :—

"In festo sancti patris nostri Niniani episcopi et confessoris in primis vespers antiph."

"Ovans agat hec concio Niniani solennia trine vocis tripudio laudum sonat obsequia ut mens lingua et actio pari concordent gloria placebit sic laudacio Deo reddenti premia. *Ps.* Laudate pueri. *Antiph.* Ille Pictorum tenebras fugat dans vite monita mundi contempnens blandicias dux plebis ad celestia. *Ps.* Laudate Dominum omnes gentes. *An.* Vita processit populum sic sanctitate previa nunc haurit in te poculum dux cum ductis in patria. *Ps.* Lauda anima. *Antiph.* Tanto patrono plaudere jure debes Albania secure salva sistere dum vitas vite devia. *Ps.* Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus. *Antiph.* Ad celos migrans hodie locandus in deliciis ad mores fac quotidie migrare nos a viciis. *Ps.* Lauda Hierusalem. *Capitulum unius confessoris.* R Quod cambuca vir Dei circueat taurus custos armentum vigilat qui latronis dum ventrem perforat infelicem ultor exanimat. Mox cadaver sanctus vivificat Saulum sternens Paulum resuscitat. V. Insigne geritur signum certaminis pes saxo jungitur bovis et hominis. Mox. Gloria. *Hym.*

Christe qui rex es glorie
Caput sanctorum omnium
Tu Niniano gracie
Tue dedisti premium
Ortus regalis semine
Clare puer est indolis
Vir veritatis lumine
Dat vitam pastor incolis.
Pictis junctis Britonibus
Turmis duarum gencium
Mercatus in celestibus
Regionem vivencium
Regem percussit ulcio
Vir Belial qui fuerat
Sanatur et devocio
Pia mitem reddiderat
A mortis solvit vinculo
Quem taurus perforaverat
A mortis et periculo

Vir undis raptum liberat
 Egris se reddit habilem
 Multos curans miraculis
 Deum sibi placabilem
 Beatis videns oculis
 Presta Christe victoriam
 Nobis de victis hostibus
 Niniani Memoriam
 Vitam confer agentibus. Amen.

"*V.* Amavit eum. *Antiph.* Stirps regalis que vita floruit prolem profert regem quem decuit patrum pater patronum genuit Ninianum quo mundus claruit hic ut sydus signis emicuit dum Britannos fidem perdocuit. *Ps.* Magnificat.

"*Orat.* Deus qui hodiernam diem beati Niniani confessoris tui atque pontificis festivitate honorabilem nobis dedicasti; concede propicius ut cujus erudicione veritatis tue luce perfundimur ejus intercessione celestis vite gaudia consequamur per Dominum."

(Here follows the commemoration of S. Euphemia and her companions.)

"*Ad mat. Invit.* Christus laudetur Niniano laus jubilatur. *Ps.* Venite. *Hymnus* Christe qui Rex. *In primo nocturn.* *Antiph.* Ninianus teneris annis constitutus inhiabat superis moribus imbutus. *Ps.* Beatus vir. *Antiph.* Romam petens dogmatis causa visitavit sed vite pro meritis presul remeavit. *Ps.* Quare fremuerunt. *Antiph.* Factus hic Britonibus fidei ligatus perfidos sollicitus reprimit conatus. *Ps.* Domine quid. *V.* Amavit. *Lect. i.* Gloriosam . . . gentem magnam. *R.* Ninianus nobilis clare puer indolis sacris inardescit. Ut sic prosit patriæ se presentat curiæ qua presul recessit. *V.* Et conjectu spiritus ejus mentis habitus Martino clarescit. Ut. *Lect. ii.* Beatis-simus Ninianus . . . ita de eo scribit. *R.* Pastor redit fit clausus omnium plebs obedit fugit demonium reseratur fides creden-cium. Cedit error crescit miraculum. *V.* Gens seducta suggestu demonum per hunc sanctum credit in Dominum. Cedit. *Lect. iii.* Anno ab incarnatione . . . regionibus sequestrate. *R.* Rex neque monita contempnens presulis luit obprobria dolore

capitis sed quem obduxerat cecitas luminis firmum reddiderat in fide numinis. *V.* Fit morbi duplicis duplex curacio cordis et corporis illuminacio. Sed. *In secunda noc. an.* Tactu viri justicie visu privantur oculi regis fastu superbie molesti sancto presuli. *Ps.* Cum invocarem. *An.* Presul placatus venia lumen amissum reddidit rex ductus penitencia Christo renatus credidit. *Ps.* Verba mea. *An.* Crimen matris panditur ex infantis ore dum confusio solvitur insons corruptore. *Ps.* Domine Deus noster. *V.* Justum. *Lect. iv.* Namque ipsi australes Picti . . . misterio veritatis edoctus. *R.* Per incastum gravidata mater tandem coartata partus patrem prodere senen cepit accusare, sic se credens excusare de commisso scelere. Res stupenda contra morem pandit infans genitorem. *V.* Ex infantis lactentis pectore vox virilis sonat cum robore patrem prodit victum facinore. Res stupenda. *Lectio v.* Cujus sedem episcopatus . . . Britonibus more fecerit. *R.* Sedens Sanctus in refectorio et confratres pascens miraculo ortolanum vocat continuo olus ferri jubens ex ortulo. Herbam profert cum seminario jam tunc satam dans grates Domino. *V.* Ad preceptum Niniani mens stupescit ortolani sciens tamen nichil vani voto sancti succedere ipso die seminatum profert terra fructum gratum jubente pontifice. Herbam profert cum seminario jam tunc satam. *Lectio vi.* Tanti itaque viri . . . in honore ejusdem dedicatur. *R.* Duce[m] furum taurus egreditur cornu bruti brutalis ceditur rupto ventre vita discutitur. Rursum vivus ac sanus reditur. *V.* Discursu devio volant latrunculi in municipio stringuntur baculi. Rursum. Gloria. Rursum. *In iii. noctur. an.* Patrem linquit parvulus verberum timore quem reduxit baculus vorticis ab ore. *Ps.* Domine quis habitabit. *Antiph.* Lignum florens aridum cunctis stat in signum: fons erumpens famulum probat Deo dignum. *Ps.* Domine in virtute. *Antiph.* Niniano singula parent elementa, ignis, aer, arida, pontus, et fluenta. *Ps.* Domini est terra. *V.* Justus ut. *Evangeliu[m].* Homo quidem peregre et reliqua. *Tunc omelia venerabilis Bedæ Presbyteri de vita et miraculis Sancti Niniani lect.*

vij. Verbum quod ipse breviter . . . historico modo conscribit. *R.* Virgam timens reus discipulus fugam subiit adolescentulus Clam defertur magistri baculus, quo salvator nauclerus, tremulus. *V.* Multi foraminum patescunt aditus incursus fluminum sistit divinitus. Clam. *Lectio viij.* Insula igitur . . . sed quorundam memoria comprobatur. *R.* Cum collega vir proficiscitur sic psallendi locus eligitur: atra nube dumus obducitur: ymber de quâ fusus immittitur. Supra sanctum nuda restringitur: curva nube cum circumcingitur. *V.* Ymbris stillam prohibet nubes camerata ne vestis vel littera sancti sit rigata. Supra. *Lect. ix.* Pater ejus Rex . . . non cessavit. *R.* Infans invisus nascitur, effigies horribilis, vultus dorso transumitur, monstrum forme mirabilis: manus pedes et brachia cunctis privantur usibus: Christi fulgent magnalia membris in transversalibus sospes regreditur. *V.* Ad Niniani tumultum tetrum munus adducitur in summi laudis titulum, sanatus restituitur. Manus. Gloria. Ma. *Prosa.* Sospitati Niniani dat egris oratio. Tumor cedit ydropicis et lepre contagio. Reddatur vita functis et mutis locutio. Cecis visus, claudis gressus, et surdis audicio. Gaudent portum naufragati et sterilis filio. Liberantur carcerati dementes demonio. Fugit thisis, gutta febris epilepsis passio. Aridorum membra suo redduntur officio. O quam probat sanctum Dei furum liberacio; oculorumque membrorum nova restitucio. Ergo laudes Niniano nostra psallet concio. Namque corde poscunt illum loto prius vicio. Sospes regreditur. *V.* Ora pro nobis, beate Niniane. *In Laudibus Antiph.* Collaudemus omnium summum creatorem suum qui mirificat signis confessorum. *Ps.* Dominus regnavit. *An.* Ad sancti reliquias siciens virtutem monstrum Deo gratias recepit salutem. *Ps.* Jubilata. *An.* Hinc pro luce perdita pulsante puella leta luce reddita redit jam novella. *Ps.* Deus, Deus. *An.* Morphea mortifera que corpus obsessit non relinquens vestigia corpori recessit. *Ps.* Benedicite. *An.* Niniani meritis morbidum curantur ceci vident: audiunt surdi: muti fantur. *Ps.* Laudate. *Hymnus.* Adest dies leticie Niniani Pontificis quo stolam sumpsit glorie:

choris sceptus angelicis. Plaude turba fidelium: patris colens solempnia: ejus laudans preconium: qui suis dat præsidia: in Paradiso ecclesie: virtutum ex dulcedine: spiramen dat aromaticum: Ninianus celestium: hic Ninianus sumitur: calcata luctu seculi: celum victor ingreditur: cum turmis multi populi: Jesu rector luctancium: tua nos rege gratia: supplantando demonium: mundum carnem justitia. *An.* Ora Christe victoriam. O quam pia pura patris almi cura circa simplices nulli nam in vanum poscunt Ninianum quamvis complices culpe sint et rei dum in arce spei constant supplices hic corde contritos solvit compeditos frangens compedes. *Ps.* Benedictus. *Or. ut supra. Memoria de martyribus ad vesp.* *An.* Collaudemus omnia. *Ps.* feri. *Capitulum unius confessoris, ut supra.* *R.* Nos qui sumus involuti viciorum finibus dementes et imbuti delictorum sordibus Niniane te rogamus fave supplicantibus: ut celorum rex placatus a te fuis precibus nos mundatos a peccatis jungat celi civibus. *V.* Nobis sis patronus pius pastor bonus memor miseris qui te colunt corde purgatos a sorde redde superis Niniane. *Hymnus.* Plaudat turba fidelium novis productis canticis: promat laudis preconium Niniani pontificis. Cujus doctrina et monitis gens graditur feliciter: error ab illicitis conversa est salubriter: Virga vetus mosayca et baculus antistitis: signa conformant celica Niniani pro meritis. Virga mare dividitur, ducatum prebens populo: unda maris reflectitur navem regente baculo. Aqua fluxit de lapide hebreum potans populum: exivit fons a cuspide baculi mittens rivulum. Virga legalis arida frondes flores produxerat: tali virtute valida baculus arens creverat. Ymber invasit codicem dum mens vacaret ocio: inundans suspendit laticem labens mentis oracio. In mundo laude egregia florebat mirabilibus: nunc est in celi curia vivens cum sanctis omnibus. Laus trino et uni Domino sit qui est sine termino: qui Niniani precibus jungat celi civibus. Amen. *V.* Justus germina. *An.* Pastor pasce gregem superum pete pro grege regem gratus reddatur et ovili restituatur lumine perfunde famulos virtutis habunde lucifer eterne lucis Niniane superne. *Ps.* Magnificat."

In an interesting volume in the Bollandian Library at Brussels, whose title is "*Incipit ordo missalis Fratrum Minorum secundum consuetudinem Romanæ Curiae*," a Scottish service-book of the thirteenth century, communicated to me by the learned Father Victor de Buck, S. J., in an additional service inscribed after 1264, we find the following :—

"*De Beato Niniano.* ORATIO. Deus, qui populos Pictorum et Britonum, per doctrinam S. Niniani episcopi [et confessoris tui] ad fidei Tuæ notitiam convertisti, concede propitius ut cujus eruditione veritatis tuæ luce perfusi sumus etiam [perfundimur ejus] intercessione cælestis vitæ gaudia consequamur. Per Dominum. SECRETA. Oblata servitutis nostræ munera Domine quæsumus annue Sancti patris nostri Niniani episcopi commemoratio [solennitas] commendet accepta, ut ejus pia supplicatione muniti, cunctorum nostrorum delictorum veniam, et beatitudinis sempiternæ benedictione mereamur optinere consortium, per Dominum.

"POSTCOMMUNIO. Refectos, Domine, vitalis alimonie sacramentis sancti confessoris tui Niniani episcopi gloriosa nos intercessione protege et ad æternum celestis mensæ convivium concede pervenire per Dominum."

The passages in brackets are the modifications of the service as they appear in the Arbuthnott Missal, after nearly 250 years.¹

In the office as exhibited in the Missal, the portion of Scripture for the Epistle is taken from the Book of Wisdom, "*Ecce Sacerdos.*" The Gospel is "*Homo quidam peregrè,*" and the Sequence is as follows :—

" Ave, pater et patrone,
præsul, pastor, pie, bone,
confessor eximie !

Roga Deum, Niniane,
pro salute serò manè
præsentis familiæ.

¹ Liber Ecclesie Beate Terrenani de Arbuthnott; Burntialand, 1864, p. 369.

Tu per terras et per mare
 dirè vinctos liberare
 non cessas Christicolas ;

Esto nobis spiritalis
 tutor, salvans nos à malis
 loci hujus incolas.

Ope tuæ sanctæ precis
 membris surdis claudis cæcis
 crebra datur sanitas ;

Nobis reis et indignis
 succurre, ne cum malignis
 nos damnet iniquitas.

Rex, puer, fur, hortolanus,
 infans cujus pedes manus
 privabantur usibus,

Probant sanctum apud Christum
 te ; tu nos post mundum istum
 jungas cæli civibus. Amen."

Of allusions to S. Ninian in the pre-Reformation literature of Scotland, we may note in "Ane dialog betwix experience and ane courteour," by Sir David Lindsay (Works ed. Laing, vol. i. p. 311), the question of the Courtier "of the imageis usit amang Christian men :"—

" Sanct Roche, weill seisit, men may see
 Ane byill new broken on his thye,
 Sanct Eloye he doth staitly stand
 Ane new horse shoe intyll his hand,
 Sanct Ringan of ane rottin stoke,
 Sanct Duthow boird out of ane bloke."

In William Stewart's *Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland* (vol. ii. p. 22 ; London, 1858) we find—

" Sanct Martyn als he wes into tha dais ;
 And Sanct Niniane, as my auther sais,
 Biggit ane kirk than into Galdia
 Quhilk Quhitterne now is callit at this da."

In an English ballad on the unfortunate battle of Flodden

composed soon after the event, the Scottish objects of popular worship are alluded to :—

“ Their patron so did not them leave,
Saint Andrew with his shored cross,
But sure St. Triman of Quhytehorn,
Or Duffin their demigod of Ross.”¹

The apostolate of S. Ninian is the first distinct fact in the history of the Christianity of modern Scotland, although the circumstances of his life, as well as other testimonies,² make it evident that before his time the light of the gospel had shone upon these remote shores.

That in the Roman province the religion which had been gradually undermining the ancient Paganism and which had been fully organized, as we know from the presence of three British Bishops at the Council of Arles, should have extended itself is only natural ; but the enfeeblement of the Empire, and the constant invasion of the barbarians, make it probable that great confusion and religious decay existed everywhere.

The Roman province, the northern frontier of which had been re-established by Theodosius at the wall between the Forth and the Clyde in 369, was in about half a century after that abandoned, and a reign of intestine anarchy and foreign conquest succeeded. Maximus withdrew the Roman troops in 388. Stilicho drove back the Picts and again restored the wall in 397-402. In 407 Constantine withdrew the troops again, and the southern wall became the boundary. While the eastern coast of Southern Scotland was again and again invaded by successive hordes of pagan Jutes, Saxons, Frisians, and Angles, the western region remained in the possession of the great British or Cambrian race, who on the withdrawal of the Roman legions became the victims of the incursions of the Picts of the north, of the Irish Scots, and of the Saxons. The Cambrian or Cumbrian kingdom extended beyond the

¹ The Battle of Flodden Field, by Henry Weber, ed. 1808, p. 27.

² Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and Eccl. Documents, vol. i. pp. 1-14.

southern wall. It ran from Alcluyd or Dumbarton in the north as far as the river Derwent in Cumberland.

It would appear that war was carried on between the Cumbrians and their enemies with varied success, although in the main the latter prevailed. That the Picts at one time occupied the land as far as the southern wall, we know on the authority of Gildas,¹ and the topography of Galloway to this day has indications that the Saxons had effected an occupation there. On the other hand (whatever historical value may be attached to the fact), the Welsh bards celebrate the conquest of Urien or Owen Reged, who, only for a time indeed, actually recovered Bernicia. Of the internal condition of the British kingdom at this time we have no certain information. Naturally foreign war would cause domestic confusion, and the arts of peace could not flourish in the presence of the terror caused by constant invasion. One element of civilisation certainly remained to it. The road was open both to Gaul and Italy, even to Jerusalem.²

The date of S. Ninian is determined by the fact mentioned in the Life, that the building of his church at Whithern synchronized with the death of the great S. Martin of Tours. That death, according to the best authorities, occurred in A.D. 397. The last decade of the fourth century was distinguished by the vigorous administration of the Emperor Theodosius, his cruel massacre at Thessalonica, his excommunication by S. Ambrose, and his death at Milan at the age of fifty. It witnessed the partition of the Empire between Honorius and Arcadius, the gradual increase of the power of Alaric, and the increasing jealousies of the East and West. It was the epoch of Claudian and Ausonius; above all, it was a time of great mental activity in the Church. S. Jerome was writing against

¹ Gildas, *Hist.* sec. 21.

² Hier. Ep. xlv. ad Paulam, lxxxiv. ad Oceanum; *Patricii Confessio*, p. 309; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. i. p. 14.

Jovinian ; S. Paulinus composing his Christian poetry at Nola ; Augustine and Ambrose offering their contributions to the literature of the Church ; S. Gregory Nazianzen, and the two heathen authors, Libanius the Sophist and Ammianus Marcellinus, had just passed away ; S. John of the Golden Mouth had been raised to the patriarchal chair of Constantinople.

There is no contemporary account of the civilisation of the scenes where Ninian was reared. Britain was synonymous with barbarism. In the mouth of S. Chrysostom it was to the glory of Christianity that it had extended to Britain,¹ just as we should speak of the Fiji Islands. That it supplied the material for great armies is clear from the fact that the usurper Maximus raised a large army of Britons, Gauls, Celts, and other nations, and marched into Italy.² That S. Cyprian's works were known there we learn from Prudentius.³ That a regular hierarchy, with churches, altars, the Bible, discipline, and the creeds, existed, we know from many sources, but nothing more. That a few years later the Britons were susceptible of the Pelagian heresy shows at least that religion was a subject of interest to them, but as to the conditions of civil life we know nothing, save what we may gather from the incidents of some of the miracles recorded in the Life now published. A biography written for edification is not likely to dwell on the details which interest the student of secular history ; still if we assume that the biographer of S. Ninian used ancient materials for the "*liber de ejus vitâ et miraculis, barbario scriptus*," we may here and there gather up some facts, though we must never forget that S. Ailred lived many centuries after the death of the subject of his history, and that he wrote in the sense of the ideas of his own time,—that is, of the epoch of the revival connected with the substitution of the new chapters and religious orders for the Culdees, and of the changes which resulted in the aggregation of Scotland into the great family of

¹ Cont. Judæos, Opp. i. 378, ed. Montfaucon.

² Sozomen, H. E. vii. c. 13.

³ Περὶ Στεφάνων, xiii. 103.

Continental nations through the predominance of the influence of the English religious orders, and the at that time wholesome operation of the increase of the power of the See of Rome.

The only historical works which supply any light on the extremely obscure condition of Britain at this time are the two treatises by S. Patrick, the Confession and the Letter to Coroticus or Caradoc. Though S. Patrick is a few years posterior to S. Ninian, yet he belongs to the same kingdom, and therefore we may gather some of the conditions of British life from what is related there; *e.g.* the mixture of races. S. Patrick's father is Calpornus or Calphurnius, a deacon, and his grandfather Potitus, a priest, but his great-grandfather¹ is Odissi. His father lives in a Villula near Bonavem Taberniæ, at which place he was kidnapped. Though the son of a deacon, and grandson of a priest, he was ignorant of the true God, indicating one of those lapses into Paganism which were so common at that time. He writes in fluent but in very barbarous Latin, such as we may conceive provincials at such a distance from the centre of civil unity would employ. Slaves carried off from Britain were employed in tending sheep in Ireland. Travelling was then not easy. Provisions were scarce, and men were glad to gather the wild honey which it was their custom to offer to the false gods. As a form of the monastic life for men and women was introduced by Patrick into Ireland, we must believe that the system obtained in Valentia. Slavery was so recognised that Patrick, speaking of sums that he had paid out for the poor, describes it as the price of fifteen men. From the Epistle to Coroticus we gather that Ireland at this time was more barbarous than Britain, where the Roman offices were retained. S. Patrick was free-born, for his father was a Decurio. But if we are thus ignorant of the state of Britain, we have more than one trustworthy record of the other scenes connected with S. Ninian. He is stated to have visited both

¹ According to the scribe's own note in the margin of the Book of Armagh.

Rome and Gaul. Of the state of Rome at that time we have several descriptions. It was probably during the Pontificate of the showy and haughty Pope Damasus, whose "western eyebrow"¹ was so eminently distasteful to S. Basil the Great. The narrative of the violent schism which took place at the time of his election is told by the heathen author Ammianus Marcellinus, who, little as he in general interests himself in the affairs of the Christians, relates and comments upon that remarkable event:—

"Advenit successor ejus (Lampadii)* ex quæsitore palatii Juventius, integer et prudens, Pannonius: cujus administratio quieta fuit et placida, copia rerum omnium fluens. Et hunc quoque discordantis populi seditiones terruere cruentæ, quæ tale negotium excitavere. Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopalem sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur adusque mortis vulnorumque discrimina adjumentis utriusque progressis: quæ nec corrigere sufficiens Juventius nec mollire coactus vi magna secessit in suburbanum. Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte, quæ ei favebat, instante. Constatque in basilica Sicinini ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum: efferatamque diu plebem ægre postea delenitam."²

Marcellinus's remarks on the history are very curious, and are quoted:—

"Neque ego abnuo, ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos ob impetrandum, quod adpetunt, omni contentione laterum objurgari debere: cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas. Qui esse poterant beati revera, si magnitudine urbis

¹ τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος.—Bas. ad Euseb.

² Ammianus Marcellinus, sub anno 367, lib. xxvii. c. 3, p. 374. Edition Eyssenhardt. Berlin, 1871.

despectâ, quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem antistitum quorundam provincialium viverent: quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo numini verisque ejus cultoribus ut puros commendant et verecundos."

But a still more remarkable account of these discreditable transactions is given in another contemporary document of no small interest, which has been rescued from oblivion by the learned Sirmond. It is termed "*Libellus Precum*," and its full title is "*Marcellini et Faustini Presbyterorum, partis Ursini adversus Damasum Libellus precum ad imperatores Valentianum, Theodosium et Arcadium*." Faustinus, who from his work appears to have been a Luciferian, was the person who educated Flaccilla or Galla Placidia, the excellent wife of Theodosius. He took an active part on the orthodox side in the Arian controversy, on which subject he wrote several books.¹ In defence of the Luciferians, this remarkable work, which, though breathing the fierce and narrow spirit of that sect, was used by S. Jerome, gives us many details of what then took place, supplying us with many circumstances in the lives and deaths of the principal actors in the great controversies of the period, and, as might be expected, the actions of Pope Damasus are not passed over. It speaks of him as the "*egregius archiepiscopus*," afflicting Aurelius, who was probably the Luciferian Bishop of Rome, forbidding faithful priests to call together the people to serve Christ, who is God, on holydays, and on one occasion when one Macarius did this by night, bursting into the place where they were met together, dispersing the assembly, and dragging him over the flints before the civil judge. He, by the imperial authority and by threats, sought to bring him to terms, but he "*repelled the communion of perfidy*, and was banished to Ostia, where he died of the ill-treatment he had received."² Damasus is further accused in

¹ See *Faustini Presbyteri Scriptoris sæculi quarti fidei orthodoxæ adversus Arianos vindiciæ acerrimi opera*; Oxon. 1678.

² *Libellus*, p. 35.

that "*acceptâ autoritate regali*," that is, putting in force the laws of the Empire against heretics, he persecuted the Catholic clergy, sending them into exile, and especially Ephesius, who had been ordained by Taorgius, "*illibatæ plebi Romanæ*," who, however, was saved by the intervention of Bassus.

It is right to state that Merenda, who has published the works of Pope Damasus, defends him, and describes the *Libellus* as "*mendaciis scatente*,"¹ but the authority of the document is untouched, and it places before us a feature of the state of matters in Rome which is well worth studying. It is unnecessary to touch upon the part which this remarkable Pontiff took in the controversies of the East. The friend of S. Jerome, he cultivated versification, and some of his remains both in prose and poetry have come down to us. He is also recognised in a series of somewhat pompous inscriptions in the Catacombs, distinguished by rare beauty of execution.² The *Breviary of Evora* states that he wrote the lives of the Pontiffs who preceded him; above all things he set himself to adorn the city of Rome, building two basilicas, one near the theatre, the other in the *Via Ardeatina* near the Catacombs. The first of these seems to have been erected in honour of S. Laurence. It was endowed with ornaments and property. Anastasius imputes to this Pope certain improvements in the divine service, but the authority of the *Bibliothecarius* for the events of those earlier times is not great, however valuable it may be for his own epoch.

Pope Damasus died in 384, and was succeeded by Siricius, the author of the first genuine decretal, addressed to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona, in which he ruled various doubtful points of usage, the validity of heretical baptism, the treatment of apostates, of religious persons guilty of incontinency, and the celibacy of the clergy. The decretal is curious in reference to

¹ *Sancti Damasi Papæ Opuscula et Gesta*; Romæ, 1754, p. 122.

² De Rossi, *Roma Sotteranea Cristiana*, t. i. p. 118, Rom. 1864; t. ii. p. 195, Rom. 1867.

S. Ninian, as exhibiting the ecclesiastical discipline under which he must have been trained during his residence in Rome.

But the condition of the clergy of the time receives further illustration from the civil law of the period. In the Theodosian Code the clergy are exempted from civil employment, and the Bishops were already amenable only to their own order. Civil officers (*Decuriones*) were forbidden to take orders, so that valuable men should not be subtracted from the service of the State.¹

Vivid descriptions of the condition of Rome at the time of S. Ninian's visit may be found in the letters of S. Jerome. In his correspondence with the wealthy and pious ladies whose spiritual guide he was, we get some life-like pictures of the times;—the Church slowly but surely vindicating itself as the conqueror of the old Paganism; Christian society itself becoming worldly and luxurious, with a strong counteraction to this in the development of the religious or monastic life, especially among the women of the upper classes.

For instance, in his commentary on Ezechiel he gives us this interesting account of his visits to the Catacombs:—"Cum essem Romæ puer et liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum cæteris ejusdem ætatis et propositi diebus Dominicis sepulchra apostolorum et martyrum circuire, crebroque cryptas ingredi, quæ in terrarum profunda defossæ, ex utrâque parte ingredientium per parietes habent corpora sepulcorum, et ita obscura sunt omnia ut propemodum illud propheticum compleatur, *Descendunt ad infernum viventes*."² He testifies to the fact that the very greatness and civilisation of the Rome of his day was hostile to religious quiet:—"Et hic puto locus (Bethlehem) sanctior est Tarpeiâ rupe quæ de cælo sæpius fulminata ostendit quod Domino displiceret. Lege apocalypsim Joannis et quod de muliere purpuratâ et scriptâ in ejus fronte blasphemiâ, septem

¹ *Codex Theodosianus, cum perpetuis Commentariis Jacobi Gothofredi*; Lipsiæ, 1743, vol. vi. p. 22, 23 *et seq.*

² *Op. S. Hieron. t. v. p. 433*; ed. Frankfort. 1684.

montibus, aquis multis, et Babylonis cantetur exitu con-
 tuere . . . Est quidem ibi Sancta Ecclesia, sunt trophæa
 apostolorum et martyrum, est Christi vera confessio, est ab
 apostolo prædicata fides, et, gentilitate calcata, in sublime
 se quotidie erigens vocabulum Christianum. Sed ipsa ambitio,
 potentia, magnitudo urbis, videri et videre, salutari et salu-
 tare, laudare et detrudere, vel audire vel proloqui, et tantam
 frequentiam hominem saltem invitum videre, a proposito
 monachorum et quiete aliena sunt.”¹ In defending himself
 against the charges brought against him by the envious
 men who took occasion from his familiarity with the great
 Roman ladies, he contrasts his own austere life with the
 sumptuousness of the manners of the Christian society which
 criticised him :—“Tibi placet lavare quotidie; alius has mun-
 ditias sordes putat. Tu attagenem ructas et de comeso acipen-
 sere gloriaris, ego fabâ ventrem impleo. Te delectant cachi-
 nantium greges, me Paula Melaniaque plangentes. Tu aliena
 desideras, illæ contemnunt sua. Te delibata melle vina delec-
 tant; illæ potant aquam frigidam suaviorem.”² He is not com-
 plimentary to the city itself. He commences his translation of
 Didymus’s Treatise on the Holy Spirit :—“Cum in Babylone
 versarer et purpuratæ meretricis essem colonus, et jure Quiritum
 viverem.”³ He condemns the laxity both of monks and
 seculars in language too coarse for repetition; he condemns
 their heredipety;⁴ he denounces their wealth :—“Nonnulli
 enim sunt ditiores monachi, quam fuerant sæculares; et clerici
 qui possideant opes sub Christo paupere, quas sub locuplete et
 fallace Diabolo non habuerant, ut suspiret eos ecclesia divites,
 quos mundus tenuit ante mendicos.”⁵ He describes the
 clerical fop of the period :—“Sunt alii (de mei ordinis homini-
 bus loquor) qui ideo presbyteratum et diaconatum ambiunt, ut
 mulieres licentius videant. Omnis his cura de vestibus si

¹ Ep. ad Marcellam, t. i. p. 82.

² Epist. 99, ad Asellam, vol. i. p. 244.

³ Tom. ix. p. 322.

⁴ T. i. ad Nepot. Ep. p. 9.

⁵ *Ib.*

bene oleant, si pes laxa pelle non folleat. Crines calamistri vestigio rotantur, digiti de annulis radiant, et ne plantas humidior via spargat, vix imprimunt summa. vestigia. Tales cum videres sponso magis existimato quam clericos.”¹

It requires no very strong effort of the imagination to picture that which met the eye of the young stranger from Britain. The Rome in which S. Ninian dwelt for so many years was the Rome of the Cæsars. No Attila or Genseric had yet come down to waste, to ravage, and to burn. The old heathen temples still stood in their places, though in the main deserted by worshippers. Sometimes an assault was made upon them, as when Gracchus, the præfect of the city, cast down the cave of Mithras. Now and then a spasmodic effort was made to restore the old faith, as we find Damasus and the Christian Senators successfully resisting an effort of the Pagans to restore the altar of Victory.² Not only had the edict of Valentinian invested the Pope with a certain civil sanction of his religious position, but the absence of the imperial court threw a great deal of actual power into his hands. Many of the basilicas had been converted into churches. The Christians, no longer in fear of persecution, formed the dominant class of society, and conformed themselves to all that was innocent, and much that was luxurious, of the old heathen life. The curious toilet equipage of a Roman Christian lady, found between the Lateran and Viminal hills, once the property of the Duc de Blacas, and now deposited in the British Museum, illustrates the manners of the time. On it, supplied with all the provision for cosmetics, we find heathen decorations, without indeed any of the indecencies of the old worship, but along with this we find a pious inscription, added apparently after purchase, in which the owner is commended to Christ.³ Dissension had also

¹ *Ad Eustochium*, t. i. p. 93.

² *Damasi Opera et Gesta*, Merenda, p. 105.

³ See *Lettere di Ennio Quirino Visconti*, intorno ad una antica suppelletile d'argento scoperta in Roma nel anno 1793; Roma, 1827. See also Agincourt, *Storia della Scultura*, Plate 9.

shown itself among the different religious parties. Of course there was much that was more satisfactory. Rome was the centre of the religious life of the period, and S. Ninian might have seen many distinguished men from the East, such as Dorotheus of Antioch, or Acacius of Berœ, whom the exigencies of controversy had brought to the threshold of the Apostles. Heretics such as Vitalis and Priscillian came to seek recognition from the Pope. Councils from time to time brought together the Bishops of Italy; the monastic life was anticipated by the stricter clergy living together in colleges. The churches were decorated with the spoils of heathen art. While above ground the basilicas became the tituli or parish churches of the city, the catacombs, sanctified by the presence of the remains of the martyrs, became the scenes of increased religious fervour. At the arcosolia and altar-tombs the zeal of the people was kindled. Strangers flocked to these subterranean oracles. Prayer was made to those for whom it was felt that prayer was needless. The communion of saints was most fully realized at the *Memoriæ* where their sacred bodies rested. Everywhere the rites of the Church were celebrated with pomp and dignity, and as the dread of heathenism day by day decreased, some would say, as the heathen spirit began to pervade the Church, art and the sense of beauty became the handmaid of religion, and the walls of the churches began to glow with painting and mosaic.

But S. Ninian's life not merely touches the history of Rome, it also is connected with Gaul. On his return from the threshold of the Apostles, he visits S. Martin at Tours. The condition of Gaul and of the Western Empire must be considered in order to appreciate the influences which affected him. Treves was at this time the capital of the West; it had long been the seat of the Prefect of the Gauls. The interesting ruins still existing, the Porta Nigra, palace, the amphitheatre, and even the basilica now turned into the Protestant Church, date from this epoch. It was the centre of Occidental civilisation. There

was a great library connected with the imperial palace.¹ Education was carefully attended to. The chief cities of Gaul possessed important schools, some of which, such as Marseilles and Autun, dated from the first century, where there were taught philosophy, medicine, jurisprudence, belles-lettres, grammar, and astrology, in short, all the sciences of the time; but the old spirit was dying out, and the institutions lasted, but their purpose was gone. The old heathen life, the old heathen ideas, were perishing and disappearing before the advancing Christianity. The same process was taking place in the State and in the civil administration of the country. The ancient Roman forms continued, the senatorial curial dignities were undisturbed, but the Nemesis of slavery had destroyed the life of the community, and all classes now aggregated themselves to the new and vigorous Christian society which had been gradually growing up for centuries. Christian ideas were now emerging in untold strength. Spiritual interests took precedence of temporal interests; the citizen became merged in the believer.

These things must be borne in mind in order to understand the influence of such a man as S. Martin. He represents the transition from the one system to the other. Born in 316, he was the subject of a heathen Emperor. When he expired at the mature age of eighty-five, the battle had been won. But more than that—he was one of the most potent agents in the change. Though the old institutions perished from their own corruptions, while the new thrived by their inherent vitality and truth, we must ever recollect that it is by human agency that the work is carried on, and while events call forth men, the men mould the events. The demands of the ascetic side of Christianity, coupled with the decay of the old Pagan life, evoked the spirit of monachism in the West, but it was S. Jerome who was the instrument in latinizing the religious

¹ Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, t. i. p. 104; Paris, 1862.

life, which had hitherto found its congenial home in the East and in the Thebais, and it was not the least work of S. Martin that he founded the first monastery in Gaul. The ancient spirit of Roman jurisprudence at a very early period affected the Roman Church, but the direction of that spirit was the work of S. Leo the Great.

S. Martin of Tours stands out with great individuality in Church history, and this not only on account of his character, but from the fact of his good fortune in having such a biographer as Sulpicius Severus. Even an Irish Kalendar of the eleventh century varies the dry enumeration of the saints by dwelling on his eloquence :—"Sanctus quoque Sulpicius confessor, qui vitam S^{ci} Martini Toronensis Episcopi eloquentissimo sermone dictavit, hodie migravit ad Christum."¹ S. Sulpicius Severus, who must not be confounded with a bishop of the same name, wrote his Life of S. Martin three years before that saint's death, and afterwards completed it by the addition of the Dialogues. He wrote from personal knowledge, being intimately acquainted with the subject of his biography, and therefore we have the remarkable fact of a narrative teeming with portents and miracles put forth at the very time of their alleged occurrence, and therefore boldly challenging criticism or contradiction. That these recorded miracles eminently increased the veneration for S. Martin among his contemporaries we cannot doubt, but the character and moral power of the man himself was sufficient to enable him to leave the impress which he did upon his times. He was no mere follower of current fashions. While he bent all his powers to create monasticism in Gaul, he protested against the crime of putting heretics to death on the occasion of the condemnation and punishment of Priscillian. If ever there was an excuse for violent measures it was in the case of this strange and mysterious sect, which seems ingeniously to have combined together all that was

¹ *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, p. 2 ; Edin. 1872.

loathsome and untrue in the preceding heresies ; yet S. Martin was not led astray by his feelings of hatred for the false teaching. He refused to communicate with the Spanish Ithacius, and the bishops acting with him, who in their cruelty and orthodoxy anticipated the temper of inquisitors, in spite of the support of the Emperor Maximus, and along with the great S. Ambrose has left his protest against that perversion of Christianity which has stained the pages of Church history with blood. Maximus, who was a Briton, and by Ausonius is called the robber of Richborough,¹ had disputed the empire with Gratian (382-388). He appears to have acted well in these difficult matters while under S. Martin's influence, but in his absence allowed himself to be overborne.

Born at Sabaria (now Szombatel or Sazwar) in Upper Pannonia, near the confines of Austria and Styria, the son of a military tribune, Martin received his education at Pavia, and, though unbaptized, came early under religious impressions. "*Animus tamen aut circa monasteria aut circa ecclesiam semper intentus.*" At fifteen, against his will, he was enrolled in the army, and it is to this time that the incident of dividing his cloak with a beggar at Amiens, so frequently depicted in Christian art, is referred. After serving for five years he betook himself to S. Hilary of Poitiers, and on returning from a visit to his native land, where he succeeded in converting his mother, he distinguished himself by enduring banishment for confuting the Arians in Illyricum. He now entered the monastic life at Milan, but driven thence by the Arian Bishop Auxentius, he retired to the island of Gallinaria, near Albenga in Liguria. Finally, he forced his way to S. Hilary at Poitiers, and built a monastery at Lugugé, where, in consequence of his fame in raising two dead men to life, he was chosen Bishop of Tours in 371. Continuing to live a simple life he established the celebrated Abbey of Marmoutier, which

¹ *Punisti Ausonio Rutupinum morte latronem. Ausonii Opera, Ordo Nobilium Urbium, Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*, p. 1083 ; London, 1828.

became a school in which many eminent bishops were trained, and maintained its reputation till the first French Revolution as one of the houses of the Congregation of S. Maur. Besides abolishing superstition connected with the tomb of a pretended martyr, he devoted himself to the extirpation of idolatry in his diocese, marching at the head of his faithful monks to destroy the idols, temples, and the consecrated trees. To the last he relaxed nothing of his apostolic labours, and in the end, after settling a scandalous difference among the clergy in a remote part of this diocese, he died in perfect peace. He died, having while introducing monasticism into Gaul profoundly modified that institution. The life of simple retirement and contemplation which distinguished the anchorites in the East assumed an active social character in the West. In the dissolution of the civil society, monasticism became the hearth of a new national life, the seat of an intellectual development. The monasteries in the south of Gaul became the schools of Christian philosophy.¹

It is impossible to measure the contrast of all this with the native land of Ninian, although there still existed examples of Roman civilisation—good roads traversing the country, here a castrum, there a station.² We know for certain that the very churches were built of wood, and the habitations of secular life must have been similar to the raths of the neighbouring Scotia, or to the erections of rough stone, wood, and earth, which are indicated to us in the forts, or, as they are called, moat hills, which are so plentiful in Galloway and Wigtonshire.³

Assuming the existence of this intellectual and religious life

¹ Guizot, *Hist. de la Civilisation en France*, t. i. p. 110; Paris, 1862.

² At Kirkmadrine sepulchral stones of classic character still attest the Latin influence. See Stuart's *Sculptured Stones*, vol. ii. p. 35, and Plate lxxi. See also Chalmers's *Caledonia*, p. i. vol. iii. p. 354; Edin. 1824.

³ "I have also observed severall green hillocks, called by the country people Moates, as particularly on the west side of Blaidnoch, in the baronrie of Clugstone, pertaining to the Earl of Galloway; another at the kirk of Monnygaffe; another at the kirk of Mochrum; another at the place of Myrton,

in Gaul, it is natural that Christian France should profoundly affect the more barbarous inhabitants of Britain. Accordingly we have evidence of considerable intercourse between the churches. The Paschal Cycle drawn up by S. Sulpicius Severus was that which the Britons followed. The Confession of S. Patrick exhibits constant communication taking place between Tours and Alcluyd, and the pilgrims to Rome and to the Holy Land from Britain, for the existence of whom we have the authority of Theodoret, must have begun their weary journey by passing through Gaul.¹ The guest book of the recently secularized Monastery of Rheinau, now preserved at Zürich, contains the names of many Irish Bishops inscribed when on their way to Rome.

But the work of S. Ninian's life must be viewed under two aspects—nay, rather may be divided into two distinct undertakings. He founded the Church at Whithern, while this part of modern Scotland formed part of the Roman province, and while its inhabitants were provincial Britons; but he also successfully undertook the evangelization of the Southern Picts, whose territory is distinctly defined by Bæda as separated from their northern brethren "*arduus et horrentibus montium jugis*," and who are described as dwelling in "*sedes intra eosdem montes*";² that is, in north-eastern districts of Scotland, bounded on the north-west by the Grampians. Of this field of labour something more will be said in the notes of this volume.

From the close of the life of S. Ninian for nearly a hundred years we know nothing certain of the fate of Candida Casa. Valentia was soon abandoned by the Romans, and the natives

pertaining to Sir William Maxwell of Muirreith, the one end of the said place of Myrton being built upon it; another near the house of Balgreggen in the parish of Stonie Kirk, all of which have had trenches about them, and have been all artificial; but when and for what use they were made, I know not."—A large description of Galloway by Andrew Symson, minister of Kirkcubright, 1684, ed. 1823, p. 94.

¹ See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, vol. i. pp. 13, 14.

² Bæda, lib. iii. c. 4.

do not seem long to have maintained the power to which they succeeded. Though the mass of the lower population continued Celtic, as they do to this day, the incursions of the Picts on the one hand and of the piratical Teutons a little later destroyed their autonomy, and the country was the scene of constant warfare.

But a circumstance here emerges, which is not without many parallels in the history of Ireland. No external oppression, no confusion at home, prevented the beneficent action of the church. In less than a century after the death of S. Ninian, Whithern, in the Irish pronunciation called Futerna, but better known as the "Magnum Monasterium" or Rosnat, is discovered as a great seminary of secular and religious instruction. S. Modwena, or Monenna, who is probably our Scottish S. Medana, the friend of S. Brigida, had founded a Church in Galloway, Chil-ne-case by name, and the Christianizing influence of Ireland on the sister country was naturally strongly felt in the district nearest to it. The curious and touching hymn of S. Mugint, which is given in a note to this volume, sheds a remarkable light on the life half monastic half social at Rosnat. Mugint, Rioc, Finnian, Talmach, and Drustice stand out in an individuality very noteworthy at that early time, and a little picture of early manners enlivens the scene.¹

As the daughter of the king of the Picts received her secular education here, so we learn that the king of the Britons also sent his children to the school. Nor was the work simply educational. The names of such great saints as S. Tighearnach, Monennus, Eugenius, Mancennus, and above all S. Finnian of Maghbile, who must not be mistaken for the greater S. Finnian, who is S. Frigidian or Frigidian of Lucca, S. Wynnin of Ayrshire, and who is mentioned with honour by Pope S. Gregory the Great,² are closely connected with the monastery of Whithern.

¹ Todd's Book of Hymns, fasc. i. pp. 94-120.

² Greg. Mag. Dialogorum, liber iii. c. ix.

From the Lives of the Irish Saints we print the following extracts in corroboration :—"Puer (Tighernacus). S. Monenni disciplinis et monitis in Rosnatensi monasterio, quod alio nomine Alba vocatur, diligenter instructus," etc.¹

"Quos duos viros sanctos (Eugenium et Tighernachum) sanctus et sapiens Nennio, qui Mancennus dicitur, de Rosnatensi monasterio, a rege Britanniae petens liberos accepit."²

"Dixit ei soror sua ei (Endeo) . . . vade ad Britanniam ad Rosnatum monasterium et esto humilis discipulus Manseni."³

"Cum eodem (Nennio) repatriante navigavit (Finianus) et in ejus sede, quae Magnum dicitur Monasterium, regulas et institutiones monasticæ vitæ xx didicit."⁴

The next historical reference to these lands occurs in Joceline's Life of S. Kentigern, where we are told that that saint "cleansed from the foulness of idolatry and the contagion of heresy the land of the Picts, which is now called Galwethia, with the adjacent parts" (c. xxxiv.) His work was regarded as a continuation of S. Ninian's. The body of Fregus was by the divine disposition drawn to Cathures, afterwards Glasghu, to a cemetery formerly consecrated by S. Ninian (c. ix.), as already mentioned.

Time passed and the Angles began to pour in hostile colonies along the whole of the north-eastern coast from the Firth of Forth to the Humber. The Northumbrian kingdom was established by Ida, and before long Bernicia and the Lothians became occupied by the race whose descendants are there to-day. They extended their conquests, not only against the Picts, with whom by a singular combination of interests their princes frequently intermarried, but against the Britons, who still remained in Galloway. Gradually the ancient kingdom of the Britons became weakened and broken up, and at last

¹ Acta S. Tighernachi, Colgan A. SS. Hib. p. 438.

² Acta S. Eugen., ap. Colgan loco citato.

³ *Id. ib.*

⁴ *Id. ib.* See Ussher, vol. vi. p. 522, 523, 585; Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and Eccl. Documents, vol. i. p. 120.

the Angles got so great a hold upon Galloway that they established a bishopric, of which we have minute and trustworthy details from Bæda and Symeon of Durham :—

“Anno 731. Pecthelm in eâ quæ Candida Casa vocatur, quæ nuper multiplicatis fidelium plebibus in sedem pontificatus addita, ipsum primum habet antistitem.”¹

“Anno 732. Acca Episcopus eodem anno de sua sede est fugatus.”²

“A. 741. Reverendæ memoriæ Acca Episcopus sublevatus est a terra viventium.”³ During this same year, it appears that Alpin, King of the Picts, on being expelled from Dalriada, “was slain in Galloway, after he had totally destroyed and ravaged it.”⁴

Richard of Hexham mentions an opinion about Acca having founded the see, which, however, is opposed to what we knew from Bæda.

“Sunt tamen qui dicunt quod eodem tempore Episcopalem sedem in Candida Casa inceptit et præparaverit.”⁵

“Anno 764. His quoque temporibus Frithwald Episcopus Candidæ Casæ ex hoc sæculo migravit, pro quo Pectwine in loco illius Episcopus subrogatur.”⁶

“Anno 777. Pechtwine, episcopus Candidæ Casæ xij Kal. Octobris migravit ex hoc sæculo ad æternæ salutis gaudium, qui eidem ecclesiæ xiiij annis præfuit. Cui Æthelbyrht successit.”⁷

In 782 Alcuin presents an olosericum (velum) for S. Ninian's body.⁸

“Anno 790. Eodem anno Badwlf ad Candidam Casam ordinatus episcopus in loco qui dicitur Hearrahalch, quod interpretari potest Locus Dominorum. Anno vero priore Ethel-

¹ Bæda, v. 23.

² Sym. Dun., p. 11.

³ Sym. Dun., p. 14.

⁴ Skene's Chron. clxxxvii, p. 288.

⁵ Rich. Hagulst., p. 35, ed. Surtees.

⁶ Sym. Dunelm., Historia Regum, p. 22.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 28.

⁸ Cott. Vesp. A. 14 fol. 160.

berht Episcopus, sede suâ relictâ, Sancto Tilberhto episcopo jam obeunte, prædictus præsul episcopatum Haugulstaldensis ecclesiæ accepit in propriam dominationem.”¹

When the Anglian line of bishops disappears, a population of Gaelic origin, distinguished from the earlier masters of the soil, whether of Cumbrian or Northumbrian race, is subsequently discovered in possession of the entire district;² and in the *Annals of Ulster*, at 856, we have “great war between the Gentiles and Maelsechnall, with the Gallwegians along with him.” They appear not only “as a body of Celtic pirates,”³ but as the auxiliaries of the Irish. The country south of the Solway remained in the hands of the Angles, although both there and in Galloway the presence of crosses with Irish ornamentation testifies to that immigration from the opposite coast, which had the effect of making the population of the country very mixed, and which earned for the latter the name of the Gallgael or mixed Gael.

It is probable also that before this time the Norsemen began to found settlements on the coast. In 857 Ivar and Olave conquered Caithill the White, with his Gallgael, in Munster.⁴ In 875-883, Eardulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne, and Eadred, Abbot of Carlisle, wandering with S. Cuthbert's relics, resolve to embark at the mouth of the Derwent and go to Ireland. They are driven back by a storm to Whithern, where his book of the Gospels, lost in the tempest, is found in safety.

In 970 Kenneth II. is said to have visited S. Ninian's relics. He certainly conquered the country.⁵ Malcolm Rex Cumbriorum does homage to Edgar.

At this time Strathclyde, which had been under a line of Scottish princes, owning, however, Saxon suzerainty or overlord-

¹ Sym. Dunelm., *Hist. Regum*, p. 30.

² Scotland under her Early Kings, by E. William Robertson, vol. i. p. 21.

³ Skene's Chron., p. xciii.

⁴ Robertson, Scotland under her Early Kings, vol. ii. p. 437. Ann. Ult.

⁵ Skene's Chron., p. 10.

ship, became merged in the Scottish crown and kingdom in 1034, but Galloway seems to have existed as a separate lordship. Suibhne, king of the Gallgaedhel, dying in that year, while Donchad or Duncan rex Cumbrorum becomes king of Scotland, for Malcolm, the son of Duncan, king of Scotland, is called by English authorities "*filius regis Cumbrorum*," Norsemen occupied the coast at this time. Earl Thorfinn owned nine earldoms in Scotland, the whole of the Sudreys, and a large riki in Ireland, but apparently under the Scottish king.¹ In the Orkneying Saga he is said to have possessed Gaddgedli.

A seaboard such as Galloway afforded fitting scenes for the ravages of the Northmen, and piracy prevailed, as we shall see further down, for many centuries after; but not to mention that probably along the coast there was a permanent Norse occupation, it would seem that a state of chronic war led to some of those chivalrous relations which exist among enemies who respect each other. Accordingly we get a glimpse of the life in the eleventh century in the Saga of Burnt Njal. After the dreadful burning, in which Kari alone escapes, taking no atonement, he pursues the burner Flosi till he has slain Kal the son of Thorstin. Then he determines to set out to Rome for the absolution of his sin, but on his way "they sailed north to Berwick, and laid up their ship, and fared up into Whiteherne in Scotland, and were with Earl Malcolm that year."² After nearly a hundred years of Norse occupation the Celtic inhabitants recover their power.

In the early part of the twelfth century, Fergus, first ascertained Lord of Galloway, a man of unknown descent, is contemporary of and co-operates with David in his ecclesiastical reforms. Though there possibly were British Bishops, as the Life of S. Magnus suggests, there is nothing recorded of Candida Casa till the restoration of the see. Possibly it was merged in that of Glasgow. As Galloway had always been

¹ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanic.*, p. 246.

² *Saga of Burnt Njal*, vol. ii. p. 345.

regarded as part of Northumbria, it was made no doubt by the consent of the founder David a suffragan see of York, for in 1126 Gilla Aldan was sent by Honorius II. to Thurstan of York for consecration, with the direction "*obedientiam tanquam proprio metropolitano deferres*," while in 1133 Carlisle was founded in the person of Aldulphus, where a provincial synod of Scottish Bishops was held in 1138, when they accepted Innocent II. as Pope.

Fergus founded several monasteries, chiefly of the "*Candidus ordo*," that of Premontr  near Laon. Saulseat (Latinized *Sedes Animarum*, otherwise called *Monasterium Viridis Stagni*, from the green organic matter which still tints the lake on which it was built), was the mother convent. From it came Holywood (*Dercongall*, *Monasterium Sacri nemoris*, or *Saint Boyse*), Tunland, and Whithern.

Among the Scottish Pr monstratensians Adam the Scot is pre-eminent. His ascetic works, consisting of *Sermons de Tempore et de Sanctis*, *de Ordine et Habitis et Professione Ordinis Pr monstratensis*, *De Triplici genere Contemplationis*, were published along with those of Ghislebert of Furness at Antwerp in 1659.

Fergus also erected the Augustinian House of S. Mary's Isle, near Kirkcudbright.

The incursions of pirates, distance from any centre of civilisation, and the presence of a race who, till the twelfth century, retained the ancient name of Picts, make Galloway notorious for barbarism. In 1138, at the battle of the Standard, so called from the Carrochio on which the Blessed Sacrament, with the banners of S. Peter, S. Wilfrid, and S. John of Beverley, was carried into the combat, the Galwegian Picts, ever given to mutiny, license, and plunder, claimed the right to the place of honour. They charged with horrible yells in the forefront, but their leaders, Ulgric and Dovenald, fell, and, at last, deceived by the report that the Scottish king was slain, threw away their arms. Savage as they were, they were so far amen-

able to the spirit of Christianity, that at the instance of the Papal Legate, Alberic, Bishop of Ostia, they restored the women whom they had taken captive. In 1154 Bishop Christian was consecrated at Bermondsey by the Archbishop of Rouen acting for him of York.

In 1156 Donald, the son of the showy, able Wimund, scribe, monk, bishop, pirate, impostor, rebel, vassal, recluse, whose adventures read like a romance, was discovered at Whithern, and conveyed to prison at Roxburgh, where his father had long been confined. Galloway seems always to have been the focus of intestine trouble. The Celtic population never amalgamated with the rest of Scotland. In 1160 the great insurrection broke out; Malcolm the Maiden twice invaded Galloway, and was twice repulsed; on the third occasion he conquered, and Fergus the lord of the country became a Canon-regular at Holyrood, bestowing Dunrod upon the Abbey.

In 1176 Cardinal Vivian Tomasi landed in England without leave, and was not allowed to proceed on his legation from the Pope to Scotland, Ireland, and the Norse Isles, till he had sworn he would attempt nothing against the interest of England. "He reached Scotland in winter, and passing into Galloway sailed from Whithern to Man, where he prevailed on King Godred to marry his Irish concubine, the mother of King Olave the Black." After holding a council in Dublin, and being present at the translation of the relics of S. Patrick, S. Brigid, and S. Columba, he crossed to Chester, and after visiting the English Court, he obtained letters of safe-conduct from the King and proceeded to Scotland. There in the Castle of Edinburgh he held a council, of which nothing is known save that it reversed ancient canons and enacted new ones, especially against the Cistercians. In this council he suspended Christian, Bishop of Whithern (+ 1186), for absenting himself from the council on the plea that he was a suffragan of York.¹

¹ Robertson's *Statuta Ecclesie Scoticane*, vol. i. pref. xxxvii.

His successor John was consecrated at Pipewell in 1189 by the Archbishops of Dublin and Treves and the Bishop of Enachdune, the see of York then being vacant. He is there termed "*suffraganus et officialis*" of York.

In 1186, in Galloway (which during the reign of William the Lion had been in revolt, caused by the rebellion of the sons of Fergus, Gilbert, and Uchtred, who was treacherously murdered by his nephew Malcolm), Rotholand, his son, was at length confirmed in the lordship, and in 1196 became Constable of Scotland, for which he paid 700 merks to the king.¹ His son Alan, in 1209, married Margaret, daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon. Rotholand is termed in the Ulster Annals *Ri Gallgaidhel* in 1199, and Alan appears in 1234 as *Ailin mac Rolant Ri Gallgaidhel*.

Another rebellion occurred in 1235 in the reign of Alexander II. Thomas the Bastard of Alan, and Gilroth an Irish chief, were eventually mastered, and the Irish invaders destroyed to a man.² In 1214 the Bishop of Candida Casa received pay from the "*custodes*" of the see of York for taking charge of the spiritualities during the vacancy of the see.

In 1216, in Galloway, there occurred a wonderful aurora borealis, of which we have an interesting account in a letter written by William, Abbot of Glenluce, to the prior and convent of Melrose. He tells how one of the lay brothers, with his serving-man on a journey, at a stated date "*lunam plenam vidit et rotundam, et statim in ipsa hora quasi funiculus quidam niger et subpallidus lunam in duas partes divisit . . . Statim in ictu oculi pars ipsa pallidior ab alia parte lune scindi visa est et dirumpi et ad spacium unius stadii elongari . . . iterum luna de sub nube erupit et statim ad magnitudinem trium lunarum crevisse visa est. Et statim deformatio illa per crementa in firmamenta se diffundens, in castellum speciosum transformatur . . . Interim luna, deposita castelli forma, in*

¹ Fordun, p. 274.

² *Ibid.* p. 286.

navem pergrandem et elegantissima fabrica factam formata est . . . iterum in castellum magnum et spectantibus supra modum horrendum transformata est, et hac vice vexillum quoddam regale apparuit. Et quod magis mirandum lingule ille sive caudule que in extremitatibus vexillorum dependent in predicto vexillo quam ad flatum venti movere et agitare videbantur." The moral the Abbot draws is good. It was neither the approach of the judgment, nor the work of pythonesses or enchantresses, as the serving-man suggested, but a portent to warn them, "qui nec timore Dei nec pavore Gehenne sive aliâ quacunque de causâ a perditionis sue viâ revertuntur."¹

Scanty as are the ecclesiastical records of the see, Candida Casa supplies us with the earliest details which we possess of the processes of an episcopal election in Scotland or England. The register of Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, contains the documents which preceded the consecration of Bishop Gilbert in 1235. There was a disputed election. The clergy and people chose Gilbert, Master of the Novices at Melrose; the Prior and Canons of Whithern's choice fell on Odo, one of their number, once Abbot of the sister Abbey of Dercongal.

The first paper is by the Prior and Convent, "universis Christi fidelibus ad quas presens scriptum pervenerit." It states, that wishing to provide for the vacancy in the see, with the consent of the Scottish king, "qui modo Galwezzam tenet," the electors with the greatest deliberation, after invoking the Holy Ghost, unanimously chose Odo, having summoned all those who had a right to be called. And then they proceed to specify the general form of the aforesaid election. When the see became vacant they entered their chapter on the third Sunday in Lent last past, for the purpose of treating of the election, and in presence of all who had a right, who desired, and who conveniently could be present, they elected three "qui secreto et sigillatim vota cunctorum diligenter exquisierunt." All

¹ Chron. Mail. p. 128, ed. Stevenson.

consented to choose Odo, and the votes being reduced to writing, they entered the Church, and publicly announced the election.

The next is from the same to Archbishop Gray, stating that as they could not appear before him in the greater Church of York on the morrow of the translation of S. Martin for the confirmation and consecration of the said Odo, on account of great inconveniences in the Church, and chiefly on account of the war of their lord, the King of Scotland, "versus Galweham," they constitute brother Gregory, one of their number, their proctor.

The third paper is the Archbishop's commission to G., the Dean, and Laurence de Lincoln and Robert Haget, canons of York, to discuss fully, and if possible terminate, the affair in the minster on the morrow of the feast of the Holy Trinity.

The fourth document gives the list of the electors. Brother D., termed Prior, and the convent announce to all the sons of Holy Mother Church, who shall see or hear these letters, that they had unanimously and harmoniously elected Odo nearly in the tenor of the first paper. Then follows the list. It is given at length here, not only to show that deacons and acolytes by virtue of their canonicates had votes, but to exhibit so far as the names indicate the nationality of the individuals.

Ego frater Dunecanus, cathedralis prior Candidæ Casæ.

Ego frater Bricius canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ et gerens vices.

Ego frater Paulinus, quondam prior Cathedralis Candidæ Casæ domus Præmonstratensis.

Ego frater Helias canonicus, sacerdos et subprior Candidæ Casæ.

Ego frater Cristinus canonicus, sacerdos et thesaurarius Candidæ Casæ.

Ego frater Johannes canonicus, sacerdos et provisor Candidæ Casæ.

Ego frater Gerardus canonicus, sacerdos et cantor Candidæ Casæ.

Ego frater Mauricius canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Henricus canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Fingallus canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Malichias canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Johannes canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Gilbertus canonicus et diaconus Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Concius canonicus et diaconus Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Andreas canonicus et acolytus Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Melcalmus canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Gregorius canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Neemias canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Fergus canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Garcianus canonicus et sacerdos Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Nicholaus canonicus et diaconus Candidæ Casæ.
 Ego frater Malach' canonicus et acolytus Candidæ Casæ.

To this both the seal of the chapter and of the prior are said to be appended.

Document fifth is a letter to the Archbishop from King Alexander, in which, wishing him health and the plenitude of sincere love, he states, that as he has heard that Odo, who asserts that he has been elected by the canons without license from him or his assent, contends that he has obtained the episcopate, "ne nos in eidem O. in impedimen vestræ dignitatis, munus confirmationis vel consecrationis impendatur apud Sedem Apostolicam et ad innovandam appellationem nostram coram vobis," sends his well-beloved clerk, T. de Aleat', the bearer of these presents, as his proctor.

The last of these interesting papers gives an account of the end of the controversy. The king announces to the Archdeacon and clergy of Galloway, that he assents to the election of Gilbert, whom you unanimously elected as your pastor, "quia constabat nobis dictam electionem canonice fuisse celebratam." His witness is W. Olifard, Justiciary of the Lothians. It is dated at Newbottle the 23d of April in the twenty-first year of his reign. Alexander II. reigned from December 4,

1214 to July 8, 1249. Therefore the twenty-first year of his reign was from December 4, 1234 to December 3, 1235.¹

Bishop Gilbert in 1241 dedicated the Priory Church of Yeddingham, granting an indulgence on the occasion, and in 1253 the Chapel of Helmsley Castle, the Prior of Kirkham and his convent protesting.² He it was who counselled Thomas, son of Alan of Galloway, to sue for peace from King Alexander.³

In 1248, on the occasion of a vacancy in the See of Durham, Archbishop Gray granted permission to the Prior and Convent there to avail themselves of the services of any of his suffragans, or of any Anglic or Irish Bishop, who may be passing through Durham, to ordain monks and other religious, to consecrate chrism, and to dedicate churches, provided that he did not ordain secular clerics. The Bishop of Whithern excused himself for exceeding this privilege.⁴ In a letter to the Diocesan, Walter Kirkham, he goes on to say that by virtue of the many letters which he [B. of D.] had granted to the prior and convent of Durham, allowing them to avail themselves of the services of any Bishop whom they could meet with, to ordain their monks and other clergy of the diocese in his absence, he had acted. But he had gone beyond his licence. For at the pressing instance of the Archbishop of York he had also ordained three monks of Fountains and three of Jervaux. He believes that in thus acting he was not acting contrary to what the Bishop himself would have wished, and would have done had he been himself ordaining.

The year 1249, which is the date of the letter, was the year of Walter Kirkham's appointment. He was consecrated by Archbishop Gray on the nones of December in that year.

¹ The Register or Rolls of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York, with appendices of illustrative documents; Surtees Society, 1872.

² *Ibid.* p. 119.

³ Fordun's Chron., ed. Skene, p. 286.

⁴ Gray's Register, p. 209 n., Surtees Edition.

In Theiner's *Documenta* (p. 75), we find an interesting form of Brief from Pope Alexander IV. (1254 + 1261), remitting to the Abbot of Kelso and Archdeacon of Teviotdale to inquire and report on a controversy between Symon de Claipol, Rector of Inch, and S., Dean of the Church of Wikecono. This is probably a misprint for Whithern.

On the death of Gilbert the see continued vacant for two years. Henry, on being elected, was opposed by Henry Baliol of Barnard Castle, who claimed to nominate in right of his wife, the celebrated Devorguilla, heiress of the Lord of Galloway, against Alexander III., who claimed as king. It ended by his being consecrated at Richmond.

Bishop Henry reigned from 1255 to 1293. He was oppressed with poverty all his life, in spite of the grant of a church for his maintenance. In 1287 Archbishop Romanus prays Mr. Gifredus de Vezano, the receiver of the debts due on the Crusade, to grant him more time to pay a debt of eighty marks,¹ in consequence of his poverty. He was chosen as one of Baliol's friends in the dispute between him and Bruce about the succession in 1292, and next year, being at the time "cruce signatus," died. On the occasion of the nomination of his successor Thomas, in 1294, Bruce and Baliol contended over his consecration. On the same day as Maurice, Prior of Whithern, and his convent, along with the Bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, at Berwick, he swore allegiance to Edward I. in 1296. Yet he declared for Robert Bruce at the council of Dundee in 1309, though directed in the same year by Clement V. to publish the Bull of excommunication against him.

In 1305 Edward I. prohibited the custom of the Scots and Brets;² that is, the peculiar usages not only of the wild Scots of Galloway, but of the entire Celtic population of Scotland,

¹ Theiner, *Documenta*, No. 279, p. 126.

² Ryley, *Pleadings in Parliament in the reigns of Edward I. and II.*, fol. Lond. 1661, p. 506.

such as trial without jury, and the Brehon system of commutation of crimes by a fine.¹

In 1346 Edward Balliol resided in Galloway. Being joined by Henry de Percy and Ralph Nevill, he led the wild men of Galloway into the Lothians, penetrated to Glasgow, and returned through Cunningham and Liddesdale wasting the country; yet in 1348 we get an indication of the sense of the sanctity of Whithern as connected with S. Ninian. Boece² makes King David himself the subject of a miraculous cure: "*Telum autem unum regis tibiæ infixum extrahi non potuit nisi priusquam S. Ninianum inviserit.*" It is difficult to reconcile this date with the king's imprisonment in England, which lasted from 1346 to 1357. Galloway at this time was opposed to the Scottish kingdom, Dovenald MacDowall being the hereditary enemy of the Bruces, and bound by fealty to England, until induced in 1356 by William Lord Douglas to change his politics.³

In 1359 died Michael, the last Bishop of Whithern whose submission to the Church of York is on record. He is one among the Scottish Bishops appointed to enforce by spiritual penalties the treaty for the redemption of King David Bruce.⁴

In 1359 Pope Innocent VI., on the demise of Bishop Michael, "*qui extra Romanam Curiam diem clausit extremum,*" attending to the provision of the Church of Whithern, "*de qua nullus preter nos hac vice se intromittere potuit neque potest,*" appoints Thomas rector of Kyrteum, "*de predictorum fratrum consilio auctoritate apostolica providemus, teque illi prefecimus in episcopum et pastorem, curam et administrationem ipsius ecclesiæ tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie committendo.*" Then he orders him to be consecrated by the Bishop of

¹ See Barton's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 63; Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. i. p. 240, ii. 261; and above all a most learned note in Skene's *Fordun*, vol. ii. pp. 442-460.

² *Hist. Boeth.*, l. xv. p. 329.

³ *Fordun's Chron.*, lib. xiv. c. 15.

⁴ *Rym.*, iii. 375, 378.

Ostia. He addresses him, though unconsecrated, as Bishop. The letter is addressed to the Chapter of the Church of Candida Casa, to the clergy and people of the city and diocese of Candida Casa, to the Archbishop of York, and to David the illustrious King of Scotland.¹

The disastrous schism in the Church (1378-1417), which did more than anything else to bring on the Reformation, and the consequences of which are still in the womb of futurity, was felt in the remote regions of which we are treating. England adhered to Urban VII., Scotland, at this time eminently French in her sympathies, to the Antipope Clement VII. Consequently the Bishop of Candida Casa was in a difficult position. He was a Scottish subject. He was Bishop of an English province. Accordingly we find that the schism extended itself to Whithern, and while Oswald ordains for the Archbishop of York, Eliseus, and Thomas, who had by his procurator assisted at a General Council of the Scottish Church at Perth in 1420, maintain the Scottish succession.²

In the Episcopate of Bishop Thomas (who at Perth, now the seat of Scottish royalty, in 1416, testified to an *inspeximus* of the resignation of the Scottish Crown by Edward II.),³ King James I. in 1428 granted a general protection to all strangers coming into Scotland on pilgrimage to visit the Church of S. Ninian, confessor, at Whithern.⁴

A family still extant, Vaus or Vans of Barnbarrough, now emerges in the person of Alexander, Bishop of Candida Casa, in 1426. He was appointed by James I. one of the conservators of the peace on the borders in 1429,⁵ and was succeeded by a man of great mark, Thomas Spens, a good specimen of the ecclesiastical statesmen who obtained such power in the

¹ Theiner, *Documenta*, No. 638, p. 314.

² *Regist. Episc. Brechin.*, i. 39.

³ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, vol. ii. p. 68, Appendix B.

⁴ *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, Lib. ii. p. 102, cit. Chalmers.

⁵ Keith, p. 278, citing Rymer.

fifteenth century in Scotland. He founded a hospital in Edinburgh, and dying there was buried in Trinity College Church, recently destroyed for the convenience of a railway. His effigy is said to be in Roslin.¹

In 1456, we find an attempt on the part of Pope Calixtus III. to restore discipline in the diocese by revoking a commendation of the Parochial Church of Carinsinule, otherwise Kirkynner, which had been bestowed on Thomas Lauder, Bishop of Dunkeld, while taking part in the Council of Basil. The brief states that very many of the parochial churches in the diocese, formerly held by secular clerics, had got into the hands of the regulars, and that few remained to be conferred on the former, a state of things which probably prevailed extensively through Scotland.²

The legends in S. Ailred's life show that even in his time there was a constant stream of visitors to the saint's tomb. Those who have witnessed the pilgrimages in the south of Germany, where devout bands of peasants, of both sexes, accompanied by their priests, sail down the Danube in open boats, with hymns and litanies, or at great fatigue to themselves climb with weary foot the steep ascents that lead to such shrines as Maria Hilf or our Lady of Altötting, can vividly bring before their minds the picturesque scenes which might be witnessed in Scotland before the Reformation, as bands of votaries of all classes, from the Court downwards, passed through Peebles or Ayr on their way to S. Ninian's. We have reason to know that the devotion was not unmixed, and that secular thoughts and secular amusements were not lacking on these occasions. Indeed, we have no reason to doubt that the graphic scenes of Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrimage were reproduced on the way to Whithern, for the private accounts of King James record donations to various minstrels and others,

¹ Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, ed. Russel, p. 115, etc.

² Theiner, *Documenta*, No. 778, p. 401.

who by jest and song lightened the journey. It is to be regretted that the witty Dunbar, who adorned the reign of James IV., and who in some of his touches almost equals his English fellow-bard, has not exhibited "The twa maryit Wemen and the Wedo" on pilgrimage, or given us a picture of some of the humours of the hostelrys in S. Ninian's.¹

In 1473, when Ninian was Bishop of Galloway (just one year after Sixtus IV. had erected S. Andrews into a metropolitan see, having all the Scottish Bishops as suffragans, in spite of a final reclamation of the Church of York), Margaret, the good Queen of James III., went on pilgrimage to the shrine of S. Ninian along with her attendants, six ladies of the Queen's chamber, who were furnished with new livery gowns on the occasion.²

Keith surmises that the surname of Ninian was Spot. He was succeeded by another scion of the important family of Vans, Bishop George.

In the next reign we get a picture of the condition of Whithorn from the King's own hand :—

"Beatissime Pater, felicia pedum oscula. Cum Prioratus Divi Martini de Whithorn, vulgariter nuncupatus, ordinis Præmonstratensis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Candidæ Casæ (quæ inibi dignitas post Pontificalem fuisse existit) ubi multâ miraculorum specie Divus Ninianus, loci olim episcopus, et non minimus Britanniæ Apostolus, tumulatur, in extremo regni sinu situs, quotannis ab Anglis, Irlandis, et Insulanis ac vicinâ gente plurimâ devotione visitur, et propterea virum petit præsentem, qui humaniter perægre adventantes tractare, eosque et præfatum regni angulum auctoritate sua a piratarum injuria et insultu malorum, tutare et possit et velit."³

In 1491, when Glasgow was constituted an Archbishopric,

¹ See Stuart's Records of the Priory of the Isle of May, pref. p. xlix. ed. 1869.

² Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 412.

³ Epistolæ Regum Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 282. Edin. 1722.

the sees of Galloway, Argyle, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, were assigned to it, and the Bishop of Galloway, as chief suffragan, was appointed vicar-general of the archiepiscopal see during the vacancy.¹ The English claim upon the see being under protest foregone, the King of Scotland remedied the exceeding poverty in which the Bishops had hitherto lived, by annexing to the see the deanery of the Chapel Royal at Stirling in 1504, and a few years after the Abbey of Tunland, so that in 1562-3 the rental of the see amounted to money £1226, 14s.; in bear 8 chald. 6 bolls; in meal 10 chald. 7 bolls; malt 8 bolls; 268 salmon, with geese, poultry, cheese, and peats.²

In 1506, the Regent Albany granted a safe-conduct to all persons of England, Ireland, and the Isle of Man (in which country be it mentioned the see of Galloway possessed two churches), to come by land or water into Scotland, to the Church of Candida Casa, in honour of S. Ninian, confessor.³ In this year King James IV. at Whithern gave 18s. to a pilgrim from England on whom a miracle had been wrought.⁴

The first Archbishop, James Beton, was elected to Whithern but never consecrated. The remaining Bishops till the Reformation were David Arnot, Henry, supposed to be a natural son of King James IV., which is not improbable, for Theiner gives a curious document, in which the King prays the Pope to bestow benefices on his illegitimate children,⁵ Andrew Durie, of a good Fifeshire family; and lastly, Alexander Gordon, Archbishop of Athens, who turned Protestant, and on his deathbed in 1576 resigned the benefice of the see of Galloway to his own son John, then pursuing his studies in France.⁶

¹ Theiner, Documenta, No. 889, p. 505.

² Rental Book MS., cit. Chalmers.

³ Privy Seal, Reg. v., 85, cit. Chalmers.

⁴ Treas. Ant., May 1, 1506.

⁵ Theiner, Documenta, No. 925, p. 524.

⁶ Keith's Scottish Bishops, ed. Russel, p. 279.

With the Reformation the interest in Whithern, as connected with S. Ninian and the ancient traditions attached to his shrine, cease entirely. It is dreary work to trace the gradual alienation of the Church lands, as also to note the decay of the ancient sentiment. An evil custom that had begun too early and less excusably in 1528, when Henry, Bishop of Whithern, with the consent of the Archdeacon, confirmed the alienation of some of the lands of Saulseat, was now systematized through Scotland, and in this locality, we find, as an example, in 1560, Malcolm the commendator granting away the kirklands of Mochrum, in 1564 the Bishop and Chapter infesting John Stuart in Canencutoch and Polwhelly, and in 1565 Vaus in Barvennane, while Gilbert Agnew has a tack of Culmalzie, and Patrick Vaus of Barnborough obtains Balter-sone. Till 1587, when the priory was vested in the king, it was a history of continued spoliation, while pilgrimages were made penal by the law of the land.¹ In 1608 the priory was granted to the see of Galloway. In 1622 Andrew, Bishop of Galloway, disposed the precinct and closeage of the priory to Mr. George Gledstanes. In 1641 it was granted to the University of Glasgow. In 1661 it was restored to the see, when old Bishop Sydserf, the only Bishop who lived through the troubles, and who in his wanderings ordained the future Archbishop Tillotson priest, was translated to Orkney.

In conclusion, no one can stand within the precincts of the ruined priory of Whithern, or look out to sea from the roofless chapel at the Isle, without emotions which are difficult to describe. He stands on a spot where the ancient civilisation of Rome, and the more ancient barbarism of the Meætæ, alike gave place to the higher training of the gospel of Christ—where the domination of the earth, transferred to the true faith, but

¹ Act. Parl., t. iii. p. 212.

still proceeding from the Eternal City, laid hold upon the strongest of all those Celtic races which constitute the population of Scotland—where Irish learning established the great monastery, and Irish piety received illustrations in Brignat and Modwenna, Mancennus, Eugenius, Tighernachus, and Endeus—where a Saxon Church, remarkable for the sanctity of its bishops, repaired the breaches caused by conquest and foreign oppression—where amid the ravages of the Norsemen, and the feuds of the local princes, a rest was found for the ashes of S. Cuthbert—where in the great restoration of the twelfth century, the civilizing influence of the See of York and spiritual grace of the Order of Premontr  brought some alleviation to the barbarism of the times—where an Italian Legate, mediating between the conflicting claims of Scotland and England, brought his Italian astuteness and his Italian tact to bear upon the question—where Ailred acquired the knowledge which gives local colouring to his narrative—where the Bishop of the Diocese, so poor that he needed to act as suffragan and coadjutor of the Archbishop of York, yet appeared in his true place as intercessor for the rebel Thomas to his offended king—where David, wounded in battle, found a cure for his festering sore—where year by year the concourse of devout pilgrims to S. Ninian's shrine was so great as to call for royal interference, and in the presence of his sanctity the old feuds of Scots and English were for the time to be forgotten—where the good Queen Margaret, the wife of James III., found food for a piety which has almost entitled her to a place in the Kalendar of the Saints—where the gallant and chivalrous James IV., in whom, in spite of the temptations of youth, the devotional element prevailed, drew in that spiritual life, which, expressing itself in deep penitence for his complicity in his father's death, sent him with an iron girdle of penance round his waist to the fatal field of Flodden.

And all this historic interest centres round one single figure, sketched in faint outline by the Venerable B da, filled in by the

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graceful hand of the amiable Ailred, commemorated in the dedications of many churches through the length and breadth of Scotland—Ninian, the apostle of the Britons and of the Southern Picts.

IN PARADISO ECCLESÆ,
VIRTUTUM EX DULCEDINE,
SPIRAMEN DAT AROMATUM
NINIANUS CÆLESTIUM.

PART II.—THE LIVES OF S. KENTIGERN

BY JOCELINE AND BY AN UNKNOWN AUTHOR.

WE present to our readers two Lives of S. Kentigern, the first a fragment, the second a complete biography. In 1164 died Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, who had successively been Abbot of the Tyronensian Abbey of Selkirk and Kelso, and who had been consecrated by Pope Eugenius III., to whom S. Bernard addressed his striking treatise *De Consideratione*. In his time a foreign ecclesiastic, who had travelled much and become a cleric of S. Kentigern, at his suggestion, "*intimante venerando Glasguensi episcopo Herberto*," composed a history of that saint; but only a portion of it, reaching to the events immediately succeeding his birth, remains to us. Whether it was ever finished or not we know not. It exists in one manuscript only in the British Museum, and is numbered Cott. mss. Titus A. xix. f. 76-80. It has been already printed by Mr. Cosmo Innes in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, vol. i. pp. lxxviii-lxxxvi, who states that "the original is a very careless and ignorant transcript, in a hand of the beginning of the fifteenth century, with red initial letters."¹ This Life is the foundation of the Legend of nine Lections in the Breviary of Aberdeen for the Feast of S. Thenew.² It is also evidently the Life referred to by Fordun, and which he says was in "*libro de Dunfermlyn*." Mr. Innes's transcript has been carefully collated with the original, but it will be seen that some words still remain unintelligible.

¹ Pref. p. lx.

² Brev. Ab., Pars Estiv. f. xxxiv; Fordun, lib. iii. c. ix. p. 94, also p. 405, Colophon xiii., ed. Skene.

The other Life, written probably twenty-five years later, by Joceline, a monk of Furness, was in an abridged form substantially given to the public by Capgrave.¹ It exists in two manuscripts, one in the British Museum, from which Pinkerton printed the Life in the *Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum Scotiæ*, numbered Bibl. Cott. Vitellius, C. viii. ff. 148-195; the other is preserved in Archbishop Marsh's library in Dublin, and is designated V. 3. 4. 16.

By the courtesy of the learned Dr. Travers, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the School of Physic in the University of Dublin, who at great cost of labour has made a careful collation of the Dublin ms. with the Life as printed by Pinkerton, I am enabled to produce it for the benefit of my readers. A collation also of the other manuscript has been made, which has not been altogether correctly exhibited by Pinkerton. It is probably of the thirteenth, perhaps of the twelfth, century. It was copied by a scribe who knew Latin imperfectly. It has been corrected almost contemporaneously, but very clumsily.

Another Life of the saint² is the same text as that printed in Capgrave, and thence in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. p. 815.³

Dr. Travers gives this account of the Dublin ms. of S. Kentigern :—

“In the public library, which Narcissus, Archbishop of Dublin, founded near the Cathedral Church of Saint Patrick, there is preserved a small 4to volume of parchment MSS. containing the Lives of SS. Servan and Kentigern.

“The volume, which is in very good preservation, has an old plain calf binding, of perhaps the time of James I., or Charles I. at the latest.

“Size $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches \times $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

¹ *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fol. ccvii. r. ccxii.

² MS. Cott. Tiber. E. 1, f. 17. 6; MS. Bodl., Tanner, 15 vell. fol. xv. Cent.

³ Sir T. Duffus Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the end of the Reign of Henry VII.* vol. i. part i. pp. 208, 220, 221.

"It consists of sixty-two leaves, written on both sides, the lines running the length of $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches, and being usually twenty-six on each page. There are no ornaments, except the initial letters, which are floriated and decorated with colours, but no gilding. There is no running title, but the summaries of chapters or sections in the Life of S. Kentigern are written in red.

"The first twelve pages contain the Life of S. Servan¹—*Vita sti. Seruani*—which though unknown to Pinkerton was known by and is mentioned by Ussher, *De Antiqq. Eccl. Britannic.*; the remaining hundred and twelve that of S. Kentigern.

"There have been some leaves of paper prefixed and subjoined to the volume in the usual manner of waste leaves, of which one is yet remaining at the beginning, and the greater part of one at the end. Three leaves of parchment have evidently been cut away at the beginning, and as many at the end of the volume.

"On the paper leaf at beginning is written—

‘ Kentigerni Manuscrip
De vita Sua
W Armar.

‘ Kentigerni Manuscripto
De Vitâ Suâ.’

"And on the paper lining of cover at beginning is written—

‘ Josias Hollington me jure tenet
21 7^{bris} 1650 ex libris m^{ri} Sumneris.’ ”²

At the end of the abridgment of the Life by Joceline in Capgrave³ occurs this Narratio:—"Circa infantiam S. Kente-

¹ It is printed in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*; Edin. 1867, pp. 412-420.

² This is probably the volume mentioned as belonging to the Cathedral of Glasgow: "49. Item, Vita S^m Kentigerni et Sancti Servani, in parvo volumine, catenata ad stallum Precentoris."—*Archeologia Scotiæ*, vol. ii. p. 331.

³ *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fol. ccxii. r.

grini, ad quendam solitarium venit bresbiter cujusdam basilice ut consecraret ei oblationem ad communicandum. Veniens autem quidam ad illum solitarium, presbiterum graviter accusavit. Qui cum iterum venisset ad eum scandalizatus solitarius non aperuit ei. Et ecce vox facta ad solitarium dicens, 'Tulerunt sibi homines juditium meum.' Et velut in excessu mentis factus vidit quasi puteum aureum, et situlam auream, et funem auream et aquam bonam valde. Videbat autem et quendam leprosum haurientem et refundentem in vase. Et cupiebat bibere et non bibebat, quia leprosus erat ille qui hauriebat. Et ecce iterum vox ad eum dicens, 'Cur non bibis ex aquâ hâc: quam causam habet qui implet? Implet enim solummodo et effundit in vase.' In se autem reversus solitarius, et virtutem visionis considerans, vocavit presbiterum et fecit eum sicut prius sanctificare sibi oblationem."

The Bollandists, at the 13th of January,¹ reproduce the work of Capgrave with a few notes.

Grevenus, in the *Auctaria* of Usuardus has "In Scotia S. Kenthegerni episcopi Glascoensis et confessoris." Altemps, "in Scotia, civitate Glasguensi, Sancti Kintengerni siue Mungunti episcopi et confessoris."² He occurs in all the Scottish Kalendars at the 13th day of January.

The *Life* of S. Kentigern by Joceline, although far inferior in grace of style to S. Ailred's *Life* of S. Ninian, has a greater claim upon our attention from the historic point of view. Although in a sense at second-hand, and in date much posterior to the acts recorded, it affords to us almost the only apparently authentic record which we possess of certain events which took place in the obscure history of the little kingdom of Cumbria, Cambria, or Strathcluyd, and it supplies confirmation of others which occurred among the kindred nation of the Wealas.

The kingdom of Strathcluyd extended from the impregnable

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. i. pp. 815-821.

² *Sollerii Usuard.*, pp. 30, 31, ed. 1714.

fastness of Alcluyd, *par excellence* the Dun or Fort of the Britons, to the river Derwent in Cumberland, a division which continued a historical fact in the history of England till the year 1835, inasmuch as till then that river formed the southern boundary of the diocese of Carlisle, and divided it from that of Chester. Under the Ecclesiastical Commission in the fifth and sixth years of the reign of William IV., it was arranged that the diocese of Carlisle should consist of the present diocese of Carlisle, of those parts of Cumberland and Westmoreland which are now in the diocese of Chester, of the deanery of Furness and Cartmel, in the county of Lancaster, and of the parish of Addistoun.¹ The actual change took place on the death of Bishop Percy. Ecclesiastically the kingdom was described in the eleventh century as consisting of the dioceses of Glasgow, Whithern, and Carlisle, and it is to events that occurred in the sixth century in that circumscribed district that Joceline's work bears testimony. How this kingdom was formed we have no certain knowledge. From the time of the withdrawal of the Romans till the events recorded in the Life there is an almost impenetrable darkness. In the sixth century we find it occupied by a Celtic race, having ecclesiastical relations both with the Caledonian Picts and with the Scots of Ireland.

That some remains of Roman civilisation still existed we have no reason to doubt. A branch of the great Roman Road from York, passing through Brovonacæ (Kirby Thore), and Brocavium (Brougham), reached the great city of Luguwallium or Luginballium (quæ a populo Anglorum corruptè Luel vocatur), now Carlisle, where, according to Bæda's Life of S. Cuthbert, he saw "Mœnia civitatis fontemque in eâ miro quondam Romanorum opere exstructum."² Thence the road advanced by Castra Exploratorum (Netherby), Blatum Bulgium (Middleby), and

¹ Stephen's Practical Treatise on the Law relating to the Clergy, vol. i. p. 498.

² C. xxvii.

Uxelum (Castle Over) to Colania (Lanark), and Vanduaría (Paisley), where it passed the western extremity of the great barrier of Antoninus and ended at the remote town of Dunbarton.¹

S. Kentigern succeeded to the labours of S. Ninian. According to Joceline he found at Glasgow a cemetery which had been consecrated by him. The mission-field of the elder saint included the diocese of the latter. Both had to deal with the ancient church of Cumbria.

Between the death of S. Ninian in the fifth century and the more certain date of that of S. Kentigern in the beginning of the seventh, nearly 200 years elapsed; and it is important to collect such information as remains to us of the events that had occurred in the meantime. For a century after the withdrawal of the Romans the records are scanty and untrustworthy.

Gildas gives us some curious details. He attributes the weakness of the Britons to the flower of her youth being drained by the wars of Maximus,² and so succumbing to the Scots in the north-west, and to the Picts from the north. He describes in terms of glowing scorn the weakness of the people, "like timorous chickens crowding under the protecting wings of their parent, twice successfully seeking assistance from Rome." Finally, in spite of the embassy to Aetius, they were abandoned to their own resources, and began to make head against their foes.³ They then abandoned themselves to the grossest licentiousness,⁴ till the unhappy policy of Vortigern in calling in the Saxons aggravated their calamities. Gildas supplies an important date. The battle of Bathhill (Mons Badonicus) was forty-four years and one month from the landing of the Saxons, and also the time of his own nativity.⁵ He ends his history by this picture, "Neither to this day are the cities of our

¹ The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon, a History of the Early Inhabitants of Britain, by Thomas Wright, London, 1861, pp. 129, 130.

² Sect. 14.

³ Sect. 20.

⁴ Sect. 20, 21.

⁵ Sect. 26.

country inhabited as before, but, being forsaken and overthrown, lie desolate; our foreign woes having ceased, but our civil troubles still remaining."

Nennius dwells on the fact that the "Britons despised the authority of the Romans, equally refusing to pay them tribute, and to receive their kings."¹ Thrice were the Roman deputies put to death by them, yet when harassed by the Picts and Scots they thrice sought their aid.² Then followed intestine commotion, the rival reigns of Vortigern and Aurelius Ambrosius, and the gradual subjugation of England by the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, which beginning in 449, according to the Saxon Chronicle, lasted till 556, when Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons at Berinbyrig or Banbury. In 457 the Britons were finally driven out of Kent. By 491 Ælla had completed the conquest of modern Sussex by the massacre at Andredscester. In 495 Cerdic and Cynric fought against the Welsh at Cerdic's Ore. In 501 Port Bæda and Mægla occupy Hampshire. In 508 Natan-leod also fell. In 514 Stuf and Whitgar defeat the Britons at Cerdic's Ore, and in 519 the dynasty of Wessex was established. As 516 is the date which the *Annales Cambriæ* give for the battle of Badon Hill, we must transfer it to the north. In 530 the Isle of Wight fell before Cerdic and Cynric. Deyfyr or Deira, and Bryneich or Bernicia, made a good fight, till Ida, landing at Flamborough Head with chosen warriors, erected Bamborough about 547. Deodric fought against Urien, and was called the "flame-bearer." By the middle of the sixth century the Anglo-Saxons were possessed of the most fertile provinces of England, leaving the Britons in possession of the wilder provinces of Damnonia, with its tributary Cernaw, Elmet, Loidis, and what is now Lancashire; Cambria, composed of the provinces afterwards termed Gwynedd, Deheubarth, Powys, and Gwent; and finally, Strathclyde, otherwise called Cumbria, while the rest of what

¹ Sect. 28.

² Sect. 30.

is now called Scotland, between 545 and 580, was portioned off into the kingdoms of Pictavia, Dalriada, and Northumbria. While the Saxon Chronicle gives the record of the gradual advances of the conquerors, we find in what is now termed the *Annales Cambriæ* a few facts in the history of the Britons. That interesting document becomes the chief authority for the events of the epoch with which we have to do. It records, according to one manuscript, the birth of S. Dewi in 458, "*anno tricesimo post discessum Patricii de Meneviâ.*"

At 516 the battle of Badon is mentioned, "*in quo Arthur portavit crucem D. N. J. C. tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in humeros suos et Britones victores fuerunt.*" At 537 we have the battle of Camelon, "*in quâ Arthur et Medraut corruere.*"

At 547 we have "*mortalitas magna (fuit in Britannia) in quâ pausat Mailcun rex Genedotæ (unde dicitur, Hir hun Wailgun en llis Ros. Tunc fuit Lallwelen).*" How this year came to be given as that of Maelcun's death is difficult to say. It was in reality the beginning of his reign, and he was alive in 560 when Gildas wrote.

In 565, *Navigatio Gildæ in Hybernia.*

569. *Synodus Victoriæ apud Britones congregatur.*

570. *Gildas (Britonum sapientissimus) obiit.*

573. *Bellum Armterid (Erderit vel Arderit) (inter filios Elifer et Guendoleu filium Keidiau : in quo bello Guendoleu cecidit : Merlinus insanus effectus est).*

580. *Gaurci et Peretur (filii Elifer) moritur.*

584. *Bellum contra Euboniam et dispositio Danielis Ban-corum.*

589. *Conversio Constantini ad Dominum.*

595. *Dunaut rex moritur.*

601. *Sinodus urbis Legion (ordinata a Davide Menevensi Archiepiscopo). David Episcopus Mone Judeorum).*

606. *Dispositio Cinnauc Episcopi.*

612. *Contighirni (Chendeirn) obitus.*

Gwendolen's pedigree is given in the *Bouhed Gwyr y Gogled yw hyn*. "Gwendolen and Nud, and Cof, sons of Keidyaw, son of Arthwys, son of Mar, son of Keneu, son of Cæl."

Of the battle of Badonhill we have the contemporary notice of Gildas, and that of Taliessin.

Maelcun, mentioned as dying in 547, is severely handled by Gildas for his bad life. The battle of Arderydd in 573 is mentioned by Merddin, and Dunaut by Llywarch Hen.

In 613, Northumbria, conquering at Carleon or Chester, and in 616 at Barwick in Elmet, interposed between Wales and Cumbria. On the former occasion Ethelfred slaughtered the monks of Bangor Iscoed.¹

The picture given us in these brief notices is one of resistance to the foreign invasion of the Saxon, and of perpetual intestine wars among the petty princes of the British race. Yet the period of the war between the Saxons and Britons was a period of great development of the intellectual life of the latter, especially in Wales.

It is the sixth century, the age of the heptarchy, of Theodoric and the Ostrogothic kingdom of Clovis and his Frankish successors, of Justinian, Belisarius, Boethius, and S. Benedict of Nursia. In Wales it was a century of national life, of religious and mental activity. It was the age of S. David, S. Illtudus, S. Sampson, and S. Teilo, Bishop of Llandaff. The ecclesiastical connexion of Wales with other lands was illustrated by S. Aidan, Bishop of Ferns in Ireland, and S. Padarn of Vannes in Brittany, not the friend of the celebrated poet of the day, Venantius Fortunatus, though some have supposed him to be so. The intellectual life of the times was represented by the discussions about Pelagianism, a phase of thought which, originated by Pelagius or Morgan, a Scot of Wales, seems to have found a congenial soil among the Britons. How a system which magnifies the force of the human will and minimizes the supernatural factors

¹ Bæda, H. E. ii. 2.

in the operations of the soul, should have found favour among a race so influenced by the imagination, and so affected by the hyper-physical, is one of the most abnormal circumstances in the history of human thought. It was at this epoch that the celebrated college of Bangor-Iscoed on the Dee was founded by Dunawd Fawr, the "Dinoh Abbas" of Venerable Bæda. In temporal matters, of which more hereafter, the Irish were in possession of Caermarthenshire. If we may trust the documents produced by Jolo Morganow, Urien Reged held the lands between the Towy and the Neath, and regained his father's dominions in the north; that is, the land between the Humber and the Clyde, the capital of which was Alcluyd or Dumbarton.

It is important to have a definite conception of what are really the sources of the early history of Wales. Besides the statements in contemporary authors of other countries, we have three early documents which have come down to us:—(1.) Gildas's *Historia et Epistola*, A.D. 560; (2.) Nennius's *History of the Britons* (*cir.* 738), with the additions of a later chronicle up to 977, and a collection of genealogies compiled a century and a half before the Bruts; (3.) *The Ancient Laws and Institutions of Wales*, the most important of which are those of Howel the Good, in the tenth century.

These documents supply us with some curious information about the state of Wales and the distribution of the Cymric population between the Roman occupation and the sixth century, in strong contrast to what we should have expected from the ordinary conception of the history of the period. Instead of Wales being the stronghold of the Cymry, and exclusively occupied by them, while the Saxons are in the centre of England, and the country north of the wall between Tyne and Solway surrendered to the Picts and Scots, "we find the seaboard of Wales on the west possessed by the Gael or Gwyddyl, and the Cymry confined to the eastern portion of the principality. A line drawn from Conway to Swansea would separate

the races; in North Wales the Cymry possessed Powisland, while the Gael had Gwynnedd and Anglesey; in the south the Cymry had Gwent and Glamorgan, the Gael had Dyfed; Brecknock belonging to the mysterious Brychan and his family.”¹

But, strange to say, from Dee and Humber to the Firths of Forth and Clyde, we find a great Cymric population, only broken by the mixed Gaels of Galloway, the Ettrick Forest, and the Manau Gododin, the region of Carron and Stirling; while along the coasts the Saxons had settlements from Tyne to Esk.

The name of “the Cumbraes” has stereotyped the remembrance of this state of things. It exhibits a great Cymric race, beset on different sides, by Saxons on the east, Picts on the north, and by Gael, Gwyddyl, Scots, or Irish on the west. These formed permanent settlements. After the final destruction of the Roman power, and the vain appeal of the Britons to Aetius in 446, as has been already stated, the first event that emerges from the darkness is the appearance of Cunedda, his retreat from the first to the second wall in 409 or 410, and the expulsion of the Gael from Wales by his descendants in the fourth generation, especially by Caswallawn Law Hir, the father of Maelgwn, who was rapidly rising into power at the time when Gildas was writing. Cunedda was the Gwledig, an office similar to the Imperator or Bretwalda of the Saxons, a chief elected from the surrounding *reguli* as *summus dux*. Ambrose, Conan, and the great Arthur held the same office. Divested of its mythical accretions, there seems no doubt that Arthur was a historical personage, but of the charm thrown round him by those who followed Geoffrey of Monmouth there is nothing. All that we know is that he combated Octa the son, and Ebussa the nephew, of Hengist, who

¹ Vide Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 136; Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. p. 43.

tried to seize the country lying between the Forth and the Clyde, in twelve battles, the localities of which indicate a struggle for the possession of the south of Scotland. Mr. Skene, in his learned Preface to the Four Ancient Books of Wales, very boldly and ingeniously finds localities for the different fields of action:—

“According to the view I have taken of the site of these battles, Arthur’s course was first to advance through the Cymric country, on the west, till he came to the Glen where he encountered his opponents. He then invades the regions about the wall, occupied by the Saxons in the Lennox, where he defeats them in four battles. He advances along the Strath of the Carron as far as Dunipace, where, on the Bonny, his fifth battle is fought; and from thence marches south through Tweeddale, or the Wood of Celyddon, fighting a battle by the way, till he comes to the valley of the Gala, or Wedale, where he defeats the Saxons of the east coast. He then proceeds to master four great fortresses: first, *Kaerlium*, or Dumbarton; next, Stirling, by defeating the enemy in the *tratheu Tryweryd*, or Carse of Stirling; then *Mynydd Agned*, or Edinburgh, the great stronghold of the Picts, here called *Cathbregion*; and, lastly, Boudon Hill, in the centre of the country, between these strongholds.”¹

Local tradition connects the scene of Queen Guinevere’s death with Meigle in Perthshire, in the immediate neighbourhood of which is Arthurstone.

The hero’s death took place at Camelon, now identified with the interesting remains on the south bank of the Carron. It took place in 537, probably caused by a Pagan insurrection, for his murderer was the son of Loth, “*vir semipaganus*,” and every notice we have seems to point to Arthur as representing the Christian element in the contest. That heathenism was struggling again for the mastery is clear from the fact that three

¹ Skene’s Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. p. 58.

years after this S. Kentigern was expelled from Glasgow, and settled in Wales till 573, while the consolidation of the Pagan kingdom of Bernicia gave it temporary strength. The struggle between the opposing elements resulted in the triumph of the Faith, as well as in the amalgamation of various petty states into larger kingdoms. Among the monarchs of the time, Maelgwn, first opposing his uncle, then turning monk, then relapsing and marrying his nephew's widow, shines out with some individuality.

The critical field of battle took place at Ardderyd or Arthuret, near Carlisle, a spot where the remains of an ancient earth-work dominating the river Esk, in close vicinity to the Solway moss, and within sight of the great "strength" of Birrenwork, indicates a natural outpost of Carwinlow, the *Caer* of Gwendolen, which must have been the chief object of attraction to the Cambrian *reguli* if they attacked him from the west; then Christianity prevailed. Rhydderch Hael, probably already established in Alclud, became king of Cambria, at once recalling S. Kentigern to Scotland; and Aidan, who was crowned king of Dalriada by S. Columba, pushed his victorious arms into Bernicia in 603.¹

It is here that the history touches that of S. Kentigern. First of all Loth or Llew, son of Llywarch, to whom the Bruts declare Arthur to have given Lodoneis or Lothian, on the occasion of the battle of Edinburgh or Mynydd Agned, when the people of Cathbregion were overthrown, whose two brothers Arawn and Urien also obtained lands wrested from the Saxons, who, heading the Brython, allied himself with the Gael or Gwyddel under Gwydyon, the result of which was the insurrection of his son Medraut against Arthur, according to Taliessin,² "These were in the battle of Goden, with Llew and Gwydyon," is the "*vir semipaganus*" of the earlier life, the

¹ Skene, *ut supra*, p. 66. See also paper by same author in Proceedings of the Soc. Antiq. Scot., vol. vi. pp. 91-98.

² Taliessin, xii.; Skene, vol. i. p. 274.

man "paganissimus" or "paganus implicatis erroribus" who is the grandfather of S. Kentigern.¹

The next historical personage we encounter is the scornful Morken, whose barns were miraculously swept into the Mellen-donor.² He appears in the Welsh books as Morcant Bulc, a king of the race of Coel Hen, who is described in the *Genealogia* annexed to Nennius as combined with Urien Rydderch and Gwallaug to oppose Hussa, son of Ida, the king of Bernicia, who reigned from 567 to 574.³ "Contra illos quatuor reges Urbgen et Riderch Hen et Guallauc et Morcant dimicaverunt."⁴ He is declared in the same document to have fought Urien in Lindisfarne, "In illo autem tempore aliquando hostes, nunc cives vincebantur et ipse conclusit eos tribus diebus et tribus noctibus in insula Metcaud; et dum erat in expeditione jugulatus est a Morcanto destinante pro invidia, quia in ipso pre omnibus regibus virtus maxima erat instauratione belli."⁵

King Cathwallanus of Joceline's biography may surely be identified also with Caswallawn Law Hir, great-grandson of Cunedda, who expelled the Scots from Gwynedd. His son Maelgwn the Maglocunus, the "tutelar draco" of Gildas, is however declared in the Book of S. Asaph to be the king who bestowed a site for S. Kentigern's monastery at Llanelwy.⁶

But the king who occupies the most prominent position with regard to S. Kentigern is known to us from the pages of Adamnan as the "Roderchus filius Tothail, qui in Petrá Cluaithe

¹ Whatever value may attach to the testimony of Geoffrey of Monmouth, it is negative in respect to the relationship between Loth and S. Kentigern. Lot there is married to Anna, the king's sister or half-sister (viii. 21), has two sons, Walgon and Modred, is re-established in the consulship of Loudonesia (ix. 9), and then recovers Norway for the king, to which he had claims as the heir of Sichelin, the late monarch (ix. 10). There is no mention of S. Thenew. The Scotch authorities, Fordun and Boethius, unite both streams of legend.

² C. xx.

³ Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. pp. 168, 175.

⁴ Saxon and Welsh additions to the *Historia Britonum*, Chron. Picts and Scots, pp. 12, 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Vide infra*, p. lxxix.

regnavit.”¹ Concerning him Dr. Reeves gives this information :—“The *Rhydderch Hael* of the British, son of Tudwal (here called *Tothal*, from the Irish Tuathal), surnamed *Tutglud* (Tuait Clud of the Clyde district), *ap* Cedig, *ap* Dyvnwal Hen, *ap* Ednyved, *ap* Maxen Wledig (or Maximus, king of Britain, 383-388). He was of Irish extraction by his mother’s side, for his sister, Melangell or Monacella, was daughter of Ethni, surnamed *Wyddeles*, ‘the Irish Woman.’² His surname *Hael* (Hib. Hial) denotes ‘Liberal,’ hence he is called by Geoffrey of Monmouth *Rodarchus Largus*, and among the Welsh he was celebrated as one of the ‘Three Liberal Princes of the Isle of Britain.’—Triad xxx.³ ‘Gloria enim et divitiæ in domo ejus, liberalitas in corde, urbanitas in ore, munificentia in manu ejus, eo quod benedixisset Dominus operibus manuum ejus. Unde non solum in fines circumjacentes terræ ejus, sed etiam ultra mare in Hyberniam exivit fama largitatis ejus.”—Joceline, Vit. S. Kentig. c. 37.⁴ But his greatest honour was his patronage of religion : “Suscitavit super regnum Cambrinum in regem Rederch nomine : qui a discipulis sancti Patricii in Hibernia baptisatus fide Christianissima ; qui et in toto corde quæreretur Dominum, et reparare studeret Christianismum.”—Vit. S. Kentig. c. 29.⁵ He is mentioned in the Saxon and Welsh addition to Nennius, as has just been stated.⁶ With Maelgwn Gwynedd and Aedan Fradawg he conquers Gwenddoleu at the great battle of Ardderyd, whereby he established himself as the first monarch of Cambria in Strathclyde, reigning in Dumbarton.

As might be expected, we find the deeds of the successful monarch chronicled in the poetry of Wales. In the *Kyvoesi Myrddin*,⁷ in the *Hoianau*, in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*,⁸

¹ Reeves’s *Adamnan*, p. 43.

² *Rees’s Welsh Saints*, p. 269 ; *Archæol. Cambr.* iii. pp. 137-224. It will be seen below that the oldest pedigree in Nennius gives a different line of ancestors to Dyvnwal, thus making him grandson of Ceratic Guledic.

³ *Myvyr. Archæol.* ii. p. 63.

⁴ *Pinkerton’s Vit. Ant.* p. 277.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 261 ; *Ussher, Works*, vi. 226.

⁶ *Skene’s Chron.*, Pref. xci.

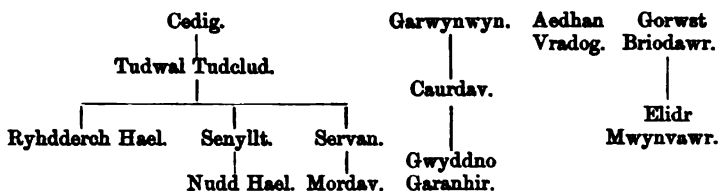
⁷ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 462.

⁸ Vol. i. p. 482.

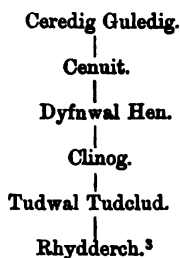
in the poems relating to the battle of Ardderyd,¹ and in the Verses of the Graves,² which last shows us where he was buried :

The grave of Owain ab Urien in a secluded part of the world,
Under the sod of Llan Morvael,
In Abererch, that of Rhydderch Hael.

In a document in one of the Hengwrt mss., transcribed in 1300, with the title of Bonhed Gwyr y Gogledd, we get his pedigree as descended from Dyfnwal Hen, grandson of Macsen Guledig the Roman Emperor. Dyfnwal had four sons—



In the genealogies annexed to Nennius in 977 his descent is thus :—



We have already alluded to the part he took against Husa. In the Black Book of Carmarthen⁴ he is called the Champion of the Faith. He was the father of Myrddin.

Neither the Lives of S. Columba, S. Dewi, or S. Asaph have allusion to S. Kentigern, and we are not able to assign any certain place in history to Telleyr or Anguen, or to Cathen, the servant of Morken; but a document of the twelfth century

¹ Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. p. 371.

² Vol. i. p. 311.

³ Vol. i. pp. 167, 169.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 482.

testifies to the saint's existence, acknowledges his work in Wales, and corrects an error with regard to the king with whom he was concerned. It is given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and is as follows:—"Hæc experientia inventa per quendam Enianum Ep'm Asaphen' in quodam Libro Antiquo Londoniis de libertatibus, privilegiis, donationibus, traditis concessis et confirmatis S^o Kentigerno suisque successoribus eorumque tenentibus et libere tenentibus Anno Dñi MCCL^oVI^o Notum fiet quod in tempore cujusdam regis DYGANWY nomine Malgini et cujusdam regis Powysie nomine Maye, quidam vir venit ex latere orientali nomine Kentigernus ad quandam civitatem nomine Llanelwy, et cum eo turba multa clericorum, militum, et ministrorum, numero trecent' quem quidem Kentigernum Rex Maye constituit et ordinavit (in episcopum) in toto suo dominio quia tunc suum dominium episcopalis gubernationis officio esset destitutum et plenarie exhaustum. Et tunc Malginus rex dedit illi S^o Kentigerno s'c'am civitatem Llanelwy ad libamina et sacrificia facienda, necnon ad cetera divina officia celebranda, sine aliquo dominio vel redditu regali in perpetuum. Et cum hæc predictus rex Malginus dedit et concessit eidem S^o Kentigerno alias villas annexas ad succurrendum (et) serviendum illi civitati Llanelwy pro sustentatione predicti Kentigerni (et) suorum successorum sine aliquo dominio vel redditu regali in perpetuum, ut predictum est: quarum villarum nomina sunt hæc, Altmeliden, Llanhassaph, Bryngwyn, Disserth, Kilowain, Llansannan Bod-eugan, Henllan, Llanufydd . . gernyw . . man . . gynwch, Uchaled, Meriadog, Movoniog, Hendrenewydd, Pennant, Llanarthu, Havenwen juxta Llanufydd, Bodnod, Maledyr, Bodvalleg ac Ardne-y-menllyn et alias villas et quamplures alias villulas Dominus rex Malginus dedit prefato Kentigerno suisque successoribus sine aliquo tributo vel redditu regali in perpetuum. Et quicumque fuerit transgressor alienus predictarum libertatum, donacionum, in predictis villis vel villulis, ab omnibus tribubus anathema et maledictus fiat in infinita secula seculorum, Amen. Ut originale c . . . Et quicumque predictorum auditor et de-

fensor contra rebelles verbo vel signo contra infringent' hujusmodi libertates et donationes concessas eidem S^{co} Kentigerno suisque successoribus quæstiones transgress. controvers. excitand' a tribus Personis, Patre, Filio, et Spiritu Sancto et ab omni choro ecclesiastico benedictionibus repleatur per infinita secula seculorum.

“ Et ad illud tempus quædam discordia orta et mota fuit inter duos milites in curiâ Malgini et Kedicum Draws seu de Ludis : et Kedicus percussit filium Malgini regis cum cornu bibali super caput suum usque ad sanguinis effusionem : quâ de causâ Kedicus fugit et venit ad civitatem munitam Llanelwy in quâ quidem civitate Kentigernus erat pro immunitate securitate et defensione illi Kedico a dictis S^{co} et civitate habendis. Et tunc predictus Malginus misit Voragianum et alios plures ministros cum eo ad querendum Kedicum predictum : et postquam invenerant illum Kedicum ad metas et limites illius sanctæ civitatis Llanelwy omnes equi eorum cæci facti sunt. Et tunc statim illi equites converterunt se ad Malginum regem et narraverunt regi illa ardua et improspera quæ contigerant illis, hac fabula declarata seu his rumoribus declaratis, tunc ille solus Malginus venit cum illis ad metam et limites illius civitatis, et illico ille rex cæcus factus est et descendit desuper equum suum, et tunc sui milites adduxerunt illum regem cæcum coram S^{co} Kentigerno. Et ille rex procumbens oravit eundem Kentigernum pro veniâ sibi impetrandâ, deinde incessanter postulavit dictum Sanctum ut oculos suos cecatos signo crucis signaret, quibus signo crucis per eundem sanctum signatis, statim rex oculos aperuit et vidit, laudes Deo et Sancto reddens, intuens illum Kedicum facie ad faciem secum sedentem, et tunc ait illi, Es tu ibi ? Et ille respondit, Sum hic in immunitate et defensione venerabilis Sancti. Et illo die rex Malginus pro restitutione anime et inventione luminis oculorum dedit illi S^{co} Episcopo illius civitatis Llanelwy spatium immunitatis et defensionis septem annorum et septem mensium et septem dierum et unius diei primum. Et cum illo spacio

postea immunicionem et defensionem in perpetuum. Et propter illa mysteria a Deo et dicto Sancto collata dictus rex Malginus augmentavit diversas donationes, viz., plures villas ad serviendum Deo et S^{to} Kentigerno in dicto cultu sine aliquo dominio vel reditu regali in perpetuum. Quarum villarum nomina sunt hæc, Berryng, Dolwynan, Bodlyman. Et dedit plures alias villas cum illis et istæ donationes factæ per Malginum Regem extendunt metas et limites Episcopatus S^{ti} Kentigerni ejusque successorum ab urbe Conway usque ad rivum . . . latus (?) Glatiri juxta Dinas Basing. Et dominus Malginus ista ultima sibi dedit ob restitutionem oculorum suorum, et ad ista predicta fideliter observanda, ab omnibus fidelibus et custodienda predictus Malginus rex testes idoneos tam clericos quam laicos ad ista vocavit: vocavit clericos Sanctum Daniele quondam Ep^{um} Bangorens' et Patronum, Sanctum Trillum et Sanctum Grwst,—laicos Malginum regem, Rwyn filium ejus et Gwrgenan senescallum ejus. Meta et limites terræ immunitatis sanctæ civitatis Llan-elwy existunt in longitudine ap Adwy Llweni usque locum vocatum Pen isaf i Gell Esgob usque locum vocatum Pontyrwddar, vizt. spaciū miliarii in longitudine et unius miliarii in latitudine. Et si quis violaverit predictam immunitatem (quod absit) seu ad hoc concilium auxilium vel favorem dederit, aut fecerit occulte vel expresse, excommunicatus est ab omni choro ecclesiastico et etiam indignacionem omnipotentis Dei, beatæ Mariæ virginis, Sanctorumque Assaph', et Kentigerni 373 Sanctorum et Sanctarum se noverit incururos. Et quicumque predictam immunitatem non servaverit, divinis officiis ibidem celebratis destituitur, et Dei maledictione repleatur. Amen. Per infinita secula seculorum."¹

As might be expected, we find earlier than this the record

¹ The document given above is appended to the end of the Llyfr. Coch. Assaph, the Liber Rubens, an index to which, written on the 26th Oct. 1602, is printed in the Archæologia Cambrensis, vol. xiv. 1868, pp. 151-166 and 329-340.

of S. Kentigern himself in the *Annals of Wales*. In what are termed *Annales Cambriæ*, of which the oldest manuscript is of the latter part of the tenth century, and the composition of which is referred to the reign of Owain, the son of Howel the Good, who died in 948, we find, as already stated, A.D. 612, CLXVIII Annus. "Conthigirmi obitus et Dib ric episcopi." In a later manuscript, written in a hand of the end of the thirteenth century, the name appears in its more Welsh form of "Chendeirn obiit."¹

In the manuscript termed *Pedigrees of the Saints*, formerly in the possession of Edward Lhwyd, author of the *Archæologia Britannica*, and now in the British Museum,² he is thus recorded: "Cyndeyrn was the son of Garthwys, the son of Owain, the son of Urien; and Deny, the daughter of Llawddyn Llueddawg of the city of Edinburgh in the north, was his mother."³

In the *Bonedd y Saint*, there is a variation: "Cyndeyrn was the son of Owain ab Urien Rheged, and Dwynwen the daughter of Llewddyn Lueddag of Dinas Eiddyn in the north."⁴

In the *Triads of Arthur and his warriors* (MS. Hengwrt 536), the third of the tribe thrones of the island of Prydain is given thus: "Arthur the chief lord at Penrionyd in the north, and Cyndeyrn Garthwys the chief bishop, and Gurthmwl Guledic the chief ruler."⁵

Another confirmation of the work of S. Kentigern on the south of the Solway is found in the dedication of eight churches in Cumberland to him. In *Joceline's Life* it is stated, that on his way to S. Dewi at Menevia, at Carlisle, he heard that many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains were

¹ *Annales Cambriæ*, edited by John Williams ab Ithel, M.A.; London, 1860, pp. x, xi, xxvii 6.

² Harl. No. 4181.

³ *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints of the fifth and immediately succeeding centuries*, by the Rev. W. J. Rees; Landover, 1853, p. 593.

⁴ *An Essay on the Welsh Saints, or the Primitive Christians usually considered to have been the Founders of Churches in Wales*, by Rev. Rice Rees; London, 1836, p. 261.

⁵ *Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 457.

idolaters. He accordingly turned aside and converted them. He remained some time there, and erected a cross as the sign of salvation at Crosfell. He is said also to have collected a great harvest to the Lord, going out of his way "*per loca maritana*."

We give the details of these churches from "The History of the County of Cumberland and some places adjacent, from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time, etc., by William Hutchinson, F.A.S.; Carlisle, 1794."

ASPATRIA

is supposed to derive its name from Gospatrick, Earl of Dunbar, father of Waldeof, first Lord of Allerdale. . . . The church of Aspatria was rectorial, and is dedicated to S. Kentigern, now worth about £100 a year. It was given by Waldeof, first Lord of Allerdale, to the prior and convent of Carlisle, and having become appropriate, the same was confirmed by King Henry II. and King Edward III.¹

BROMFIELD.

The church of Bromfield, like many others in the north, is dedicated to S. Kentigern or Mungo, whose name, however, is now heard of only as perpetuated by a spring of pure water close by the church, which is called Mungo's Well. . . . The vicarage is valued in the king's books at £22, but is now supposed to be worth £140. It was first granted by Waldeve, son of Gospatric, as aforesaid, to the abbey of S. Mary's, York. The abbey had the patronage and advowson till 1302, when they prevailed on the Bishop of Carlisle to appropriate it to their monastery, which he did, stipulating for forty merks yearly revenue to the vicar, and the right of collation was reserved to the see of Carlisle.²

CALDBECK.

The parish was forest and waste and parcel of Allerdale;

¹ Hutchinson's Hist. of Cumberland, vol. ii. p. 285.

² Vol. ii. p. 308.

an highway having run from Westmoreland and the eastern parts of Cumberland through these wastes, they lay long under the imputation of being the resort of freebooters. It was on this account that Ranulph Engain, the chief forester of Inglewood, granted a boon to the Prior of Carlisle to build an hospital there for relieving unfortunate travellers. On this grant the prior enclosed some portion of the forest in the environs of the hospital, which stood near the place where the church now stands; but though thus enclosed the right of the soil remained in the Lord of Allerdale, whose authority was necessary to keep the lawless multitudes in subjection.

Soon after the erection of this hospital, a church was founded near it, and dedicated to the tutelar saint of the north, S. Mungo or S. Kentigern.¹

CROSTHWAITE.

The church of Crosthwaite (in which is Keswick) was rectorial. It was dedicated to S. Kentigern, and was given to the Abbey of Fountains in Yorkshire, by Alice de Romely, and soon after made appropriate; the Bishop of Carlisle reserving to the see the right of collating a vicar. It is said to be worth £140 a year.²

GRINSDALE.

The church was rectorial, and dedicated to S. Mungo, or, as some name this personage, Kentigern. It was part of the possessions of Lanercost Priory, being given thereto by Hugh de Morvil, Lord of Burgh, and Eustachia his wife; and was soon after appropriate, the cure being served by a brother of that house, without any vicarial endowment.³

IRTHINGTON.

The church being vicarial was given by Robert de Vallibus

¹ Hutchinson's Hist. of Cumberland, vol. ii. p. 376.

² Vol. ii. p. 156.

³ Vol. ii. pp. 517, 518.

to the prior and convent of Lanercost, and was soon after appropriated thereto.¹

SOWERBY OR SOWERBY CASTLE.

The church stands at the extremity of the parish, and was originally rectorial. It is dedicated to S. Mungo or Kentegern.²

MUNGRISEDALE.

To these must be added Mungrisedale, a chapel in the parish of Greystock.³ In the parish of Greystock is Mungrisedale. Grisedale or Mungrisedale is another chapelry within this parish. The hamlet is holden, like many of the rest, of the Lord of Greystock. The chapel is endowed with a dwelling-house, and a small enclosure wherein it stood.⁴

That, with every abatement, both Lives of S. Kentigern contain matters of history, cannot safely be denied. There is too much individuality about them to make us believe that they were written to order in the twelfth century, to promote a cultus or advocate a system. S. Kentigern was an abiding reality in the minds of the people when both Lives were written, as indeed we learn from the valuable *Inquisitio Davidis*, of the year 1120, which is the chief authority for the history of the see of Glasgow before its restoration. There is in both the Lives a comparative absence of that *banale* history that makes one life of an Irish saint so like that of another. No doubt in some of the miracles there is a similarity to those wrought elsewhere at the same time, but with this exception, there is everything to make us believe that the Lives were really founded on earlier documents, and give the contents of these documents in the main truly, though perhaps not always without an importation of later ideas.

¹ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 119.

² Vol. i. p. 517.

³ *Regist. Ep. Glas.*, vol. i. pp. 3-7.

⁴ *The History and Antiquities of the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, by J. Nicolson, vol. ii. p. 374.

Now, what do we discover in the fragmentary Life? We find that by the time of Herbert, Strathclyde was so amalgamated into modern Scotland, that the author freely speaks of having come "ad regnum Scottorum;" and that at that time a strong religious movement was prevailing; as we know from other sources, the country was "sanctorum reliquiis valde optimum (opimum) clericis prefulgidum, principibus gloriosum." He describes himself as a "clericus S^u Kentigerni," no doubt a Culdee, a descendant of the "singulares clerici" of Joceline's Life, who were being superseded by the new chapters.

So with the substance of the history: it is quite according to what we know that Leudonus or Loth should be "vir semipaganus." The constant relapses into idolatry which distinguish that dark period are noted by many historians, and the ignorant devotion of the daughter might find its parallel now in New Zealand, where in our own times the Pae-marire have imported Christian ideas into a form of heathenism; and in China, where one of the most formidable rebellions against the Government of that enormous nation has been raised by men who have from their intercourse with Christian missionaries created for themselves a sort of travestie of the true religion.

The crypto-Christianity of the swineherd also is quite in accordance with what we should expect.

The law that a maiden dishonoured in her father's house should be stoned seems rather to belong to the Saxons than to the more licentious Celts, yet the fact that in these early times succession went through the female, as in the case of Talorgan, indicates the existence of great corruption, and suggests the possibility of the ordinance of stringent and cruel laws to stay it. The quantity of fish stranded at Abberlessic finds its confirmation at this day in some of the rivers of North America, and we get a curious indication of the trade in fish, where it is said that Angles, Scottish men, and even Belgians and Gauls, came to the Isle of May "gratia piscandi." In

Iona there was also an ostium fætoris, Port Loth, or rotten port.¹

If we seek for internal evidence of the value of the second Life by Joceline, we shall find it in the historical events of the Cambrian kingdom that are therein incidentally mentioned. In the eleventh chapter we are told that the king and clergy of the Cambrian region, with the other Christians, who were few in number, elected S. Kentigern. This implies (1.) that there had been an apostasy, and that the traces of S. Ninian's mission had greatly disappeared; (2.) that there was a king in Strathclyde. This is borne out by fact, for though Rederech greatly increased his power by his success at Ardderyd, we know that his father Tudeval reigned before him. The saint's consecration by an Irish bishop is quite in accordance with what we know of the constant influence of Ireland, not only on the colony of the Dalriadic Scoti, but throughout the length and breadth of what is now Scotland. Many of the Scottish saints, Ternan, Yarchardus, Wynnin, Molocus, and the like, must have lived at this time, while in Ireland it was a period of great sanctity, S. Ailbhe dying in 541, S. Mobhi in 544, S. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise in 548, with others in the great pestilence, S. Molaise in 563, S. Ita in 569, S. Brendan of Birr in 571, and S. Columba in 592.

In Chapter XIX. we learn that not only did S. Kentigern convert to Christianity the inhabitants of his district, but he recovered many "who had wandered away from a sound belief in the teaching of some heretical sect." The Synods of Llanddewi-Brefi and of Lucus Victorise in or about A.D. 569 had to deal with the Pelagian heresy, and the Canons of 570, which are described as the "Prefatio Gildæ de pœnitentiâ," and those of the Sinodus Aquilonaris Britanniae, in meeting the vices of the age, add too sad and too true confirmation to the statements of Joceline, that in reforming the ways of the people

¹ Reeves's Adamnan, p. 430.

he had to dissolve incestuous and unlawful marriages, to change concubinage into lawful marriage, and generally to meet a case of great moral degradation.¹

In Chapter xx. we get the first mention of Morken or Morcant, of whom we have already made mention. S. Kentigern retired into Wales, where the cognate Wealas received him, and Caswallawn Law Hir, great-grandson of Cunedda, is well known to have existed, as we have already stated, though the twelfth century documents more correctly assign the protection of the saint to his son Maelgwyn Gwynedd.

Again, the evangelization of modern Cumberland is attested by the dedications of the churches in the northern districts of that county, and by the name Crossfell applied to a remarkable hill not far from Penrith, which is mentioned in Joceline's Life. The local colouring of the monastic and episcopal life of the saint is in entire conformity with what we know of its conditions in Wales at the time. That Rederech should have been baptized by the disciples of S. Patrick in Ireland is likely from what we know of his parentage: according to one of the pedigrees, his mother was Irish, and the whole of his successful reign, commencing with the conquest of Guendoleu at Arderyd, indicates a temporary triumph of Christianity. On the saint's return to his diocese after he had set things in order there, it is said that "*petiit Albaniam*," Scotland north of the Forth, and here we find traces of him in Aberdeenshire—the church of Glengarden, now joined to Glenmuick, bearing his name. Alloa in Fortren is also dedicated to him. This indeed hardly covers the author's expression, "*illic nam multas ecclesias erexit, erectas dedicavit*." A still more interesting point is raised by the assertion that his disciples carried the cross to the Orkneys, Norway, and Iceland. The touching interview between the two saints, Columba and Kentigern, seems to confirm the truth of the historical veracity of the books whence the author

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Doc.* vol. i. pp. 112, 117.

drew his biography, for from other sources we know the exact date of S. Columba's birth and death, as also the relations between Aedan and Rederech, which would have made a visit to Glasgow by the saint of Hy probable. That at the Mel-lendonor, close to the cemetery of S. Ninian, these two great heralds of Christianity should meet on a spot already sanctified by the traditions of the people, is one of those little incidents which we wish to be true, and which we have no certain reason for believing not to be so.

It is remarkable, and it must be mentioned in abatement of the value of Joceline's Life, how very little allusion there is to the galaxy of saints who illustrated the epoch of S. Kentigern, both in Wales and in Ireland. Even the great S. Gildas, born in his own kingdom of Strathcluyd, at Alcluyd, in 516, is not mentioned as known to him. Except S. Asaph and S. Dewi, we have no allusion to the many Welsh bishops and abbots who illustrated that remarkable century in the Annals of Wales, and it is equally strange that the allusions to the religious life of Ireland are comparatively scanty, although the recollection of the Magnum Monasterium at Whithern, in his own diocese, must surely have been preserved.

As we have stated in a preceding paragraph, the dedications to S. Kentigern under his honorific appellation of Mungo help in a measure to indicate the ancient sphere of his labours. His churches are met with not only in the region which represents the ancient kingdom of Cumbria, but also in Laudonia, while his name is also found in the districts evangelized by his master, S. Servanus, as well as in Aberdeenshire. Thus we have in—

I. DUMFRIESSHIRE.

1. S. MUNGO or ABERMILK (N. S. A., Dumfries, 203).
2. KIRKMAHO in Nithsdale (Regist. Vetus de Aberbrothoc), pp. 212-216.

II. LANARKSHIRE.

1. LANARK, where in the dedication he is joined with S. Mary (Orig. Paroch., i. 227).
2. BORTHWICK or LOCHWERWETH (Lib. de Scon, p. 33).

III. MID-LOTHIAN.

1. PENICUIK, where is his Well.
2. CURRIE.

IV. BERWICKSHIRE.

1. POLWARTH, where is his Fair.

V. PEEBLESSHIRE.

1. PEEBLES, where is his Well (Orig. Paroch., i. 227).

VI. PERTSHIRE.

1. AUCHTERARDER (N. S. A., Perth, 290).

VII. INVERNESS-SHIRE.

1. INVERNESS, where is his Hill.

VIII. CLACKMANNAN.

1. ALLOA. See confirmation by King James IV. of a grant made by Alexander Lord Erskine in favour of the church of Alloa. (Cart. Penes Com. de Kellie.)

IX. ABERDEENSHIRE.

1. KYNOR, part of modern parish of Huntly.
2. GLENGARDEN, now united to Tullich and Glenmuick. In 1726 there remained a proverb in Aberdeenshire in allusion to S. Kentigern's finding no rest but in doing good, "It is like S. Mungo's work, which was never done." There are no dedications to him among the Dalriadic Scots, the churches attributed to him in Argyleshire being those of S. Fintan-Munnu.

X. SELKIRK.

1. HASSENDEAN (Chronica de Melros, p. 100).

In the hagiology of Scotland we find two saints who are referred to S. Kentigern.

“Conval was a disciple of S. Mungo, and is buried in Inchinane, nocht far fra Glasquew, quhare he is halden in gret veneratioun of pepill.”¹ He is described as the son of an Irish prince, and is also honoured at Cumnock. His feast is on the 28th of September.² The other saint who is connected with him is S. Baldred, who, in the Breviary, which follows Bower, is called the suffragan of S. Kentigern, and who is said to have taken him as his model; but, not to mention that suffragans did not exist in Britain in his time, S. Baldred was obviously the “Balthere anachorita” of Tynningham, whose death is recorded by Simeon of Durham in 756.³ East Lothian at that time belonged to the Anglic diocese of Lindisfarne, and not to the Welsh diocese of Cumbria.

Between the time of the death of S. Kentigern and the restoration of the see, there appears to have been a time of anarchy and barbarism. Dumbarton was lost to the Britons in 756, and the country became successively a prey to Picts, Danes, Scots, and Saxons. But as is generally the case, in spite of what the *Inquisitio* says, that their enemies “*totam regionem vastantes ejus habitatores exilio tradiderunt*,” the old population in a measure remained, and became the nucleus of the new nationality. They were called Wealas, a name which, under the form of Walenses, continued till the time of charter evidence.⁴ Asser and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle relate in the year 875, that Halfden the Dane frequently harried the Picts and Strathclydenses or Strathclyd-Wealas.

The Inquisition points first at an attack on the Church “*diverse seditiões circumque insurgentes . . . ecclesiam et ejus possessiones destruxerunt*.” Then came the banishment,

¹ Bellenden's Boece, lib. ix. 17, vol. ii. p. 99.

² Brev. Aber. p. Estiv., fol. cxvii.

³ Symeon of Durham, Surtees Edition, pp. xvi., 20.

⁴ Regist. Ep. Glas. p. 15.

which in exaggerated language is described as "omnibus bonis exterminatis." A great lapse of time occurs, "magnis temporum intervallis transactis," and then succeeds an influx of different races, "diverse tribus, diversarum nationum ex diversis partibus influentes, sed dispari genere et dissimili lingua et vario more viventes."¹ These would naturally be the different races mentioned in the early charters. David cedes the tithes of his Can of Strathgryfe, Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, in a document addressed to all the faithful of the realm "tam Gawensibus quam Anglicis et Scotis;"² Malcolm iv., "Francis, Anglicis, Scotis et Galweiensibus,"³ and again, "Francis et Anglicis, Scottis, Walensibus, Gavelensibus."⁴

Nothing is known of the see, or of S. Kentigern's successors, until the episcopate of Magsuen and John, in the time of Archbishop Kinsir of York, A.D. 1051-1060,⁵ except that the "Sedulus episcopus Britanniae de genere Scottorum," who appears at the Council at Rome in 721, was probably one of his successors, for the Strathclyde Britons submitted to the Pope in 703, while North Wales conformed in 768, and South Wales in 777.⁶ The certain history of the see begins with Bishop John, who was appointed to it by David of Scotland, probably in A.D. 1115;⁷ but we also know from the *Inquisitio* that S. Kentigern was then known to have had "plures successores," although the see had been recently, and for some time, vacant and plundered; and that certain considerable estates, then searched out and restored to it, were known to have been "anciently possessed" by that see.⁸

¹ *Regist. Ep. Glas.* p. 6.

² P. 12.

³ P. 14.

⁴ P. 15.

⁵ Stubbs, ap Twysden, 1700.

⁶ See Haddan, vol. ii. p. 7; Mansi, *Concilia*, t. viii. p. 109, ed. Venet. 1729.

⁷ *Inquisitio Davidis*, *Regist. Ep. Glas.* p. 4.

⁸ Haddan and Stubbs, vol. i. p. 151; *Regist. Ep. Glasg.*, Preface xvii, note, where an important letter of Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Calixtus II., written between 1118 and 1122, is quoted as showing that the ancient Bishop of the district was held by him to have been "unus de illis antiquis Brittanorum episcopis, quos sicut sepe dictum est singulatim beatus Gregorius ecclesie Cant. subjugavit."

It was natural that the memory of so great a saint should express itself in the devotional formularies of the Church of Scotland. Accordingly, even to the period of the Reformation, the services for S. Kentigern's Day were special and ample. In the diocese of S. Andrews, according to the Arbuthnott Missal, it was kept as a duplex festum with nine lessons, and it is mentioned that "extra diocesis ejus celebratur in crastino octavarum epiphaniæ." In the church of Aberdeen, as we find from its Breviary,¹ it was a majus duplex, and special provision is made for its increased splendour when the church is dedicated to him. Time and the Reformers have left us no office as it was sung in his own Cathedral church, but by the kindness of two friends I am enabled to enrich this Preface with two services anterior in date to those of the Arbuthnott Missal or of the Breviary of Aberdeen.

From the learned Victor de Buck, the admirable continuator of the Bollandist series of the *Acta Sanctorum*, I have received the following communication :—

"Quæ me rogasti de S. Kentigerno, monumenta liturgica hæc in Bollandiano existunt codice, cui titulus: *Incipit ordo missalis Fratrum Minorum secundum consuetudinem Romanæ curiæ*; qui Fratres Minores sedem suam habebant in Scotia, quippe qui sequerentur in S. Kentigerni officio usum Glascuensem. *Officium autem ad missam in festo S. Kentigerni*, quod venit ad finem priorum officiorum et ante officium commune in vigilia unius apostoli, scriptum est eadem manu eodemque atramento quibus reliquus codex, id est, ante annum 1264; nam officium in festo SS^{mi} sacramenti, quod illo anno in universa ecclesia latina celebrari coepit, non suo loco venit, sed inter additamenta, adeoque recentiori manu recentiorique atramento scriptum est: quæ eadem manus et atramentum in oratione de S. Niniano² omnino observantur. Unde manifestum

¹ Pars Hyem. fol. xxvii.

² The same ms. contains a service for S. Ninian, which is given at page xxiv. of the present volume.

est S. Kentigerni memoriam anno 1264 esse antiquiorem in illo libro, S. Niniani recentiore. Jam sequuntur illa documenta.

"Festum sancti Kentigerni, episcopi Glasguensis, in octava epiphaniæ. Officium ad missam. Introitus, Statuit ei Dominus pacis. Ps. Memento Domine David, secundum usum Glasguensem et secundum Sarum, Domine, probasti me et cognovisti. Oratio, Deus, qui beatum Kentegernum, confessorem tuum atque pontificem, ecclesiæ tuæ doctorem pariter et rectorem, mirifice præsignasti, præsta, quaesumus, ut cujus venerandam eam memoracionem agimus, ipsius semper suffragia senciamus. Per. Epistola, Ecce sacerdos magnus. Graduale, Ecce sacerdos magnus. V. Non inventus similis illi. Alleluia, V. Justus germinabit. Evan. secundum Matthæum. In illo tempore dixit Jhesus d. s. parabolam hanc. Homo quidam peregre proficiscens. Offert. Veritas mea. Secreta. Majestati tuæ Domine, in honore sanctissimi Kentigerni confessoris tui atque pontificis, hoc munus oblatum sanctifica, ut sit tam acceptabile nobis quam salubre, per Dominum. Comm. Beatus servus. Postcomm. Divina libantes misteria, quæ in sanctissimi Kentigerni confessoris tui atque pontificis commemoracione tuæ optulisti (lege optulimus) majestati, te, Domine, suppliciter exoramus ut per ipsum et cum ipso cælestis gratiæ donis perfruamur. Per Dominum. In commemoracionibus beati Kentigerni per annum possunt dici epistolæ aliæ de communi unius confessoris et pontificis, et similiter evangelium Vigilate et alia pro libitu."

Mr. Dickson of the Register House, Edinburgh, has been so good as to send me the following Office of S. Kentigern from a MS. Breviary of the latter half of the thirteenth century, lately acquired for the Advocates' Library :—

De Sancto Kentigerno. R.

In septentrionali Wallia non longe ab Albania
 Sancta colit ecclesia Kentegerni sollempnia,
 Cui uolatilia fere pisces flumina
 Parent ut mancipia domino oliencia

Eius flatu facula sopita pro inuidia
Succenditur in Soccia sine ignis materia.

Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

Alme presul Kentegerne laudum digne iubilo
Qui dum lumen tenebroso prebuidisti populo
Lux cintillis splenduisti crebris in candelabro
Tibi laudes decantantes representa Domino. P. Magn.

Inuit. Celestis Regem patrie adoremus cotidie
Qui Kentegernum hodie coronauit glorifice. P. Venite.

In j^a N. A. Stirps regalis Britannorum Kentegernum protulit
Quem Seruanus uir non uanus litteras edocuit. Evovæ.

P. Beat. uir A. Iste ab infancia iugum portans domui
Presulari stragula promeruit indui. Evovæ.

P. Quare fre. A. Emulorum ausibus obuiat puerulus

P. Domine quid. Vitam dando uolucris quam necarant inuidi. Evovæ.

[*Margin. Or.* Deus, qui beatum Kentegernum pontificem ecclesie tue doctorem pariter et rectorem mirifice presignasti, presta quesumus ut cuius uenerandam festiuitatem agimus, ipsius semper subfragia sentiamus.]

Lectio j^a Preclarus Dei confessor Kentegernus, antistes nobilissima inclitorum regum Britannie gentis prosapia illustris, set sanotitate vite morum honestate omniumque uirtutum mirabili executione longe illustrior extitit. Quem natum in prouincia que ab suo Leudono rege Leudonia denominatur Sanctus Seruanus, angelica ammonicione edoctus, ad nutriendum suscepit deuote et susceptum apud Colenros honorifice nutriuit. Ipse uero Kentegernus sicut etate crescebat ita sensu et gracia cotidie proficiebat. Sanctus uero Seruanus intelligens eum diuina gracia celitus esse preuentum quanto priuacius educando instruebat tanto instructum ceteris condiscipulis ardencius diligebat.

B. Christi miles Kentegernus plenus Dei gracia

Regi regum militauit ab adolescentia

Qui per eum ampliuit electorum agmina

Dum moneret legis hostes tuba euangelica.

V. Eructando flumina salutaris sciencie

Plebem lauit tepidam de tabe apostasie.

Lectio ij^a Nam a primeua sue puericie etate Sanctus Kentegernus Spiritus Sancti gracia repletus diuinorum miraculorum stigmatibus choruscabat, set quia in omnibus ecclesiis generalis est usus in Sanctorum natalicijs illorum gesta et uirtutes ad laudem Dei et gloriam qui in suis Sanctis semper est ammirabilis declaranda recitare nos, ne ubi

propalandorum copia miraculorum habundat, nichil dicere arguamur, plura compendij gracia praetermittentes, pauca ex ipsis quae per eum Deus gessit miraculis, sicut a sanctis et religiosis nostrorum antiquorum doctoribus tam dictis quam scriptis didiscimus, in eius sacra sollempnitate recitanda striximus.

R. Mirantes pauent emuli quod uita rexit uolucris
Quam necarant improuidi auulso lento capite
Virtutum hec primordia sunt facta in Albania
Per Kentigerni merita

V. Qui illesum quondam rubum inflamauit cipite
Sine rogo accendebat corilum mirifice
Per Kentigerni merita.

Lectio ij^a Erat igitur quedam auicula de specie auium quae dicitur rubisca in refectorio Sancti Seruani, quae sibi multum familiaris erat et cotidie de minutissimis reliquiarum micis super mensam relictis vescebatur. Quadam autem die, Sancto Seruano in ecclesia orationi insistente, contigit eandem auiculam a Sancto Kentegerno adhuc puerulo, cum coëstaneis suis in refectorio ludente, ex improuiso ictu interfici cuius auicule corpusculum auulso capite ibidem ante ipsos jacebat. Sanctus uero Seruanus mox ut a referentibus familiaris auicule interemcionem didicit, aliquantulum ira commotus, ab oratorio surrexit et ad refectorium concito gradu pergere cepit. Puer autem Sanctus uiso magistro ualde perterritus [est] timens non tam debitis uirgularum percussionebus disciplinari quam qualibet saltem leui correctorie excommunicacionis sententia feriri, statim auicule corpusculum cum suo capite accepit et ipsum capud suo corpori ut prius fuerat adiungens coaptare et dirigere cepit. Quo facto, ipsa continuo reuixit, et reuiuiscens, sana atque incolumis contra Sanctum Seruanum garulando alacriter euolauit.

R. Qui elixas condiebat dapes in lebetibus
Hunc defunctum lamentatur herus cum clientibus
Sed ouline rexit uiuus Kentegerni precibus
Albaniam fugientis citatis amfractibus.

V. Siste gradum prebe uadum fuga ponti reumata
Doctor clamat ad quem amat assequens uestigia.

In iij^a No. *A.* Sacro flatu pueri conscintillant spatule
Uiridantis corili ut faces ignicome. *Evovæ.*

P. Cū iŕvoč *A.* Pulsat aures Domini uox orantis pueri
Pro defuncto famulo qui reuixit concito. *Evovæ.*

P. Verba mea A. Stupet ledonis alueus mallene ructans fluctibus

P. Dñe de? nr Quod salebre diuorcia in se grassant reciproca. *Evovæ.*

*Lectio iij** Supradicti uero refectorij ignis qui de celo Sancto Seruano missus fuerat, ne unquam extingueretur, solebat custodiri, discipuli autem Sancti Seruani prout forte eis contingeret eundem ignem unaquaque nocte custodiebant, quadam uero nocte dum Sanctus Kentegernus eum custodiret, ipso dormiente ignis extinctus est. Ipse autem cum euigilasset a sompno et nullus ignis comparuisset excitauit socios et indicauit eis quod sibi contigit estimans illis de suo ut sibi uidebatur infortanio secum condolare et quid sibi esset agendum commonere.

- R.* Olim fete archam Dei vacce Dagon obruto
De Acharon ad Bethsames plaustrant sine scrupulo
Sic de Ckernach functum tauri redant nullo preuio
Qui in Glasou funeratur Kentegerni merito.
- V.* More Symeonico accepto oraculo
Eger uiso puero obiit in Domino
Qui in Glasou, etc.

*Lectio v** Illi autem excitati quia miraculorum gracia choruscabet sibi semper inuidebant non tamen condolare uel ammonere quid agere deberet uoluerunt. Set magis quod isti fuit causa tristicie et doloris, illud idem prestitit illis materiam leticie et hylaritatis, set puer sanctus quia externo sociorum fuerat destitutus consilio, Diuine inspiracionis interno eruditur instinctu. Nam subito foras egrediens ad frutices qui prope monasterium erant quantocius perrexerat, atque ipsorum fruticum frondes hyemali rigore congelatas teneris carpens manibus collegit et usque ad refectorium deportauit, et super toletum deponens nullo igne supposito in sociorum presencia sufflare cepit. At ipsa uiridium et congelatorum ramusculorum congeries mox ut a beati pueri flatu attacta fuerat, sine mora exarsit.

- R.* Cultro lupi exaratus
Ager ac tellure satus
Germinauit triticum;
Furibundus rex cecatus
Mitis est illuminatus
Per uirum antenti[c]um.
- V.* Siluestri apro preuio
Compaginatur predium
In quo sancto collegio
Fit Asaph monasterium.

*Lectio vi** Nec mirum dilectissimi fratres si eius anhelitus quum ignis diuinus fidei feruore intrinsecus inflammauerat, fomitem extrinsecus appositum velud mordacissima flamma combureret. Equum enim

erat ut ignis celestis, qui Dei nutu extinctus ad tempus dissipauerat, per celestem diuini pueri flatum iterum restitutus compareret. Illius autem nemoris uiridia uirgulta de quo ipse supradicta lignicula deportauerat ad commendandum hoc miraculum per benedictionis ipsius meritum velud quelibet arida sine mora inflammescunt. Quod etiam illius loci incolarum testimonio usque in odiernum diem certissime comprobatur.

- R.* Crudi moris rex infaustus et exosus clericis
Documentis obuiauit sanctis siue magicis
Doctilogum calce pellens instigante uernula
Quem festina mors detrusit rexque languet podagra.
V. Qui submersit Pharaonem et Goliath obruit
Regem nequam ac tironem dira nece perculit
Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.

In iij No. *A.* Kentegernus nunquam nimbi passus et discrimina
Neodum taxat nix uel grando eius rigant pallia.
Evovæ

P. Dñe quis *A.* Lupino fissum uomere agellum seuit puluere
hæb Mirante superficie albescit cespes segete. Evovæ
P. Dñe in *A.* Crimen suum palliauit regina per anulum
uirtute De profundo quem portauit pisciculus laticum. Evovæ
P. Domini est terra

Evangelium. Homo quidam.

*Lectio vij** Cocum autem Sancti Seruani pridie defunctum iterum diuina gracia per Sanctum Kentegernum hoc modo suscitauit. Quadam autem die Sanctus Seruanus collegit messorum ad messem suam congregandam. Sed quia cocus suus pridie mortuus fuerat hora prandii precepit suis discipulis at aliquis illorum messoribus cibaria prepararet. Illi autem inuidie facibus inflammatis Sancto Kentegerno quia in miraculis choruscabat semper insidiantes subdolos recusabant, dicentes neminem eorum ad illud seruicium esse ydoneum nisi solum Kentegernum. Et rogauerunt suum magistrum ut Sancto Kentegerno illud officium iniungeret, machinantes semper circa ipsum magistri incitare indignacionem.

- R.* Aporia ingruente uir largus dirigit
Miro modo recreandus ope qua uiguit
Cum horisonum avari flumen lambens horrea
Classicaret sine rate ad eius mapalia.
V. Qui mare scidit Moysi et Jordanem Josue
Annonam sancto presuli Cludum fecit uomere
Ad eius

Lectio viij^a Sanctus igitur Seruanus, petitioni eorum adquiescens, precepit Sancto Kentegerno ut messoribus suam impenderet refectionem. Ille autem penitus respuebat. At magister respuentem talibus aggreditur uerbis "Tu ipse aut messoribus refectionem prepara, aut cocum nostrum a mortuis, quia clarificaris in miraculis, resuscita." Tunc Sancto Kentegerno ad sacrata et competencia oracionis loca defugienti, et subnixis precibus Deum qui prope est omnibus eum in ueritate inuocantibus exoranti ut in hoc quod sibi a magistro iniunctum fuerat succurreret et quid circa emulorum inuidiam deberet agere ostenderet apparuit angelus Dei dicens, quia pius afflictorum consolator Deus suas preces exaudiens merito sui fidei et innocentie cocum a mortuis suscitauit et sibi a magistro discedere concessit.

- R.* Cudenti in ferugine glauca fabro mittitur
 Quod per culpam incurie uado lac effunditur
 Nec commiscetur gurgiti liquor nec defluitur
 Virtutum in congerie sic Kentegerni auditur.
- V.* Veruex gregem comitatur amputato capite
 Quod in petram transmutatur ut uxor Loth Sodome.

Lectio ix^a Rediuus autem cocus ut antea consueuerat; cibaria messoribus preparauit et distribuit. Et postea per septem annos uixit, deinde super tumultum illius iterum morientis, scriptum est quomodo a Sancto Kentegerno fuerat resuscitatus Et scriptio illa usque in hunc diem sed modo lapidibus superpositis tecta, apud Lokencheinoch perdurat. Eadem autem hora qua defunctus fuit suscitatus, Sanctus Kentegernus angelo ammonente a magistro discessit. Sed in sua discessionem aliud diuine potencie miraculum non minimum gestum est, fluuium etenim Scociam a regno Britannorum diuidentem ut ab angelo fuit ammonitus transire debebat. Transiens uero fluuium et ad ulteriorem ripam perueniens et suum magistrum post se uenientem respiciens, rogauit Dominum ut fluuius qui recedente pelagi estu sibi tunc transmeabilis extiterat, confestim equoreo reumate retrogradante repletus transiri penitus non posset. Quod mox ipsius merito impetrante ita factum est. Nam fluuius marinis redundans aquis, ubertim transgreditur ripas. Sanctus uero Seruanus tanto Diuine potencie miraculo perterritus nec ulterius transgredi ualens, finitis plurimarum querelarum colloquiis Sancto benedicens discipulo ad suum monasterium repedauit. Ad confirmandam uero huius miraculi ueritatem, in omni equoree inundacionis accessu et recessu illud littus huiusmodi naturam quasi priuilegium usque in hodiernum diem uerissime obseruat quod in nullo alio littore contingere reperitur. Nam antea ceteris litoribus consimilis nature existere comprobatur.

- R.* Jubente Petrus Domino inescat piscem hamulo
 In quo reperto statere didragmam jussit soluere,
 Sic Kentegerni merito regine piscis baiulo
 De stagno aurum attulit quo uelut insons claruit.
- V.* Reginam rex supplicio mortis pro adulterio
 Torquebat sed redemptio miranda fit in anulo.
 Glorie Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.
- Psa.* Gens Cambrina cum regina plaudite tripudio
V. Vibex fletus dolor metus et mortis condicio.
V. Jam cassantur et purgantur uitali remedio.
V. Limpha celat quod reuelat ixtis here clanculo.
V. Latet regem per quam legem ditetur cum anulo.
V. Ensem tortor condit horror sedatur pre gaudio.
V. Laudes ergo Kentegerno decantat hec conscio.
V. Metam auro quo reperto traxit de ergastulo.
V. Velud insons. In laud.
 Eya laudes decantantes iubilemus Domino
 Kentegernum uenerantes laudum cum preconio. *Evovæ*
- A.* Per coronam auream in peplo angelico
 Et columpnam flammeam notus est in cuneo. *Evovæ*
- A.* Sospitati pristinae mortuum mirifice
 Kentegernus hominem reddidit et uolucrum. *Evovæ*
- A.* Benedictus Kentegernus gregem suam uisitans
 Laruas fugat egros curat plebs exultat obuians. *Evovæ*
- A.* Laudes Deo decantare senuit in frigidis
 Undis artusque siccare super frontem silicia. *Evovæ*
- A.* Sacrosanctam Kentegernus seruans parsimoniam
 Fame siti et algore eius paut animam,
 Dum in aquis decantaret frigidis psalterium
 Ac quadriduano cibo foueret corpusculum
 Ipsum omnes proclamemus cum precum instancia
 Ut de mortis torre ducat nos ad celi gaudia. *Evovæ*
 P. Bened. *Ad ij vs. R.* Jubente Petrus.
- A.* O paradoxe pontifex per orbis uasta climata,
 Quem phalanges uraniæ et siderum officia
 Et elementa omnia alterna per prodigia
 Clarum declarant Domino qui poli regit dindima
 Ab illo nobis uendita perhennis uite premia. *Evovæ*
 P. Mag.

In addition to these memorials of S. Kentigern, we may mention the Hymn for the Canonical Hours, in imitation of

the celebrated one commemorating the incidents of our Lord's Passion, and commencing—

“*Matutino tempore : virtute divinâ.*”

It is given from a MS. in the University of Edinburgh,¹ and printed as Appendix iv., *Regist. Epis. Glas.*, Preface, p. xcix.

There is also the tract giving a metrical account of the death of Sumerled in 1166, by a contemporary writer, copied by Henry Bradshaw, Esq., from MS. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 130, and printed for the first time in the new edition of Fordun,² where his fall, among other reasons, is imputed to his contempt for the Scottish saints, especially S. Kentigern :—

“*Caput ducis infelicis Sumerledi clericus
Amputavit, et donavit pontificis (in) manibus ;
Ut suevit, pie flevit, viso hostis capite,
Dicens Sancti Scotticani sunt laudandi utique.
Et beato Kentegerno tradidit victoriam,
Cujus semper, et decenter, habete memoriam.*”

As might be expected, we find in the poetry of Scotland before the Reformation several allusions to the saint.

In the account of the different saints depicted among the Scots, in Sir David Lindsay's *Dialog betwix Experiens and ane Courteour*,³ we have—

“*Thay bryng mad men on fuit and horsæ
And byndis thame at Sanct Mongose crosse.*”

And in the *Testament and Complaynt of the Papingo*—

“*And we shall synge about your sepulture
Sanct Mongoes matynis and the mekle creed.
And syne devoutely saye, I you assure,
The auld Placebo bakwart and the beid.*”⁴

Wyntoun, in the *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*,⁵ has only—

“*And in this tyme Saynet Mongowe,
Was byschop lyvand off Glasgowe.*”

¹ A. C. 2. 26, 12mo.

² Vol. i. p. 449.

³ Laing's ed. vol. i. p. 314.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 89.

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 49, ed. 1872.

Stewart,¹ in his *Cronikil*, gives the account of S. Mungo's meeting with S. Columba, and of their sojourning at Dunkeld :—

“The holie bischop callit wes Mungo,
Remanand was that tyme into Glasgow;
The son he wes of King Eugenius,
And dochter sone also to King Lothus.”

The popular devotion is indicated in the strange prayer of the Scottish borderers against the pestilence said by the English to be sent in God's grace for their repentance :—“Gode and Saint Mungo, Saint Ronayn and Saint Andrew, schield us this day fro Goddes grace, and the foule death that Englishmen dien on.”² Boece, or rather his translator Bellenden, exhibits to us the popular belief concerning him just before the Reformation :—

“At this time was Sanct Mungo, the haly bischop of Glasquew, quhilk was gottin on Sanct Thanew, the doughter of Loth, king of Pichtis, opprest, contrar hir will, be Eugenius, last king of Scottis. This Mungo heirand Sanct Colme preiche afore Brudeus, was ravist in spreit be his devine wourdes, and followit him to Dunkeld, quhare Conwallus beildit ane riche abbay afore; bot now, be magnificence of princis, it is maid ane bischoppis seit, craftely biggit with square and polist stanis. Quhen thir two holy men had remanit vi. monethis in Dunkeld, they de-partit hame. Sant Mungo returnit to Glasquew, and Sanct Colme to Ireland.”³

Of personal recollections of S. Kentigern,⁴ besides his bell, which existed till after the Reformation, his well still exists in the cathedral, and his body lies buried in the crypt. That body, contained in a feretrum, was the object of the cultus of

¹ Vol. ii. p. 269; London, 1858.

² Pinkerton's *History of Scotland* (quoting Walsingham), vol. i. p. 20; London, 1797. *Chronica Thomæ Walsingham quondam Monachi S. Albani*. Edit. Camden; Francof., 1602, p. 228.

³ Bellenden's *Boece*, lib. ix. c. 14; vol. ii. p. 91.

⁴ *Reg. Ep. Glas.*, vol. ii. p. 334.

King Edward I. The *Compotus Garderobe* of the twenty-ninth year of his reign records seven shillings given on the 20th of August "ad feretrum Sancti Kentegerni in Ecclesia Cathedrali Glasguensi," the same sum on the 21st at the high altar and at the ferter, and again on the 3d of September.¹

In the fifteenth century, in the reign of King James I., an inventory was made of the ornaments, relics, and jewels of the Church of Glasgow, among which we find the following objects which refer to S. Kentigern: "Item xviii lapides preciosi rubei coloris pro feretro S. Kentigerni in una papiro . . . item xxvi lapides preciosi diversi coloris pro dicto feretro in alio papiro. Item xxvi alii lapides preciosi diversi coloris pro dicto feretro in iii^a papiro. Item in pecunia pro feretro xxvi lib. xv. f. computando dimidium pro viii f. et lumen pro v f." Among the relics, "Item in unâ cofra argenteâ quadrata parte loricarum Sanctorum Kentegerni et S. Thomæ Cantuar et de parte cilicii patroni nostri Kentigerni ut patet in cedula. Item in una parvula fiola coloris croci oleum quod manavit de Tumbâ S. Kentegerni. Item una bursa preciosa cum pectinibus Sanctorum Kentegerni et Thomæ Cantuariensis. Item duo sacculi linei cum ossibus Sancti Kentegerni, Sancte Tenaw, et aliorum diversorum Sanctorum."²

At the Reformation, Archbishop Beton, in carrying away to Paris the charters and muniments of his church, carried away also "much of the plate and jewels of his church."³

It was well that he did so. Though the trades of Glasgow saved their church from actual demolition by the Reformers, no mercy was shown to what were considered the relics of idolatry. The Protestant Lords, Argyle, Ruthven, and Stewart, issued an order to Provost Lindsay and the Magistrates—"We pray you fail not to pass incontinent to your kirks in Glasgow, and tak down the hail images thereof, and bring forth into the kirkz-

¹ *Regia. Ep. Glas.*, vol. ii. p. 621.

² *Ibid.* pp. 329, 330.

³ *Regia. Ep. Glas.*, pref. i.

yard and burn them openly. And sicklyke cast down the altaris, and purge the kirk of all kynd of monuments of idolatrye . . . bot take guid heyd that neither the dasks, windocks, nor duries be onyways hurt or broken, either glassen work or iron work.”¹ Nay, eighty years after, we learn from the Records of the Kirk-Session, under the date of 8th January 1641, when the violence that had pursued the unreformed Church was turned upon the Episcopalians, the Session enacted that the Magistrates will cause all monuments of idolatry to be taken down and destroyed, viz., all superstitious pictures, crucifixes, etc., both in private houses and in the Hie Kirk. Next day it was reported that they had found only three that could be called so, viz., The Five Wounds of Christ, The Holy Lamb, and Kentigerne ora pro nobis.²

There is a striking passage in Mabillon,³ where he shows how towns and cities grew out of the monastic life. The Benedictine monks in Germany were founders of burghs as well as cultivators of the soil. Not only did Fulda rise up in the midst of pathless forests, but Corby and Bremen in Saxony, Hersfeld and Fritslaria in Thuringia, Salzburg, Freisingen, and Eisted in Bavaria, S. Gall in Helvetia, and many others sprung from the villages that were built round the religious house. “Primo loco occurrit Buchonia, solitudo quondam ingens, in Franciæ orientalis et Turingiæ confinio at postquam eo in saltu Bonifacius Monasterium Fuldense construxit ex horrore illo emersit urbs et regio non ingrata. . . . Inde nomen a fago Buchoniæ relictum, auctore Candido in Vita Sancti Eigilis. Idem præstitit Bonifacius variis in locis tam per se quam per suos, aliique e nostris post eum. Quid enim quondam Corbeia, quid Brema, modo urbes in Saxonia? quid Fritislaria, quid Hersfeldum, opida in Turingia? quid Salzburgum, Frisinga, Eistetum, urbes episcopales in Bajoaria? quid opida

¹ The History of Glasgow by writers of Eminence; Glasgow, 1872, vol. i. p. 85.

² *Ibid.* p. 168.

³ Præfat. in *III. Secul. Benedict.*, § 5.

Sancti Galli et Campidona apud Helvetios? quid numerosa alia opida in tota Germania? horridæ quondam solitudines et latibula ferarum: nunc hominum amœnissima diversoria, postquam ea nostri labore et industria sua excoluerunt. Facile esset id etiam de aliis provinciis ac regnis demonstrare sed ista in exemplum sufficiunt ut intelligant omnes ex Benedictinæ familiæ propagatione quid emolumenti et ornamenti regnis Christianis accesserit.”¹ One cannot help recurring to this thought with reference to the subject of this memoir.

The great city of Glasgow, which, springing from the little burgh founded by William the Lion in the twelfth century, as a mart of barter with the rude inhabitants of the Highlands and neighbourhood, has now become the third city of the empire, numbering at midsummer 1872 a population of 578,705 inhabitants, possessing nearly a thousand ships, exhibiting a tonnage of 444,581, returning with Greenock and Port-Glasgow the enormous sum of £2,034,816, 0s. 1d. as Customs duties, slaughtering 69,499 oxen, 285,549 sheep and lambs, 13,448 pigs, burning 1,227,229,000 cubic feet of gas, exhibiting a rental of £2,327,513, paying duty on 676,590 lbs. of tea, and 2,692,456 lbs. of tobacco,² owes its existence to the earthen rath and wattled church which S. Kentigern erected by the Mellendonor stream, beside the old cemetery of S. Ninian.

¹ *Acta Sanctorum Benedict.*, sec. v. p. xxxiii.

² Report upon the Vital, Social, and Economic Statistics of Glasgow for 1872. By W. West Watson, F.S.S., City Chamberlain; Glasgow, 1873, pp. 41, 59, 65, 74, 72, 47, 72.



THE LIFE OF S. NINIAN

BY AILRED.

HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF S. NINIAN, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR, BY AILRED, ABBOT OF RIEVAUX, TRANSLATED FROM THE ANGLIC LANGUAGE INTO LATIN.¹

PROLOGUE.

It hath been the desire of many of the wise who have lived before us to commit to writing the lives, the manners, and the words of the saints, especially of those who have flourished in their own times, and thus to redeem from oblivion, and perpetuate the memory of, the example of the more perfect life to the edification of posterity. But they who had distinguished genius, and fluency of speech, and the lightness of eloquence, did this the more usefully in so far as they gratified the ears of those who listened to them by polished language. Yet those, to whom on account of the barbarism of their native land, the faculty of speaking gracefully and elegantly was lacking, did not defraud posterity of an account of those who were to be imitated, although in a more simple style. Hence it happened that a barbarous language,² obscured the life of the most holy Ninian,³ whom the

¹ This is the superscription of the manuscript in the British Museum.

² Note A.

³ Note B.

sanctity of his ways and his distinguished miracles commend to us, and the less it gratified the reader the less it edified him. Accordingly it pleased thy holy affection¹ to impose upon mine insignificance the task of rescuing from a rustic style as from darkness, and of bringing forth into the clear light of Latin diction, the life of this most renowned man, a life which had been told by those who came before me, truly indeed, but in too barbarous a style. I embrace thy devotion, I approve thy desire, I praise thy zeal, but I know mine own inexperience, and I fear to strip it of the coarse garments in which it hath hitherto been hidden, and not be able to deck it in those in which it may appear more comely. But since I cannot refuse what thou dost enjoin, I will attempt what thou commandest, as I prefer to be judged by thee incompetent rather than obstinate. Mayhap, what my imperfection denieth, thy faith will supply, thy prayer secure, thy sanctity obtain. He too for whose honour and love thou desirest me to do this will assist thy pious vows, thine aspirations, and my attempt and my study. Moreover, by his merits, thou trustest that to me may be given the learned tongue and the copious speech. To this must be added that which thou sayest, that the clergy and people of thy holy church, who are moved by a rare affection for the saint of God under whose protection they live, will receive with the greatest devotion what I write, since, as thou sayest, the desires of all have specially selected me for

¹ Note C.

this work. I undertake therefore the burden which thou layest upon me, moved indeed by thy prayers, but quickened by faith. I will labour, as He will deign to aid me, who maketh eloquent the tongues of infants, so to temper my style, that on the one hand an offensive roughness obscure not so high a matter, and on the other hand, that a freedom of speech, not so eloquent as fatiguing, cheat not of the desired fruit of this my labour the simplicity of those who cannot appreciate a proper rhetoric. May the grace of the Saviour bless this undertaking, and may He who bestowed upon him the virtues whereby he is deemed meet to be held in everlasting remembrance make us who record them worthy, and bestow upon us the reward of our toil, that his prayer may ever attend us in the way whereby we hasten to our fatherland. And in the hour of our departure, when we await the end of the way and the beginning of the life, may his consolation be near us, and for his holy merit's sake the eternal reward of the heavenly good things.

[THE PREFACE.

The Testimony of Bæda concerning Ninian, with observations of Ailred.]

DIVINE authority, which from the beginning is acknowledged to have constituted the holy patriarch Abraham a father of many nations, and a prince of the faith predestinated from ancient times, by such an oracle as this—"Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I shall show thee, and I will make of thee a great nation,"¹ recommendeth to us the glorious life of the most holy Ninian, on this wise, that this most blessed one leaving his country, and his father's house, learnt in a foreign land that which afterwards he taught unto his own, "being placed by God over the nations and kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant."² Of this most holy man, Venerable Bæda, calling attention in a very few words to the sacred beginnings of his life, the tokens of his sanctity, the dignity of his office, the fruit of his ministry, his most excellent end, and the reward of his toil, thus writeth concerning him:—

"In the year after the incarnation of the Lord 565, at the time when Justin the Less, after Justinian, had received the government of the Roman Empire, there came to Britain out of Ireland a presbyter and abbot, remarkable for his monastic habit and rule, by name Columba, with the intention of preaching the word of God in the provinces of the Northern Picts; that is, to those who were separated from the southern regions by lofty and rugged ranges of mountains. For the Southern Picts themselves, who dwell on this side of the same mountains, had long before abandoned idolatry, and embraced the faith in the truth, by the preaching of the word by Bishop Ninian, a most reverend and holy man, of the nation of the Britons, who had at Rome been regularly instructed in the faith and mysteries of the truth; the seat of whose episcopate,

¹ Gen. xii. 1.

² Jer. i. 10.

dedicated to S. Martin, and a remarkable church, where he resteth in the body along with many saints, the nation of the Angles now possesseth. That place, appertaining to the province of the Bernicii, is vulgarly called 'At the White House,' for that there he built a church of stone in a way unusual among the Britons."¹

On the trustworthy testimony of this great author, we have been made acquainted with the origin of S. Ninian, in that he stateth that he was of the race of the Britons, trained in the rules of the faith in the Holy Roman Church; with his office, in that he declareth him to have been a bishop and a preacher of the word of God; with the fruit of his labours, in that he proveth that the Southern Picts were converted from idolatry to the true religion by his toil; and, with his end, in that he witnesseth that he resteth along with many saints in the Church of S. Martin. But that which he briefly, in view of the tenor of his history, seemeth barely to have touched upon, a book of his *Life and Miracles*, written in a barbarous style detailleth at greater length. This book, never varying from the foundation of this witness, hath recorded in historical fashion the way whereby he made this commencement, merited such fruit, and attained unto so worthy an end.

[CHAPTER I.

The Birth of Ninian, and his Training.]

THEREFORE in the island of Britannia, which long ago, as they say, took its name from Brutus, among a race of the same name, and of no ignoble family, did the blessed Ninian spring:² in that region, it is supposed, in the western part of the island (where the ocean stretching as an arm, and making as it were on either side two angles, divideth at this day the realms of the Scots and the Angles), which till these last times belonging to the Angles, is proved not only by historical record but by actual memory of individuals to have had a king of its own. His father was a king, by religion a Christian, of such faith in God, and of such merit,³ as to be deemed worthy of a child by whom what was lacking to the faith of his own nation was supplied, and by whom another race that had not known the sacraments of the faith became imbued with the mysteries of our holy religion. He in very infancy, regenerated in the water of

¹ Bæda, H. E. lib. iii. c. iv.

² Note D.

³ Note E.

holy baptism, preserving immaculate the nuptial robe which clad in white he had received, a conqueror of vice, presented it in the sight of Christ; and that Holy Spirit whom he first received to cleanse him, he merited by his most holy ways to maintain as the instructor of his pious heart. For by His guidance, while yet a boy, though not in sense one, he shunned whatsoever was contrary to religion, adverse to chastity, opposed to good morals, and discordant with the laws of the truth. But whatsoever was of the law, of grace, of good report, whatsoever was useful to man, or well-pleasing to God, that he ceased not to follow with a mind already mature. Happy was he whose delight was in the law of the Lord day and night, who like a tree planted by the water-side brought forth his fruit in due season,¹ seeing that in the vigour of manhood he strenuously fulfilled that which he had learnt with the greatest devotion. Wonderful was his reverence about churches; great his love for the brethren. He was sparing in food, reticent in speech, assiduous in study, agreeable in manners, averse from jesting, and in everything subjecting the flesh to the spirit. Wherefore bending his mind to the sacred Scriptures, when he had learnt according to their way the rules of the faith from the more learned of his race, the young man came by the exercise of his penetrating genius to see, what by the divine inspiration he had gathered from the Scriptures, that much was wanting to their perfection. On this his mind began to be agitated, and not enduring anything short of perfection, he toiled and sighed. His heart was hot within him, and at last in meditation the fire kindled.² "And what," said he, "shall I do? I have sought in mine own land Him whom my soul loveth. I sought Him, but I have found Him not. I will arise now, and I will compass sea and land. I will seek the truth which my soul loveth."³ Surely needeth it such toil as this. Was it not said to Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell⁴ shall not prevail against it'?⁵ Therefore in the faith of Peter there is naught inferior, naught obscure, naught imperfect, naught against which false doctrine and perverse opinions, like the gates of hell, can prevail. And where is the faith of Peter but in the See of Peter? Thither certainly, thither I must betake me, that, going forth from my land, and from my kinsfolk, and from the house of my father, I may be deemed meet in the land of vision to behold the fair beauty of the Lord, and to visit His temple.⁶ The false prosperity of the age smileth on me, the

¹ Ps. i. 3.⁴ Note F.² Ps. xxxix. 4.⁵ S. Matt. xvi. 18.³ Cant. iii. 1.⁶ Ps. xxvii. 4.

vanity of the world allureth me, the love of earthly relationship softeneth my soul, toil and the weariness of the flesh deter me, but the Lord hath said, 'He that loveth father or mother more than me is unworthy of me, and he that taketh not up his cross and followeth me is unworthy of me.'¹ I have learnt moreover that they who despise the royal court shall attain to the heavenly kingdom." Wherefore, animated by the impulse of the Holy Spirit, spurning riches, and treading down all earthly affections, the noble youth betook himself to pilgrimage, and having crossed the Britannic sea, and entered Italy by the Gallican Alps, he safely arrived at the city.²

[CHAPTER .II

*He arriveth at Rome—He is consecrated Bishop by the Pope—
His Intercourse with S. Martin—His Return unto his
Native Land.]*

THE most blessed youth having arrived at Rome, when he had shed tears, proofs of his devotion, before the sacred relics of the apostles, and had with many prayers commended the desire of his heart to their patronage, betook himself to the Bishop of the Supreme See, and when he had explained to him the cause of his journey, the Pope accepted his devotion, and treated him with the greatest affection as his son. Presently he handed him over to the teachers of truth to be imbued with the disciplines of faith and the sound meanings of Scripture.³ But the young man, full of God, took notice that he had not laboured in vain or to no purpose; he learnt moreover that on him and his fellow-countrymen many things contrary to sound doctrine had been inculcated by unskilled teachers. Therefore with the greatest eagerness, with enlarged mouth, receiving the word of God, like a bee he formed for himself the honeycombs of wisdom by arguments from the different opinions of doctors, as of various kinds of flowers. And hiding them within his inmost heart, he preserved them to be inwardly digested and brought forward for the refreshment of his inward man and for the consolation of many others.⁴ Verily it was a worthy recompense that he who for the love of truth had despised country, wealth, and delights—brought, if I may so say, into the secret chambers of truth, and admitted to the very treasures of wisdom and knowledge,—should re-

¹ S. Luke ix. 23.

² Note G.

³ Note H.

⁴ Note I.

ceive for carnal things spiritual things, for earthly things heavenly things, for temporal blessings eternal goods. Meanwhile, as chaste in body, prudent in mind, provident in counsel, circumspect in every act and word, he was in the mouths of all, it happened that he rose to the favour and friendship of the Supreme Pontiff himself. Wherefore, after living in a praiseworthy manner for many years in the city, and having been sufficiently instructed in the sacred Scriptures, he attained to the height of virtue, and, sustained on the wings of love, he rose to the contemplation of spiritual things. Then the Roman Pontiff, hearing that some in the western parts of Britain had not yet received the faith of our Saviour, and that some had heard the word of the gospel either from heretics or from men ill instructed in the law of God, moved by the Spirit of God, consecrated the said man of God to the episcopate with his own hands, and, after giving him his benediction, sent him forth as an apostle to the people aforesaid. There flourished at this time the most blessed Martin, Bishop of the city of Tours, whose life, rendered glorious by miracles, already described by the most learned and holy Sulpicius, had enlightened the whole world.¹ Therefore the man of God, returning from the City, full of the Spirit of God, and touched with the desire of seeing him, turned aside to the city of Tours. With what joy, devotion, and affection he was received by him, who shall easily tell? By the grace of prophetic illumination the worth of the new bishop was not hid from him, whom by revelation he recognised as sanctified by the Holy Spirit and sure to be profitable to the salvation of many. The pillars in the tabernacle of God are joined one with the other, and two cherubim stretching out their wings touch each other; sometimes borne up on the wings of virtue they soar to God, sometimes standing and folding their wings they become edifying to each other. Therefore coming back from these exalted things to what is earthly, blessed Ninian besought of the saint masons,² stating that he proposed to himself that, as in faith, so in the ways of building churches and in constituting ecclesiastical offices, he desired to imitate the holy Roman Church. The most blessed man assented to his wishes; and so, satiated with mutual conversations as with heavenly feasts, after embraces, kisses, and tears, shed by both, they parted, holy Martin remaining in his own See, and Ninian hastening forth under the guidance of Christ to the work whereunto the Holy Ghost had called him. Upon his return to his own land a great multitude of the people

¹ Note K.² Note L.

went out to meet him; there was great joy among all, and wonderful devotion, and the praise of Christ sounded out on all sides, for they held him for a prophet. Straightway that active husbandman of the Lord proceeded to root up what had been ill planted, to scatter what had been ill gathered, to cast down what had been ill built. Having purged the minds of the faithful from all their errors, he began to lay in them the foundations of faith unfeigned; building thereon the gold of wisdom, the silver of knowledge, and the stones of good works: and all the things to be done by the faithful he both taught by word and illustrated by example, confirming it by many and great signs following.

[CHAPTER III.]

The Foundation of the Church of Whithern.]

BUT he selected for himself a site in the place which is now termed Witerna,¹ which, situated on the shore of the ocean, and extending far into the sea on the east, west, and south sides, is closed in by the sea itself, while only on the north is a way open to those who would enter. There, therefore, by the command of the man of God, the masons whom he had brought with him built a church, and they say that before that none in Britannia had been constructed of stone. And having first learnt that the most holy Martin, whom he held always in wondrous affection,² had passed from earth to heaven, he was careful to dedicate the church itself in his honour.

[CHAPTER IV.]

He healeth and converteth King Tuduvallus.]

THEREFORE this light set upon a candlestick began to those who were in the house of the Lord to shine forth in heavenly signs and radiant flames of virtue, and to enlighten darkened minds with the clear and burning word of the Lord, and to warm the cold. There was in that region a king (for the whole island lay subjected to diverse kings), by name Tuduvallus, whom riches, power, and honour had excited to pride, in whom the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, and the wealth of the world had so ministered to his haughtiness, that

¹ Note M.

² Note N.

he presumed himself to be able to do as much as any one, and he had the presumption to believe that what any one could do was both possible and lawful to him also. He, despising the admonitions of the man of God, alike secretly depreciated his doctrine and manners, and openly opposed his sound teaching, so that the earth seemed rejected and nigh to cursing, in that, drinking in the rain that came oft upon it, it brought forth thorns and thistles, and not wholesome herbs. But at a certain time, when he had been more than usually hostile to the man of God, the heavenly Judge suffered no longer that the injury to his servant should go unavenged, but struck him on the head with an unbearable disease, and broke the crown of the head of him that walked in his sins. To such an extent did his sickness prevail that a sudden blindness darkened those haughty eyes, and he who had opposed the light of truth lost the light of sense; but not in vain, nor to the increase of his folly. For the poor man lay oppressed by pain, deprived of sight; but, darkened externally, he became enlightened in the inward parts.¹ When returning unto himself he confessed his sin, seeking a remedy from him alone, to whom he had hitherto exhibited himself as an enemy. At last, calling together his relations, taking advice from them, since he could not go himself, being debarred by his infirmity, he sent messengers to the man of God, beseeching him not to enter into judgment with his servant, nor to reward him according to his deeds, but as an imitator of the divine benignity, to return good for evil, love for hatred. The most blessed man hearing this, not elated with human pride, but abounding as ever in the bowels of compassion, having first offered up prayer to God, went straightway to the sick man with the greatest kindness and devotion. And first he corrected him with tender reproof, and then touching the head of the sick man with healing hand, he signed the blind eyes with the sign of the saving life. What shall I more say? The pain fled, the blindness was driven away by the coming light, and so it came to pass that the disease of the body cured the disease of the soul, and the power of the man of God expelled the disease of the body. Healed therefore in both, in body and mind, he began thenceforth with all affection to cherish and venerate the saint of God, knowing by experience that the Lord was with him, and directed all his ways, giving him power against everything that exalteth itself against the knowledge of Christ, since He was ready to avenge every disobedience and injury inflicted on the servants of Christ.

¹ Note O.

If, therefore, this contemptuous and proud man, by the grace of humiliation and penance, was deemed meet to be healed by the holy man, who shall doubt that he, who with sure faith and sincere and humble heart, seeks the aid of so great a saint for the curing the wounds of his inner man, shall obtain a speedy remedy by his holy merits. But let us now go on to other things, which seem so much the greater, in proportion as they are proved to be contrary to nature itself.

[CHAPTER V.]

He clearth the Presbyter accused of Violation.

THERE was a certain girl in the service of one of the noblemen, as to the sinful flesh fair of face and graceful of aspect, on whom, when an unchaste young man had cast his eyes, he was seized with a blind love, and not able to subdue the flame of the lust which he had conceived, began to urge the girl to consent to sin. At length by solicitation or by money, he caused that she should conceive sorrow to bring forth iniquity. The unhappy woman yielded to the other's lust, little recking of the judgment of God, while she hoped to evade the eyes of man; but by the swelling of her womb the crime was betrayed, and soon laughter was turned into weeping, joy into sorrow, pleasure into pain. But what could she do? whither turn? The law, her parent, her master were feared. Wherefore the unhappy woman made a covenant with death, and put her trust in a lie, believing that she would seem less guilty if she said that she had been deceived or forced by some one of great name. Being urged therefore by the elders to denounce the guilty man, she laid the charge of violence on the presbyter to whom the bishop had delegated the care of the parish. All were astonished who heard that word. They acquitted the girl of the crime which they thought a man of such authority had committed. The good were scandalized, the wicked elated, the common people laughed, and the sacred order was scoffed at; the presbyter, whose fame was injured, was saddened. But the innocence of the priest by the revelation of the Spirit was not hidden from the bishop beloved by God. He bore, however, with impatience the scandal to the Church and the injury to holy religion. Meanwhile the days of the woman were accomplished that she should bring forth a child, and she bore a son, not, as was supposed, to the disgrace of the priest, but to that of the father and the unworthy mother. For the bishop sum-

moned to the Church all the clergy and people, and having exhorted them in a sermon, laid his hands on those who had been baptized. Meanwhile the bold woman, casting aside all shame, bursting in among the people with those who belonged to her, thrust the child in the face of the presbyter, and vociferated in the ears of all the congregation that he was the father of the child, a violator and deceiver. A clamour arose among the people; shame among the good, laughter among the wicked. But the saint, commanding the people to keep quiet, ordered the child to be brought to him, being then only one night old. Wherefore, inflamed by the Spirit of God, when he had fixed his eyes on him, he said, "Hearken, O child, in the name of Jesus Christ, say out before this people if this presbyter begat thee." O this marvel! O work worthy of all admiration! O the strange clemency of God! O the ineffable power of the faith of Christ! Verily, all things are possible to him that believeth; but what shall I say? [What could not the faith of Ninian do? Certainly nature waiteth on faith, age on virtue; shall not nature wait upon the Lord of Nature?]. Age is not needed to produce an instrument, nor teaching for the office, nor time for practice, but at the instance of faith the divine power gave eloquence to the tongue of the infant, and out of the mouth of a babe and suckling,¹ it confounded the guilty, convicted the liar, absolved the innocent. Accordingly out of the infant body a manly voice was heard; the untaught tongue formed rational words. Stretching out his hand, and pointing out his real father among the people,—*"This,"* said he, *"is my father. He begat me. He committed the crime laid upon the priest. Verily, O bishop, thy priest is innocent of this guilt, and there is naught between him and me but the community of the same nature."* This was enough.² The child thereupon became silent, to speak again by and bye according to the law of nature and the changes of advancing years. Thanksgiving sounded in the mouth of all, and the voice of praise, and all the people exulted with joy, understanding that a great prophet had risen among them, and that God had visited His people.³

[CHAPTER VI.]

He undertaketh the Conversion of the Picts—He returneth home.]

MEANWHILE the most blessed man, being pained that the devil, driven forth from the earth within the ocean, should find

¹ Ps. viii. 2.

² Note P.

³ S. Luke i. 68.

rest for himself in a corner of this island in the hearts of the Picts, girded himself as a strong wrestler to cast out his tyranny; taking, moreover, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, the breastplate of charity, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.¹ Fortified by such arms, and surrounded by the society of his holy brethren as by a heavenly host, he invaded the empire of the strong man armed, with the purpose of rescuing from his power innumerable victims of his captivity: wherefore, attacking the Southern Picts,² whom still the Gentile error which clung to them induced to reverence and worship deaf and dumb idols, he taught them the truth of the gospel and the purity of the Christian faith, God working with him, and confirming the word with signs following.³ The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, those oppressed of the devil are set free.⁴ A door is opened for the Word of God by the grace of the Holy Spirit; the faith is received, error renounced, temples cast down, churches erected. To the font of the saving laver run rich and poor, young and old, young men and maidens, mothers with their children, and, renouncing Satan with all his works and pomps, they are joined to the body of the believers by faith, by confession, and by the sacraments. They give thanks to the most merciful God, who had revealed His Name in the islands that are afar off, sending to them a preacher of truth, the lamp of their salvation, calling them His people which were not His people, and them beloved which were not beloved, and them as having found mercy who had not found mercy.⁵ Then the holy bishop began to ordain presbyters, consecrate bishops,⁶ distribute the other dignities of the ecclesiastical ranks, and divide the whole land into certain parishes. Finally, having confirmed the sons whom he had begotten in Christ in faith and good works, and having set in order all things that referred to the honour of God and the welfare of souls, bidding his brethren farewell, he returned to his own church,⁷ where, in great tranquillity of soul, he spent a life perfect in all sanctity and glorious for miracles.

¹ Eph. vi. 17.² S. Luke vii. 22.³ Note B.⁴ Note Q.⁵ Hos. i. 10. Cf. Rom. ix. 25.⁶ Note S.⁷ S. Mark xvi. 20.

[CHAPTER VII.

The Miracle among the Leeks.]

It happened on a day that the holy man with his brethren entered the refectory to dine, and seeing no pot-herbs or vegetables on the table, he called the brother to whom the care of the garden had been committed, and asked the reason why upon that day no leeks or herbs had been placed before the brethren. Then he said, "Verily, O father, whatever remained of the leeks and such like I this day committed to the ground, and the garden has not yet produced anything fit for eating." Then said the saint, "Go, and whatsoever thy hand findeth, gather and bring to me." Wondering, he stood trembling, hesitating what to do; but knowing that Ninian could order nothing in vain, he slowly entered the garden. Then followed a wonder, incredible to all save those who knew that to him that believeth all things are possible. He beheld leeks and other kinds of herbs not only grown, but bearing seed. He was astonished, and, as if in a trance, thought that he saw a vision. Finally, returning to himself, and calling to mind the power of the holy man, he gave thanks unto God, and culling as much as seemed sufficient, placed it on the table before the bishop. The guests looked at each other, and with heart and voice magnified God working in His saints; and so retired much better refreshed in mind than in body.

[CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Animals and the Thieves.]

It sometimes pleased the most holy Ninian to visit his flocks and the huts of his shepherds, wishing that the flocks, which he had gathered together for the use of the brethren, the poor and the pilgrims, should be partakers of the episcopal blessing. Therefore, all the animals being gathered into one place, when the servant of the Lord had looked upon them, he lifted up his hand and commended all that he had to the Divine protection. Going, therefore, round them all, and drawing as it were a little circle with the staff on which he leant, he enclosed the cattle, commanding that all within that space should that night remain under the protection of God. Having done all this, the man of God turned aside to rest for the night at the house of a certain honourable matron. When, after refreshing their bodies

with food and their minds with the word of God, all had gone to sleep, certain thieves appeared, and seeing that the cattle were neither enclosed by walls, nor protected by hedges, nor kept in by a ditch, they looked to see if any one was watching, or if anything else resisted their attempt. And when they saw that all was silent, and that nothing was present that by voice or movement or barking might frighten them, they rushed in and crossed the bounds which the saint had fixed for the cattle, wishing to carry them all off. But the Divine power was present resisting the ungodly, nay, casting them down, using against those, who, as brute beasts, minded their bellies and not their reason, the instrumentality of an irrational animal. For the bull of the herd rushed upon the men in fury, and striking at the leader of the thieves, threw him down, pierced his belly with his horns, sending forth his life and his entrails together. Then tearing up the earth with his hoofs, he smote with mighty strength a stone which happened to be under his foot, and, in a wonderful way, in testimony of the miracle, the foot sunk into it as if into soft wax, leaving a footmark in the rock, and by the footmark giving a name to the place. For to this day the place in the English tongue is named Farres Last,¹ that is, the Footprint of the Bull. Meanwhile, the most blessed father having finished the solemn service of prayer, went aside, and finding the man disembowelled and lying dead among the feet of the cattle, and seeing the others rushing about hither and thither as if possessed by furies, moved with compassion, and turning earnestly to God, besought Him to raise the dead. Nor did he cease from tears and entreaties till the same power which had slain him restored him not merely to life, but made him safe and sound. For, verily, the power of Christ, for the merit of the saint, smote him and healed him, killed and restored him to life, cast him down to hell and raised him again.² Meanwhile the others, whom, running about the whole night, a certain madness had enclosed within the circle which the saint had made, seeing the servant of God, cast themselves with fear and trembling at his knees imploring pardon. And he, benignantly chiding them and impressing upon them the fear of God and the judgment prepared for the rapacious, giving them his benediction, granted them permission to depart.

¹ Note T.

² 1 Sam. ii. 6, 7.

[CHAPTER IX.

Ailred complaineth of the Morals of his own Age—Ninian's way of Life—The Miracle of the Shower.]

As I reflect on the devout conversation of this most holy man, I am ashamed of our sloth, and of the laziness of this miserable generation. Which of us, I ask, even among servants, does not more frequently utter jestings than things serious, idle things than things useful, carnal things rather than things spiritual, in common conversation and intercourse? The mouths that Divine grace consecrated for the praise of God, and for the celebration of the holy mysteries, are daily polluted by backbiting and secular words, and they weary of the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Prophets. They all the day busy themselves with the vain and base works of man. How do they conduct themselves when journeying? Is not the body like the mind, all day in motion while the tongue is idle? Rumours and the doings of wicked men are in men's mouths; religious gravity is relaxed by mirth and idle tales; the affairs of kings, the duties of bishops, the ministries of clerics, the quarrels of princes, above all, the lives and morals of all are discussed. We judge every one but ourselves, and, what is more to be deplored, we bite and devour one another, that we may be consumed one of another.¹ Not so the most blessed Ninian, not so, whose repose no crowd disturbed, whose meditation no journey hindered, whose prayer never grew lukewarm through fatigue. For whithersoever he went forth, he raised his soul to heavenly things, either by prayer or by contemplation. But so often as turning aside from his journey he indulged in rest, either for himself or for the beast on which he rode, bringing out a book which he carried about with him for the very purpose, he delighted in reading or singing something, for he felt with the prophet, "O how sweet are thy words unto my throat! yea, sweeter than honey unto my mouth."² Whence the Divine power bestowed such grace upon him, that even when resting in the open air, when reading in the heaviest rain, no moisture ever touched the book on which he was intent. When all around him was everywhere wet with water running upon it, he alone sat with his little book under the waters, as if he were protected by the roof of a house. Now it happened that the most reverend man was making a journey

¹ Gal. v. 15. Note U.

² Psalm cxix. 103.

with one of his brethren then alive, also a most holy person, by name Plebia, and as his custom was he solaced the weariness of his journey with the Psalms of David. And when, after a certain portion of the journey, they turned aside from the public road, that they might rest a little, having opened their Psalters, they proceeded to refresh their souls with sacred reading. Presently the pleasant serenity of the weather, becoming obscured by black clouds, poured down from on high to earth those waters which it had naturally drawn upwards. What shall I more say? The light air, like a chamber arching itself around the servants of God, resisted as an impenetrable wall the descending waters. But during the singing, the most blessed Ninian turned off his eyes from the book, affected a little by an unlawful thought, even with some desire he was tickled by a suggestion of the devil.¹ Whereupon at once the shower, invading him and his book, betrayed what was hidden. Then the brother, who was sitting by him, knowing what had taken place, with gentle reproof reminded him of his order and age, and showed him how unbecoming such things were in such as he. Straightway the man of God, coming to himself, blushed that he had been overtaken by a vain thought, and in the same moment of time drove away the thought and stayed the shower.

[CHAPTER X.

The Miracles of the Staff of Ninian in the Sea and on Land.]

MEANWHILE many, both nobles and men of the middle rank, intrusted their sons to the blessed Pontiff to be trained in sacred learning. He indoctrinated these by his knowledge, he formed them by his example, curbing by a salutary discipline the vices to which their age was prone, and persuasively inculcating the virtues whereby they might live soberly, righteously, and piously. Once upon a time one of these young men committed a fault which could not escape the saint, and because it was not right that discipline should be withheld from the offender, the rods, the severest torments of boys, were made ready. The lad in terror fled, but not being ignorant of the power of the holy man, was careful to carry away with him the staff on which he used to lean, thinking that he had procured the best comfort for the journey, if he took with him anything

¹ Note X.

that belonged to the saint. Flying therefore from the face of the man, he sought diligently for a ship which might transport him to Scotia.¹ It is the custom in that neighbourhood to frame of twigs a certain vessel in the form of a cup, of such a size that it can contain three men sitting close together. By stretching an ox-hide over it, they render it not only buoyant, but actually impenetrable by the water. Possibly at that time vessels of immense size were built in the same way. The young man stumbled on one of these lying at the shore, but not covered with leather, into which, when he had incautiously entered, by Divine providence, I know not whether by its natural lightness (for on a slight touch these float far out into the waves), straightway the ship was carried out to sea. As the water poured in, the unhappy sailor stood in ignorance what he should do, whither he should turn, what course he should pursue. If he abandon the vessel, his life is in danger; certain death awaiteth him if he continue. Then at length the unhappy boy, repenting his flight, beheld with pale countenance the waves ready to avenge the injury done to the father. At length, coming to himself, and thinking that S. Ninian was present in his staff, he confessed his fault, as if in his presence, in a lamentable voice, besought pardon, and prayed that by his most holy merits the divine aid might be vouchsafed him. Then trusting in the known kindness as well as power of the bishop, he stuck the staff in one of the holes, that posterity might not be ignorant of what Ninian could do even on the sea. At once, at the touch of the staff, the element trembled, and, as if kept back by a divine influence, ventured not to enter further by the open holes. These are Thy works, O Christ, who speaking to Thy disciples, hast endowed Thy faithful ones with this promise—"He that believeth in me, the works that I do, he shall do also."² Thou didst imprint Thy sacred Footsteps on the waves of the sea: the power of Ninian controlled the natural power of the sea. Thy sacred Hand held up the doubting disciple on that account in danger among the waves: the staff of Ninian protected the fugitive disciple from being swallowed up by the billows. Thou didst command the winds and the waves, that the fear of Thy disciples might be dispelled: the power of Ninian subdued the winds and the sea, that the young man might reach safely the shore where he would be.

For a wind rising from the easterly quarter impelled the vessel gently. The staff, acting for sail, caught the wind; the

¹ Note Y.

² S. John xiv. 12.

staff as helm directed the vessel ; the staff as anchor stayed it. The people stand on the western shore, and seeing a little vessel like a bird resting on the waters, neither propelled by sail, nor moved by oar, nor guided by helm, wondered what this miracle might mean. Meanwhile the young man landed, and that he might make the merits of the man of God more widely known, animated by faith he planted his staff on the shore, praying God, that in testimony of so great a miracle, sending forth roots and receiving sap contrary to nature, it might produce branches and leaves, and bring forth flowers and fruit. The divine propitiousness was not wanting to the prayer of the suppliant, and straightway the dry wood, sending forth roots, covering itself with new bark, put forth leaves and branches, and, growing into a considerable tree, made known the power of Ninian to the beholders there. Miracle is added to miracle. At the root of the tree a most limpid fountain springing up, sent forth a crystal stream, winding along with gentle murmur, with lengthened course, delightful to the eye, sweet to the taste, and useful and health-giving to the sick, for the merits of the saint.

[CHAPTER XI.]

Declamation on the Death of Ninian—His Burial at Whithern.]

WHEREFORE the most blessed Ninian, wondrously shining with such miracles as these, and powerful in the highest virtues, advanced with prosperous course to the day of his summons. That day was a day of exultation and joy to the blessed man, but of tribulation and misery to the people. He rejoiced, to whom heaven was opened ; the people mourned, who were bereaved of such a father. He rejoiced, for whom an eternal crown was laid up ; they were in sorrow, whose salvation was endangered. But even his own joy was dashed with sorrow, since both leaving them seemed heavy to bear, yet to be longer separate from Christ intolerable. But Christ, thus consoling the hesitating soul, said, " Arise, hasten, my friend, my dove, and come. Arise," saith He, " my friend, arise, my dove, arise through the mind, hasten by desire, come by love." Verily this word suited the most holy man, as the friend of the Bridegroom, to whom that heavenly Bridegroom had consigned His bride ; to whom He had revealed His secrets ; to whom He had opened His treasures. Rightly was that soul termed friend to whom

all was love, nothing fear. He saith, my friend, my dove. O dove, verily taught to mourn, who, ignorant of the gall of bitterness, used to weep with those that wept, to be weak with the weak, to burn with those that are offended. Arise, hasten, my friend, my dove, and come ; for the winter is now past, the rain is over and gone. Then verily, O blessed man, the winter was past to thee, when thou wert deemed meet with joyful eye to contemplate that heavenly fatherland, which the Sun of Righteousness doth illumine with the light of His glory, which love enkindleth, which a wondrous calm, as of a genial spring-time, tempereth with an unspeakable uniformity of climate. Then to thee that wintry storm which unsettleth all things here below, which hardeneth the cold hearts of men by the inroads of vice, in which neither doth the truth shine fully nor doth charity burn, hath passed away, and the showers of temptation and the hailstorms of persecution have ceased. That holy soul, perfectly triumphant, hath departed into the glory of perpetual freshness. The flowers, saith he, appear on the earth. The celestial odour of the flowers of paradise breathed upon thee, O blessed Ninian, when the company of the martyrs clad in red, and the confessors clothed in white, with placid countenance, smiled on thee as their most familiar friend, and welcomed to their society, thee, whom chastity had made white, and love had made red as the rose. For although opportunity granted not the sign of actual martyrdom in the body, it denied him not that merit of martyrdom, without which martyrdom is nothing. For how often did he for righteousness' sake expose himself to the sword of the enemy, how often to the arms of tyrants, prepared to lay down his life for truth, to die for righteousness ? Rightly therefore to the flowers of the roses and the lilies of the valleys is this empurpled and radiant one summoned, ascending from Libanus, that he may be crowned among the hosts of heaven. For the time of engrafting had come ; for the ripened cluster was to be cut off from the stem of the body, or from the vineyard of the Church here below, to be melted by love and laid up in the heavenly cellars.

Wherefore blessed Ninian, perfect in life and full of years, passed from this world in happiness, and was carried into heaven, accompanied by the angelic spirits, to receive an eternal reward, where, associated with the company of the apostles, joined to the ranks of the martyrs, enlisted in the hosts of the holy confessors, adorned also with the flowers of the virgins, he faileth not to succour those who hope in him, who cry to him, who praise him. But he was buried in the Church of Blessed Martin, which he had built from the foundations, and,

he was placed in a stone sarcophagus near the altar,¹ the clergy and people present, with their voices and hearts sounding forth celestial hymns, to the accompaniment of sighs and tears; where the power which had shone in the living saint ceaseth not to make itself manifest about the body of the departed one, that all the faithful may acknowledge that he is dwelling in heaven, who ceaseth not to work on earth. For at his most sacred tomb the sick are cured, the lepers are cleansed, the wicked are terrified, the blind receive their sight; by all which things the faith of believers is confirmed, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with God the Father in the unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

[CHAPTER XII.]

Miracles of the Relics of Ninian.]

(1. *In a deformed poor man.*)

WHEREFORE when the most blessed Ninian had been translated into the heavens, the faithful people who had loved him in life, frequented with the greatest devotion that which seemed to them to be left of him, namely, his most sacred relics; and the Divine Power, approving this reverence and faith, gave evidence by frequent miracles that he whom the common lot had removed from earth was living in heaven. There was born to one of the people by his own wife, a wretched son, the grief of both his parents, the horror of those who beheld him, whom nature had formed contrary to nature, all his members being turned the wrong way. For the joints of his feet being twisted, his heels projected forward, his back adhered to his face, his breast was near the hinder part of his head, with twisted arms his hands rested on his elbows.² What more shall I say? There lay that dusky figure, to whom had been given useless members, a fruitless life, to whom, amid the wreck of his other members, the tongue alone remained to bewail his misery, and to move to tears and sorrow those who beheld and heard him. The sorrow of his parents was incessant. Their grief increased day by day. At length the power of the most blessed Ninian, so often experienced, came into their minds, and, full of faith, they take up that wretched body, and approaching the relics of the holy man, they offer the sacrifice of a contrite heart with

¹ Note Z.

² Note AA.

floods of tears, and continue instant in devout prayer till the hour of vespers. Then laying that unshapely form before the tomb of the saint, they said, "Receive, O blessed Ninian, that which we offer to thee, a gift hateful indeed, but well fitted to prove thy power. We, of a truth, worn out, fatigued, borne down with sorrow, overcome by weariness, expose it to thy pity. Verily, if it be a gift, favour is due to those who offer it; if it be a burden, thou art fitter to bear it, who hast more power to lighten it. Here therefore let him die or live, let him be cured or let him perish." Having continued to say these and such things with tears, they left the sick child before the sacred relics and went their way. And behold in the silence of the midnight hour, the poor wretch saw a man come to him, shining with celestial light, and glittering in the ornaments of the episcopate, who, touching his head, told him to arise and be whole, and give thanks to God his Saviour. And when he had departed, the wretched being, as if awaking from a deep sleep, by an easy motion twisted each member into its natural place, and having recovered the power of all of them, returned to his home safe and sound. After this he gave himself wholly up to the church and to ecclesiastical discipline, and after being first shorn for the clericate, and then ordained presbyter, he ended his life in the service of his father.

(2. *In a poor man afflicted with scab.*)

On the fame of the miracle being made known, many ran together, each one laying his own trouble before the sacred relics. Among these, a simple man, poor in fortune, but rich in faith and good-will, approached, whose whole body an extraordinary scab had attacked, and so beset all his members that the skin hardening in marvellous fashion closed the courses of the veins, and on every side bound up the arteries, so that nothing but death awaited the patient. The unhappy man, therefore, approaching the body of the saint, offered up most devout prayers to altar, faith, and Lord. His tears flow, sobs burst forth, the breast is beaten, the very bowels tremble. To such faith, to such contrition, neither the merit of the saint nor the pity of Christ were lacking, Who therein glorified His saint and mercifully saved the poor man. Why should I delay longer? The poor Adefridus, for that was his name, did not cease from prayer, until in a few days he was restored to his former health.

(3. *In a blind girl.*)

There was moreover among the people a certain girl, Deisuit by name, who was so tormented with a pain in her eyes that the violence of the disease took away all power of sight, and darkness creeping around her, even the light of the sun was hidden from her. It was painful to the patient and grievous to her sympathizing relations. The skill of the physicians turned to despair; Ninian, the only hope that remained, is applied to. She was led by the hand before that most sacred spot. She is left weeping and wailing; she asketh earnestly; she seeketh anxiously; she knocketh importunately. The compassionate Jesus is faithful to His Gospel promise—"Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and the door shall be opened unto you."¹ Therefore to that girl before mentioned the grace which she sought appeared; the door of pity at which she knocked was opened; the health which she sought was vouchsafed; for the darkness was taken away and light was restored. All pain disappeared, and she who had come, led by another to the sacred tomb, returned home guided by her own sight, with great joy of her parents.²

(4. *In two lepers.*)

Moreover there were seen to come into the city two men that were lepers, who deeming it presumptuous to touch with the contact of leprosy the holy thing, from some distance implored the help of the saint. But coming to the fountain and holding that to be holy whatever Ninian had touched, they thought to be washed in that laver. O new miracle of the prophet Eliseus! O new cleansing, not of one, but of two Naamans! Naaman came in the spirit of presumption, they in that of humility. He came in doubt, they in faith. The king of Syria doubted, the king of Israel doubted, Naaman doubted. The king of Syria doubted: he doubted and was proud, who sent his leper to be cleansed, not to the prophet but to the king. The king of Israel doubted, who, on hearing the letter read, rent his clothes, and said, Am I God, that I can kill and make alive? Naaman doubted, who, when he heard the advice of the prophet, went away in a rage. Naaman stood in the chariot of pride at the door of Eliseus. These men in faith and humility cry aloud to the mercy of Ninian. Rightly then is that fountain turned into a Jordan, Ninian into a prophet. The lepers

¹ S. Matt. vii. 7.² Note BB.

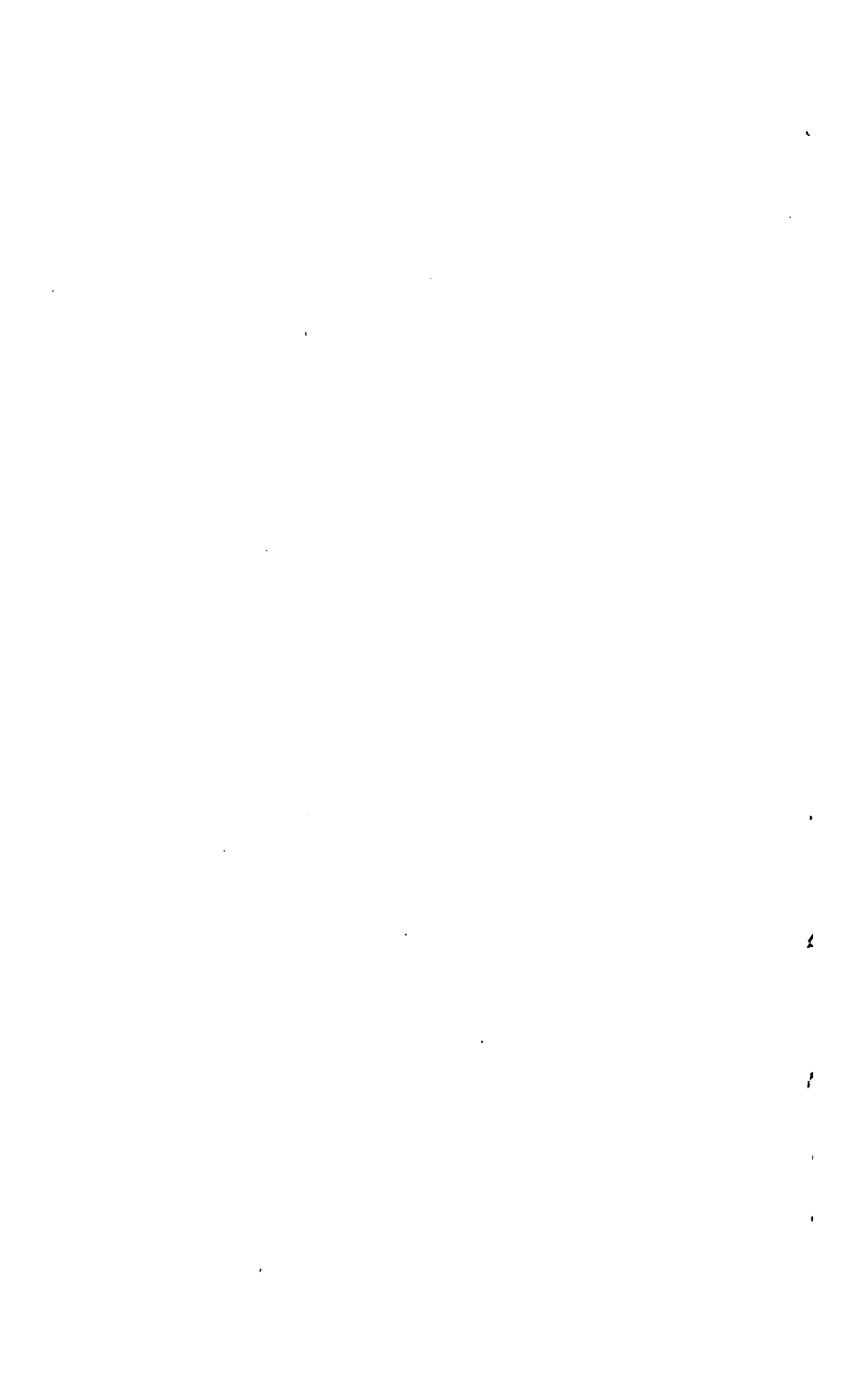
are cleansed alike by the touch of the laver, and by the merits of Ninian; and their flesh is restored like the flesh of a little child, and they return to their own healed, to the glory of Ninian, in praise of God, Who worketh thus marvellously in His saints.

But now this is the end of this book, though not the end of the miracles of S. Ninian, which do not cease to shine forth even unto our own times to the laud and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.¹

Here endeth the Life of S. Ninian, Bishop and Confessor.

¹ Note CC.

THE LIFE OF S. KENTIGERN
BY JOCELINUS, A MONK OF FURNESS.



HERE BEGINNETH A PROLOGUE, IN FORM OF AN EPISTLE, TO
THE LIFE OF S. KENTIGERN, BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.

PROLOGUE.

To his most reverend lord and dearest father Jocelinus,¹ an anointed bishop of the Lord Jesus Christ,² Jocelinus, the least of the poor ones of Christ, with the feeling and reality of filial love and obedience, wisheth the salvation of body and soul in our Saviour.

Since the fame of thy name, the loftiness of thine office, the even balance of thy judgment, thy life which is darkened by no shadow of evil report, thy long-tried religion, give me sufficient reason for believing, on diligent consideration, that thou art the ornament of the House of the Lord, over which thou dost preside, I have deemed it fitting to offer unto thee the first-fruits of my gatherings, which are redolent of the glory and beauty both of thyself and of thy church. For I have wandered through the streets and lanes of the city, according to thy command, seeking the recorded life of S. Kentigern whom thy soul loveth; in whose chair the grace of Divine condescen-

¹ Note A.

² Note B.

sion, by the adoption of sons, by ecclesiastical election, by the succession of the ministry, hath caused thy sanctity to preside. Wherefore I have sought diligently for a life of him, if perchance such might be found, which with greater authority, with more evident truth, and with more cultivated style, might be composed, than that which thy church useth; because, as seemeth to most men, it is stained throughout by an uncultivated diction, discoloured and obscured by an inelegant style; and what beyond all these things any wise man would still more abhor, in the very commencement of the narrative something contrary to sound doctrine and to the Catholic faith very evidently appeareth.¹ But I have found another little volume, written in the Scotie dialect, filled from end to end with solecisms, but containing at greater length the life and acts of the holy bishop. I confess that I mourned and took ill that the life of so precious a bishop, glorious with signs and wonders, most distinguished by virtues and doctrine, should be tainted by what was perverse or opposed to the faith in its narrative, or again made exceedingly obscure by barbarous language; wherefore I determined out of either book to put together in the way of restoration the matter collected, and, so far as I might, and by thy command, season what had been composed in a barbarous way with Roman salt. I deem it absurd that so precious a treasure should be swathed in vile wrappings, and therefore I have endeavoured to clothe it,

¹ Note C.

if not in gold tissue and silk, at least in clean linen. I have endeavoured so to pour the life-giving wine from the old vessel into the new, that drawing it out in proportion to the scanty capacity of the vessel may be desirable to the simple, not useless to those who are further advanced, and no object of contempt to those who are richly endowed with sense. The merits and prayers therefore of the holy bishop aiding me, if the favour of the Inspirer from on high smile upon me, I shall so temper the style, that neither shall the work undertaken by me be obscure by creeping in the dark from too lowly language, nor, on the other hand, by aiming on high shall it swell, with pompous words, beyond what it ought, lest I should seem to have planted a grove in the temple of the Lord, which He hath forbidden. Therefore the whole study of this work, the entire fruit of this my labour, I have deemed meet to consecrate to thy name, to submit to thine approbation. If, however, anything be put forth which is inelegant or insipid, let it be seasoned with the salt of thy discretion; if anything sound therein scarcely consonant with truth, which I do not think there is, let it be shaped and squared by the rule of thy judgment. If nothing be found failing in either of these respects, let it be supported by thy testimony and confirmed by thy authority. And in all these things, if anything proceeding from my pen come to light otherwise than becometh the subject, be it imputed to the unskilfulness of my incapacity. If ought shall be produced worthy of being read, be it ascribed to thine eminency. But I have nowhere been able to find the

description of the Translation of this saint, nor the miracles performed after his death, which, however, were not noted, perhaps because they escaped the memory of those who were present, or were multiplied beyond enumeration, and which have thus been omitted, that the mass of facts collected might not engender fatigue in feeble readers. May thy sanctity ever live and flourish in the Lord.

Here endeth the Prologue.

HERE BEGINNETH THE LIFE OF S. KENTIGERN,
BISHOP AND CONFESSOR.

CHAPTER I.

THE beginning of the record of the glorious life of the most famous Kentigern, very dear to God and man, a Nazarite of our Nazarene Jesus Christ, is consecrated by that Divine oracle, where the Lord, anticipating by the blessings of His graciousness the holy prophet Jeremiah, announces that he shall be a chosen vessel sanctified to the office of the ministry, by such praise as this—"Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee: and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations."¹ Verily, blessed Kentigern, known to God before he was born into the world, bedewed with the grace of election before he came forth from his mother's womb, was in the beginning made great by miracles before he became great, either in bodily form or by his merits. For the Holy of holies began to make him shine forth in the sunlight of virtue in his very origin when sanctified in the womb, and when yet more fully to be sanctified, while enclosed in his mother's breast, that he might prove that the special gift of the Holy Spirit is not constrained by the chain of original sin. I say, that this man, famous for his race and beauty, distinguished in many ways by signs, prodigies, and portents, did the Redeemer of the nations decree to destine as a prophet, yea, as a doctor and head ruler to many nations. Wherefore this most holy one, although he drew his original germ from a royal stem, yet came forth as a rose from the thorn, as an aromatic tree from the filthy ground, for his mother was the daughter of a certain king, most Pagan in his

¹ Jer. i. 5.

creed, who ruled in the northern parts of Britannia. But when into the land of that region the sound of the announcement of the Christian faith went forth, and the words of saintly preachers advanced into those northern regions from which all evil used to proceed,¹ she heard with her ears those things that were to be heard how the Brightness of the Eternal Light, the Sun of Righteousness, rising by the star of virginity, illuminated the world with the rays of His knowledge and love, and declared salvation to those who were near and to those that were afar off, leading His own into the entire fulness of the truth, more efficaciously, by the argument of evident signs; straightway her heart was hot within her, and in her meditation that fire was kindled which the Lord sent on earth, and earnestly willed that it should be kindled,² and her soul thirsting to come to the recognition of the truth, conceived the engrafted word which could save her soul from eternal death. Though she was not yet washed in the stream of the saving laver, she was running in the way of God's commandments, with an active and open heart. She was occupying herself continually in frequent almsgivings, in devout prayers, in learning and exercising herself in the discipline of the faith of the church, so far as she might for fear of her Pagan father. Yet with a special devotion among these things, she admired the fruitful purity of the Virgin Mother, in admiring it she venerated it, in venerating and loving it she sought to imitate it, and with a certain presumptuous boldness of female audacity willed to be like her in conception and birth, for which she sedulously laboured to entreat the Lord.³

After the lapse of some time she was found with child,⁴ and her soul did magnify the Lord, simply believing, as she did, that her desire had been accomplished. Now that which was born in her was from the embrace of man, but, as she often, binding herself by an oath, asserted, by whom, or when or in what manner, she conceived, she had no consciousness. But although she was ignorant of the fact of the secret, or it had escaped her memory, by no means should the truth of the affair perish in the mind of a discreet person, nor should scruple arise therefrom; for, that for the present we may bury in silence what are found in poetic songs, or what we find inserted in histories which are not canonical, when we turn to the sacred volumes, we read in the Book of Genesis that the daughters of Lot not merely furtively secured for themselves the embraces of their father, but actually both by him, when he was inebriated and

¹ Note D.² Luke xii. 49.³ Note E.⁴ Note F.

entirely ignorant of what he was doing, conceived. It is certain moreover that many having drunk the potion of oblivion, which physicists call *Letargion*,¹ have slept, and have never felt when they suffered incision and sometimes burning of the limbs and the abrasion even of the vitals, and after awaking from the sleep have been ignorant of what was done to them. We have known also that by the sleight of hand of sooth-sayers, maiden chastity has been stormed, and the deflowered one has never known who ruined her. It may be that something of this kind happened to the girl, by the secret judgment of God, that she might not feel the mixture of the sexes, and so, when impregnated, might think herself undefiled.

We by no means think that it was purposeless that this should have been mentioned, since the stupid and foolish people, who live in the diocese of S. Kentigern, go so far as to assert that he was conceived and born of a virgin.² But why should we delay at these things? Surely it is both absurd and irrelevant longer to investigate who was the sower or how the seed was ploughed in or sowed, when, the Lord giving the increase, the earth brought forth good and rich fruit—the fruit, I say, of this land, which hath received blessing from the Lord, whereby many generations are blessed by Him, and receive from Him the fruit of eternal salvation.

Meanwhile the woman went about, and her swelling womb began to exhibit to all beholders the sign of her conception. And now the pallor of her countenance, and the swelling of the veins of her throat, and the milk bursting from her breasts, announced that her delivery was at hand. And when this had been instilled into the ears of the king her father, and he had proved the truth of the matter in a more certain examination by sight and touch, he began most earnestly to try to learn from her, now urging her by her fears, now coaxing her by blandishments, who had brought her to the condition in which she was. But she with an oath declared, in the name of Christ, that she was innocent of all intercourse with man. On hearing this the king was moved with greater rage, both because of the name of Christ which sounded in his ears, and because he could not find out the violator of his daughter. Whereupon he swore, and was steadily purposed to keep his righteous judgment, and determined not to swerve from the law handed down from his ancestors in such cases, for the love or the life of his daughter.

¹ Note G.

² Note H.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Law that was established in those days among the Cambrian people about Girls who committed Fornication.

THERE was a law among that barbarous people, promulgated from a remote antiquity, that a girl committing fornication in her father's house, and found with child, was to be cast down from the summit of a high mountain, and he who sinned with her was beheaded. So among the ancient Saxons, up nearly to modern times, the law remained in force, that every virgin of her own will deflowered in her father's house should be without any remission buried alive, and her lover hanged over her sepulchre.¹ What shall we say to these things, or what can we conjecture concerning them? If such a zeal for chastity burns in the heathen, who are ignorant of the Divine law, solely for decency's sake and the observance of the traditions of their fathers, what shall the Christian do, who is bound to the preservation of chastity by that Divine law? for if the joy of heaven be promised as the reward of the observance, so, on the other hand, for the infraction of that law eternal punishment is now prepared. Behold in these days, both sexes, and every condition, are plunged in every slough of carnal sin, almost with a ready will, and without restraint, because they do it with impunity. And not only is the vile commonalty polluted by this contagion, but even those who are maintained by ecclesiastical benefices, and who betake themselves to the Divine offices, are so much the more impure as they deem themselves more happy.² For now the hammerer of the whole earth, even the spirit of Fornication, hath passed over them. They who exhibit in outward form the appearance of sanctity, but deny the power thereof, by their works paying allegiance to the present world, are known by their impure lives to lie to God by their sacred habit and tonsure. Verily they must fear what God threatens by His prophet, saying, "He who hath done iniquity in the land of the saints shall not look upon the glory of the Lord." For now, what is to be bewailed with every flood of tears, that sin of sins, than which nothing more detestable can be conceived, on account of which the sulphurous flame in the five cities, a heavenly judgment, destroyed the guilty, is committed with impunity. Nor can there easily be found one who can chide the perpetrator. For if any one,

¹ Note I.

² Note K.

however rarely, may be discovered, whom the zeal of the Lord's house consumeth, who burneth with the love of righteousness and decency, so that he should seem to censure such monstrous crimes, straightway he is resisted to the face as a sycophant, and condemned by all as guilty of detraction. His mouth is stopped as of one speaking wickedly, his tongue is decreed to be tied up.¹

Wherefore is this? Plainly, because the body of leviathan, as it is written, is shut up with scales. "One is so near to another, that no air can come between them;"² because the criminous and guilty ones, who are the children of the devil, are mutually protected by others who are implicated in the same vice, that the arrow of correction cannot penetrate them. Verily, as I think, this takes place as a proof of their irretrievable damnation, that such men, being given over to a reprobate mind, neither receive, nor will accept, the rod of correction. And the multitude, stained with the same vice, improves them not by punishment, seeing that the many, as well as they themselves, individually burn as if cast into a furnace.

But what shall we say of those on whom the duty is enjoined of binding and loosing, of opening and shutting, who are placed upon a candlestick, that in the House of God they may shine by word and example? Do not the greater part now-a-days exhibit rather smoke than flame, rather stench than brightness? Are they not dumb dogs, that cannot, yea, that will not, bark? When they see manners worse than beastly, they dare not check them, especially since they themselves are confirmed in these habits, nay, in truth, are more wicked. For as with the people so with the priest; as is the subject so is the prelate; nay, they who are first in dignity are first in iniquity; and they who excel in office are deepest in vice. What the Scriptures mystically saith of such is to be feared for them: "And if so much as a beast touched the mountain, it was to be stoned."³ The beast toucheth the mountain when any one of beastly life mounteth the chair of prelacy, and applieth an impure hand to purifying sacrifices. Yet such is the one who is ordered to be stoned, for that he should be subjected to a severe and grave condemnation is evidently taught to us in the opinions of the holy Fathers. That I should have said this by way of digression will, I pray, be burdensome to no one. The zeal of this Pagan man, who spared not his own daughter, but who for the fault of simple fornication handed her over to so terrible a

¹ Note L.

² Job xli. 16, Eng. version.

³ Exod. xix. 13; Heb. xli. 20.

punishment, should cause great shame to the worshippers of Christ, in planting and propagating modesty.

CHAPTER III.

In what way the Divine mercy saved the Mother of S. Kentigern from the Precipice and from Shipwreck.

ACCORDINGLY the girl aforesaid, by the king's command, was led to the top of a very high hill, called Duncpelder,¹ that, cast down from thence, she might be broken limb by limb, or dashed to pieces. But she, groaning heavily, and looking up to heaven, said in complaining words, "Justly do I suffer this, for that I have done very foolishly, in wishing to be equalled to the most holy, most serene source of salvation, the parent who brought forth her Father. But I beseech thee," she said, "O Mary, blessed among women, pardon the iniquity of thine handmaid, for I have done very foolishly.² O mother of mercy, show the light of thy loving-kindness towards me, and free me from the plague which surroundeth me. I beseech thee, O Lady, that as He, the flower of the angelic mountains, without injury to thy snow-white purity, vouchsafed to become in thee the lowly and fertile valley of all virtues, the lily of our valleys, and out of thee, the most firm mountain of the faith deigned to become the stone hewn without hands, which became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth; so deliver me thine handmaiden, though not yet washed in the sacred font, yet firmly believing in thy Son, and resting under the shadow of thy wings, from the imminent precipice, that the blessed name of thy Son may be for ever magnified in the sight of these people. Moreover, I promise the fruit which I bear in my womb to thy Son and to thee, as a special property, to be thy servant all the days of his life."³

When she had prayed in this manner, with devout heart and mouth, the servants of the king hurled her from the top of the mountain, as with frequent urgency she invoked Christ and His mother. A wonderful thing occurred, unheard of from ancient times. When she fell she was not bruised, because the Lord supported her with His hand, and therefore she sustained no injury; since, as it seemed to her, like a bird bearing feathers, she came down with easy descent to the ground lest

¹ Note M.

² 2 Sam. xxiv. 10.

³ Note N.

she should dash her foot against a stone.¹ Thanksgiving and the voice of praise sound forth from the mouths of many who beheld these wonderful works of God. The holy and terrible name of Christ is magnified. The innocent one is judged, and not only is to be deemed free from all further punishment, but in every way to be held in veneration. But, on the other hand, the idolaters and adversaries of the Christian faith imputed this not to Divine virtue but to magical arts, and with unanimous voice proclaimed her a witch and a sorceress. Therefore there was a division among the people concerning her. Some said, She is a good woman, and innocent. Others said, Nay, but by her conjuring she deceiveth the people, changeth their countenance, and deludeth their senses.

The crowd therefore in a whirl of words confused itself, but the sacrilegious multitude prevailing, urged the king, who was entirely devoted to idolatry, to dictate a new sentence on his daughter. At length, by the common verdict of the society of the ungodly, and of the adversaries of the name of Christ, it was decreed that that poor little pregnant woman, placed alone in a boat, should be exposed to the sea.² In order therefore that the sentence thus determined should be carried into effect, the king's servants, embarking, took her far out to sea, and committing her to fortune alone in a very little boat of hides, made after the fashion of the Scotti, without any oar, rowed back to the shore. They related to the king and to the people, who were waiting the issue of the event, what they had done. But they mocking said, "She calleth herself the handmaid of Christ, and professeth to have the protection of His power, let us see whether her words are true. She trusteth in Christ, let Him deliver her, if He be able, from the hand of death and from the peril of the sea."

But the girl, destitute of all human help, committed herself unto Him alone that created the sea and the dry land, devoutly praying Him, who had before now saved her from the precipice, to protect her from the shipwreck which threatened her. Wonderful to relate, though nothing is impossible with the Lord, that little vessel, in which the pregnant girl was detained, ploughed the watery breakers and eddies of the waves towards the opposite shore more quickly than if propelled by a wind that filled the sail, or by the effort of many oarsmen. For He who preserved unhurt amid the ocean-currents Jonah the prophet, borne within the vast belly of the whale, who by His right hand held up blessed Peter when he was walking

¹ Ps. xci. 12.² Note O.

upon the waves that he should not be drowned, and who saved from the depths of the sea his co-apostle Paul, who thrice suffered shipwreck,¹ brought the girl safe to the haven of refuge, for the sake of the child which she bore in her womb, whom He predestined to be an excellent captain of His ship; that is, a doctor and good ruler of His Church.

CHAPTER IV.

*Of the Birth of S. Kentigern, and his Education,
by S. Servanus.*

THE girl aforesaid landed on the sand at a place called Cul-enros.² In which place at that time S. Servanus³ dwelling, taught sacred literature to many boys, who were to be trained to the Divine service. When she had landed on the shore the pains of approaching childbirth seized her. Raising her eyes, she saw at a distance, although in the darkness, the signs of the ashes of a fire near the shore, which perhaps some shepherds or fishermen had left there. She crawled to the place, and as best she might kindled for herself a fire. But when the dawn, the herald of the Divine light, began to brighten, the time was accomplished that she should bring forth. And she brought forth a son,⁴ the preacher and herald of the true Light.

Now, at the same hour, while S. Servanus, intent upon prayer after mass in the morning, was drawing in his breath⁵ in the delight of Divine contemplation, he heard the companies of the angels chanting their mellifluous praises on high, joying along with whose lauds, he with his disciples, exulting in spirit, strove to sacrifice to the Lord the victims of jubilation by singing, *We praise Thee, O Lord*. On the clerics being astonished at the novelty of the affair, and demanding what had happened, he told them all in order the whole matter, and the hymnings of the angels, sedulously exhorting them to offer the calves of their lips to the Lord. But there were in the neighbourhood shepherds keeping watch over the flocks. And they going forth in the early day-spring, beheld a fire lighted close at hand, and coming with haste found the young woman with her childbirth completed, and the child wrapped in rags, and lying in the open air. They, moved by pity, took care of them by increasing the fire and supplying food, and procuring other necessities; and

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 25.

⁴ Matt. i. 25.

² Note P.

⁵ Ps. cxix. 131.

³ Note Q.

bringing them in as suitable way as they could, and presenting them to S. Servanus, related the matter from the beginning.

On hearing this, and seeing the little boy, the mouth of the blessed old man was filled with spiritual laughter, and his heart with joy. Wherefore in the language of his country he exclaimed, "Mochoho, Mochoho," which in Latin means "Care mi, Care mi," adding, "Blessed art thou that hast come in the name of the Lord." He therefore took them to himself, and nourished and educated them as if they were his own pledges. After certain days had passed he dipped them in the laver of regeneration and restoration, and anointed them with the sacred chrism, calling the mother Taneu, and the child Kyentyern,¹ which by interpretation is, The Capital Lord. That this new name, which the mouth of S. Servanus bestowed on him, was not received in vain, shall be clearly set forth in what followeth. Wherefore the man of God educated the child of God, like another Samuel committed unto him and assigned by God. But the child grew, and was comforted, and the grace of God was in him. But when the age of intelligence, and the acceptable time for learning arrived, he handed him over to be trained in letters, and spent much labour and care that he might profit in these things. Nor was he disappointed in his desire in this respect, seeing that the boy, in learning and retaining, well and richly responded to his training, "like a tree planted by the water side, which bringeth forth its fruit in due season." The boy advanced, under the unction of good hope and holy disposition, in the discipline of learning as well as in the exercise of the sacred virtues. For there were bestowed upon him by the Father of Lights, from whom descendeth every good and perfect gift, a docile heart, a genius sharp at understanding, a memory tenacious in recollecting, and a tongue persuasive in bringing forward what he willed; a high, sweet, harmonious, and indefatigable voice for singing the Divine praises. All these gifts of grace were gilded by a worthy life, and therefore beyond all his companions he was precious and amiable in the eyes of the holy old man. Wherefore he was accustomed to call him in the language of his country, "Munghu," which in Latin means "Karissimus Amicus,"² and by this name even until the present time the common people are frequently used to call him, and to invoke him in their necessities.

¹ Note R.

² Note S.

CHAPTER V.

Of the little bird that was killed, and then restored to life by Kentigern.

THE fellow-pupils of S. Kentigern, seeing that he was loved beyond the rest by their master and spiritual father, hated him, and were unable either in public or private to say anything peaceable to him. Hence in many ways they intrigued against, abused, envied, and backbit him. But the Lord's boy ever had the eye of his heart fixed upon the Lord; and mourning more for them than for himself, cared little for all the unjust machinations of men. Now a little bird, which, on account of the colour of his body, is called the redbreast, by the will of the Heavenly Father, without whose permission not even a sparrow falleth to the ground, was accustomed to receive its daily food from the hand of the servant of God, Servanus, and by such a custom being established it showed itself tame and domesticated unto him. Sometimes even it perched upon his head, or face, or shoulder, or bosom; sometimes it was with him when he read or prayed, and by the flapping of its wings, or by the sound of its inarticulate voice, or by some little gesture, it showed the love it had for him. So that sometimes the face of the man of God, shadowed forth in the motion of the bird, was clothed in joy, as he wondered at the great power of God in the little creature, to Whom the dumb speak, and the irrational things are known to have reason. And because that bird often approached and departed at the command and will of the man of God, it excited incredulity and hardness of heart in his disciples, and convicted them of disobedience. And this will not seem strange to any one, seeing that the Lord by the voice of a mute animal under the yoke reproved the madness of the prophet, and Solomon, the wisest of men, sent the sluggard to the ant, that by considering her labour and industry, he might cast away his torpor and sloth.¹ Moreover, a certain saint and sage invited his religious to consider the work of bees, that in their little bodies they might learn the beautiful discipline of service. And perhaps it will seem wonderful to some that a man so holy and perfect should take delight in the play and gesture of a little bird. But such should know that perfect men ought sometimes to have their rigours mitigated by something of this kind, that they who mentally approach to God should some-

¹ Note T.

times descend to our level ; just as the bow ought occasionally to be unbent, lest it be found, from too long tension, nerveless and useless, at the needful time, in the discharge of the arrow. Even birds, in passing through the air, sometimes are able to rise with extended wings, and sometimes, closing them, to descend towards earth.

Therefore on a certain day, when the saint entered his oratory to offer up to God the frankincense of prayer, the boys, availing themselves of the absence of the master, began to indulge in play with the aforesaid little bird, and while they handled it among them, and sought to snatch it from each other, it got destroyed in their hands, and its head was torn from the body. On this play became sorrow, and they already in imagination saw the blows of the rods, which are wont to be the greatest torment of boys. Having taken counsel among themselves, they laid the blame on the boy Kentigern, who had kept himself entirely apart from the affair, and they showed him the dead bird, and threw it away from themselves before the old man arrived. But he took very ill the death of the bird, and threatened an extremely severe vengeance on its destroyer. The boys therefore rejoiced, thinking that they had escaped, and had turned on Kentigern the punishment due to them, and diminished the grace of friendship which Servanus had hitherto entertained for him.

When Kentigern, the most pure child, learnt this, taking the bird in his hands, and putting the head upon the body, he signed it with the sign of the cross, and lifting up holy hands in prayer to the Lord, he said, "Lord Jesus Christ, in Whose hands is the breath of every rational and irrational creature, give back to this bird the breath of life, that Thy blessed name may be glorified for ever." These words spake the saint in prayer, and straightway the bird revived, and not only with untrammelled flight rose in the air in safety, but also in its usual way it flew forth with joy to meet the holy old man as he returned from the church. On seeing this prodigy the heart of the old man rejoiced in the Lord, and his soul did magnify the Lord's boy in the Lord, and the Lord, Who alone doeth marvellous things, and was working in the boy. By this remarkable sign, therefore, did the Lord mark out, nay, in a way, presignify, as his own, Kentigern, and announced him beforehand, whom in after times, in manifold ways, He made still more distinguished by wonders.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Fire extinguished through envy by the Companions of S. Kentigern, and by his Breath brought down from Heaven upon a little branch of hazel.

It was the rule of S. Servanus, that each of the boys whom he trained and instructed should, during the lapse of a week, carefully attend to arrange the lamps in the church, while the Divine office was being celebrated there by day and by night; and for this purpose, when the others had gone to sleep, should attend to the fire, lest any neglect from default of light should happen to the Divine service. It happened that S. Kentigern, in the order of his course, was appointed to this service, and, while he was doing it diligently and in order, his rivals, (inflamed with the torches of envy, nay, blinded, as it is the peculiarity of perverse men to envy the advance of their betters, to persecute, to pervert, and to diminish the good which in themselves they have not, nor will to have, nor can have,) on a certain solemn night secretly extinguished all the fire within the habitations of the monastery and the places in its neighbourhood. Then, as if ignorant and innocent, they sought their beds, and when about cockcrow, as was his custom, at the sacred vigils, S. Kentigern arose, as custom required that he should attend to the lights, he sought for fire everywhere round about and did not find it.

At length, having found out the wickedness of his rivals, he determined in his mind to give place to envy, and began to leave the monastery. But when he had come to the hedge which surrounded that habitation, returning to himself, he stood still, and armed his soul to endure perils from false brethren, and to bear the persecution of the froward. Then going back to the house, he laid hold of and drew out a bough of a growing hazel which had come up beside the hedge, and, enkindled by faith, he besought the Father of Lights to lighten his darkness by the pouring in of new light, and in a new way to prepare for himself a lantern by which he might clothe with healthful confusion those his enemies who persecuted him. Lifting therefore a pure hand, he signed the bough with the sign of the cross, and blessing it in the name of the holy and undivided Trinity breathed upon it. A wonderful and remarkable thing followed! Straightway fire coming forth from heaven, seizing the bough, as if the boy had exhaled flame for breath, sent forth fire, vomiting rays, and banished all the sur-

rounding darkness, and so in His light seeing light, he walked into the House of God. God therefore sent forth His light, and led him and brought him unto the monastery, even unto His holy hill and unto His dwelling. And so he went unto the altar of God, who gave joy to his youth by so clear a sign, and kindled the lamps of the church, that the Divine office might be celebrated and finished in due season. Therefore was the Lord his light and his salvation, that he might no longer fear any of his rivals, because He gave sentence for him, and defended his cause against those unjust, envious, and deceitful youths, so that their malice might no more prevail against him.

All were astonished, beholding this great vision, when that torch burnt without injury to itself, as when in olden time the bush which appeared to Moses seemed to be burnt, and yet was not consumed. For it was one and the same Lord who wrought the self-same wonder in the bush and in the twig of hazel; for the Same who destined Moses as a lawgiver for the people of the Hebrews, that he might lead them out of the bondage of Egypt, deigned to destine Kentigern as a preacher of the Christian law, to many nations, that he might rescue them from the power of the devil. In the end that torch was extinguished from heaven, when the lamps of the church had been lighted, and every one more and more wondered, beholding these great things of God. For that hazel from which the little branch was taken, received a blessing from S. Kentigern, and afterwards began to grow into a wood. If from that grove of hazel, as the country folks say, even the greenest branch is taken, even at the present day, it catches fire like the driest material at the touch of fire, which in a manner laps it up, and, influenced by a little breath by the merit of the saint, sheds abroad from itself a fiery haze. And verily it was right that a miracle of this nature should continue, yea, perpetuate itself in his case, who, although in the verdure of the spring-time of life, the delight of the flesh was vigorous, yet inwardly was strong, and all the glory of the world, like the grass of the field, entirely withered because the Spirit of the Lord blew upon it, and the Word of God for ever abiding, by His enlightening consecrated to Himself that hallowed soul and undefiled body, and the fire of the Holy Spirit burnt him up as a whole burnt-offering, accepted as an odour of a sweet savour.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Cook raised from the Dead by the Prayers of S. Kentigern.

S. SERVANUS had a certain man deputed to the office of the kitchen, who was very necessary for him and for those who dwelt with him, in that he was well qualified and active in that duty, and carefully attended to this frequent ministry. It happened that, seized with a sharp illness, he lay upon his bed, and the disease increasing and running its course, he yielded up the vital spirit. Sorrow filled the heart of the aged man for his death, and all the crowd of his disciples, and all his family, lamented for him, because it was not easy to find another like him for such a service. Fulfilling a natural duty, they consigned his native dust in the womb of the mother of all, and sustained no small loss on account of his decease. On the day after the burial, all the disciples and servants, both those friendly and those jealous, came to S. Servanus, earnestly beseeching him that he should by his prayer summon his Munhu, and compel him by his virtue of obedience, so far as to endeavour to raise his cook from the dead. For the envious ones asserted that the Egyptian magicians, by their enchantments, had shown forth signs from heaven, and, on the testimony of John in the Apocalypse, that the disciples of Antichrist would send down fire from heaven, and that many wizards had in the eyes of all done what seemed wondrous by their occult arts, but that none of the human race could bring back to the breath of life one who was really dead, unless he was a man perfect in holiness.

They persisted, in season and out of season, urging him by persuasive words, to test his sanctity by such a work as this; and that his merit would be proclaimed for ever if he recalled to life one dead and buried. The holy old man at first hesitating to presume to enjoin so unusual a work on the young man, at length, overcome and constrained by their wicked importunity, reasoned with the Lord's young man on the matter with bland words and entreaties, but found him reluctant, asserting that he had not the merit for this. Then S. Servanus adjured him by the holy and terrible name of God, that at least he should try what he could do in such a matter, and this he commanded in the force of holy obedience. The young man then fearing that adjuration, and thinking that obedience was better and more pleasing to God than all sacrifices, went to the tomb where the cook had been buried the day before, and caused the

earth wherewith he was covered to be dug up and cast out. Falling down therefore alone on the ground, with his face plentifully bedewed with tears, he said, "O Lord Jesu Christ, Who art the life and the resurrection of Thine own who faithfully believe in Thee, Who killest and makest alive, Who bringest down to the grave and bringest up, to Whom life and death are servants, Who raised Lazarus when he had been four days dead, raise again this dead man, that Thy holy name may be blessed and glorified above all things for ever."

An exceedingly astonishing thing followed! While S. Kentigern poured forth copious prayers, the dead man lying in the dust straightway rose again from the tomb, and came forth, though bound in grave-clothes, from the sepulchral home. He verily arose from the dead as the other arose from prayer, and along with him, and a large company following him, he proceeded safe and active first of all to the church, to return thanks to God, then, by the command of Kentigern, he betook himself to his accustomed duty of cooking, all wondering at the miracle and praising the Lord. He, in truth, who was raised from the dead declared in after times what he had seen of the punishment of the wicked and the joys of the righteous; and he converted many from evil to good, while he strengthened in their holy purpose many who were endeavouring to advance from good to better. On being urged by many, he likewise unfolded the manner of his resuscitation.¹ He asserted that he had been reft from things human with unspeakable pain, carried before the tribunal of the terrible Judge, and that there he had seen very many on receiving their sentence plunged into hell, others destined to purgatorial places, some elevated to celestial joys above the heavens. And when, trembling, he was awaiting his own sentence, he heard that he was the man for whom Kentigern, beloved of the Lord, was praying, and he was ordered by a being streaming with light that he should be restored to the body, and brought back to his former life and health; and he was sedulously warned by him who conducted him, that for the future he should lead a stricter life; and in truth, the self-same cook, assuming holy religion in act and habit, and profiting and advancing from strength to strength, lived seven years longer, and then yielding to fate, he was buried in a noble sarcophagus; and there was also engraven on the lid of the tomb how he had been raised from the dead by S. Kentigern, that by all who saw it or were to see it in time to come, the Lord, wonderful in His saint, might be magnified.

¹ Note U.

CHAPTER VIII.

How S. Kentigern departed secretly from S. Servanus, and what sort of a Miracle was wrought at his departing.

WHEN the sanctity of S. Kentigern shone forth, illustrated by such remarkable signs, and the sweet savour of his virtues shed forth far and wide an odour of life, his rivals drew in an odour of death from these life-giving scents, and that very holy opinion of him, which afforded matter of edification to many, was in their case an incentive towards sowing the seed of greater hatred against the saint of God. The boy, prudent in the Lord, knew that the measure of their malice against himself was filled up, and that the inveterate envy that had entered into their bowels and marrow could not be appeased in their unquiet hearts. Nor did he deem it safe to continue longer beside the crowd of venomous serpents, lest perchance he might suffer the loss of inward sweetness. He also weighed the air of popular favour, serenely breathing upon him, and from every side crying "Well done! Well done!" He forthwith proposed to himself to leave the place, that he might in humility forsake the company of those who hated and envied him, and also prudently avoid vainglory. Upon this, after applying himself to the most earnest prayer, he betook himself to the Angel of good counsel, entreating Him that His good Spirit might lead him in the right way, that he might not chance to run or have run in vain. The Lord therefore inclined His ear to the prayers of His servant, revealing to him by the Spirit that the holy intention which had rested in his mind would be well-pleasing in the eyes of the Lord.

He therefore retreated secretly from the place, having the Lord of truth as his guide and protector, in every place. Journeying, he arrived at the Frisicum Litus, where the river, by name Mallena, overpassing its banks when the tide flows in, took away all hope of crossing.¹ But the kind and mighty Lord, who divided the Red Sea into heaps, and led the people of Israel through the same dryshod, under the guidance of Moses, and again turned back to its source the perpetual flowing of Jordan, that the children of Israel might enter with dry footsteps the land of promise under Joshua; and who, at the prayer of Elias, and Eliseus his disciple, divided the same river of Jordan that they might pass dryshod; He Himself now

¹ Note X.

with the same mighty hand and stretched-out arm divided the river Mallena, that Kentigern, beloved of God and of man, might cross on dry ground. Then the tide flowing back in a very wonderful way, and, if I may so say, being as it were afraid, the waters both of the sea and of the river stood as walls on his right hand and on his left. After that, crossing a little arm of the sea, near a bridge which by the inhabitants is called the Pons Servani, on looking back to the bank he saw that the waters which had stood as in a heap before, now flowed back and filled the channel of the Mallena; yea, were overflowing the bridge aforesaid and denying a passage to any one.¹

And behold S. Servanus, supporting his aged limbs with a staff, having followed in pursuit of the fugitive, stood above the bank, and beckoning with his hand, he cried out lamenting, "Alas, my dearest son! light of mine eyes! staff of mine old age! wherefore dost thou desert me? wherefore dost thou leave me? Call to mind the days that are past, and remember the years that are gone by; how I took thee up when thou camest forth from thy mother's womb, nourished thee, taught thee, trained thee even unto this hour. Do not despise me, nor neglect my grey hairs, but return, that in no long time thou mayest close mine eyes." Kentigern, moved with these words of the aged man, melting into tears replied, "Thou seest, my father, that what is done is according to the Divine will. We neither ought nor can we alter the counsel of the Most High, or fail to obey His will. Besides there is this sea, which between us as a great gulf is fixed, so that they who would pass from hence to you cannot, neither can they pass to us that would come from thence."² I pray thee, therefore, have me excused." Then said the old man, "I pray thee, that by thy intercession, as thou hast just done, thou wouldest make solid again the liquid, divide the ground and make it bare, so that at least I, crossing, might reach thee dryshod. With willing mind will I become son instead of father to thee, disciple instead of teacher, pupil instead of guide, so that to the evening of my days I may be thine own companion." Then again Kentigern, weeping copiously, replied, "Return, I pray thee, my father, to thine own people,"³ that in thy holy presence they may be trained in sacred doctrine, guided by thine example, and restrained by thy discipline. The Rewarder of all reward thee, for all the benefits which thou hast done unto me, and since thou hast fought the good fight, even now hast finished thy course, and hast maintained the faith, living and fruitful, hence-

¹ Note Y.² Luke xvi. 26.³ Ruth i. 15.

forth there is laid up for thee a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will render to thee in the next world. But I, destined to the work of the ministry, will go forth to that which He sent me, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by His grace."

Having said this, and having mutually blessed each other, they were divided the one from the other, and never looked in each other's face again in this world. For Servanus, returning home, awaited in a good old age the day of his call, and thus growing old in good days, and being gathered to the holy fathers, he rested in the Lord, and, like a good labourer in the vineyard, at even-tide, received the penny of eternal reward from his Lord. And what sort of a man, and how great he was, and in what virtues he shone, a little book written of his Life will exhibit more clearly to those who read it. Now the place by which S. Kentigern crossed became after that entirely impassable. For that bridge, always after that covered by the waves of the sea, afforded to no one any longer means of transit. Even the Mallena altered the force of its current from the proper place, and from that day to this turned back the channel into the river Ledon. So that forthwith, the rivers which till then had been separate from each other now became mingled and united.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Sick Man who desired, and sought in prayer, and obtained from the Lord, that before his death he should see S. Kentigern; and tasted death in his presence, and obtained sepulture by his forethought.

THERE was a man of venerable life, Fregus by name, tormented by much and long sickness.¹ He lived in a town called Kernach, detained upon the bed of pain, sound in holy conversation, strong in faith, intent upon heaven.² This man, just and full of holy fear, when the south wind was blowing over his garden, so that the odours of its breeze might reach him, felt in his breast a sweetness which proceeded forth from the opinion he had of the sanctity of S. Kentigern. Whence also as there burnt in him the desire, and both heart and eye thirsted, one would have thought the wish of the holy old man Symeon was renewed, which he had to see the Lord. For Symeon, with

¹ Note Z.

² Note AA.

panting heart, desired with the eye of the flesh to behold the salvation of God, Christ the Lord, and Fregus, with firm faith, unmeasured desires, and frequent prayers, besought of the Lord that he might see Kentigern, the servant of the Lord Christ. Christ heard the desire of both, and the ear of God, hearing the desire of their hearts, fulfilled it. The desire and joy of Symeon was fulfilled on the day that Christ was presented in the Temple for his salvation. Fregus, for his consolation, saw and rejoiced in seeing Kentigern on the day that he parted from S. Servanus. For Fregus had received a promise from the Holy Ghost that he should not see death till he had seen Kentigern, the Nazarite of the Lord.

And when Kentigern had come to the habitation of the holy sick man, and knocked at the door, the sick man from within, warned by a Divine oracle, exclaimed, saying, "Open ye the gates, for the Lord is with us. The herald of my salvation, promised me by God, and long expected by me, to-day is manifested." And when he had seen him he rejoiced in spirit, and having given thanks, he blessed the Lord, and said, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word, for mine eyes have seen Thy consolation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of many people, a light to reveal the true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into this world, and to declare the glory of eternal life to the people of these and many nations." And turning to him he said again, "Dispose of my house and my life to-day, and to-morrow attend to my burial, as it pleaseth Thy providence, the Lord inspiring thee." Then, by the advice of holy Kentigern, he dispersed abroad and gave to the poor all the worldly substance he possessed, and, after making a pure confession, he was anointed with the oil of remission, and purified with the sacrament of the life-giving Body and Blood of the Lord, and then he commended his spirit into the hands of the Lord, and with eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he expired during the words of prayer. Next day S. Kentigern yoked two untamed bulls to a new wain, in which he placed the body, whence the spirit had departed, and having prayed in the name of the Lord, he enjoined upon the brute beasts to carry the burden placed upon them to the place which the Lord had provided for it. And in truth, the bulls, in no ways being restive, or in anything disobeying the voice of Kentigern, without any tripping or fall, came by a straight road, along where there was no path, as far as Cathures, which is now called Glasgu, along with Kentigern and many others accompanying; and then, with all gentleness, with the burden of the sacred earth laid on them, a beauteous sight, they halted near

a certain cemetery, which had been long before consecrated by S. Ninian.

Verily, with no less miracle, in no diverse way, with no unequal power, was this chariot, by ruling and threatening, directed to the appointed place by Him who in old time brought from Ekron to Bethshemesh, when Dagon was cast down and broken, the ark of the covenant, which had been taken by the Philistines, placed on a new waggon, and drawn by milch-cows that had never borne the yoke. Therefore the saint in the same place took the holy body down from the wain, and after celebrating his obsequies buried him in that cemetery in which none other man had yet lain. This was the first burial in that place, where afterwards very many bodies were buried in peace. The greatest reverence was paid to the tomb of the man of God; nor did any rash fool dare to trample or pass over it without vengeance, for within the revolution of a year many who trod on it or neglected to pay it honour were smitten down with grievous misfortune, some were even mulcted by death. That tomb is to the present time encircled by a delicious density of overshadowing trees, in witness of the sanctity and the reverence due to him who is buried there.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Two Brothers, one of whom perished by the judgment of God, the other, with all his family, was deemed meet to be blessed by the Lord for many generations.

WHEN the man of God, Fregus, had been buried, S. Kentigern, as was enjoined on him of God by revelation, dwelt in the same place with two brothers, who inhabited the place before his arrival, and framing his life in much sanctity, went on with great virtues unto perfection. One of those with whom he lived was called Telleyr, the other Anguen. But Anguen received God's saint as an angel of the Lord, and loved him with his whole heart, and obeyed his commands with all reverence and veneration, and submitted himself to all his requirements. And not in vain. For the servant of the Lord blessed him in the name of the Lord, and, succoured by that blessing of graciousness, not only he, but all his posterity, received a blessing from the Lord, and mercy from the God of his salvation, seeming to procure it by a sort of hereditary right. For the Lord magnified them in the sight of kings, and

made their name great, like unto the names of those who were great upon the earth, so that not only by abundance of substance, but by the culture of the Christian religion, they increased and extended themselves in such wise that it was justly said of them, This is the seed which the Lord hath blessed, by the merit and prayers of His servant Kentigern.

But the other, by name Telleyr, was very hostile to him, secretly detracting from his religion, misinterpreting all his actions, often openly withstanding him, insulting, and injuring him. Either by minishing from the good he did, or perverting it, he obscured everything by a sinister interpretation. But the servant of God had by continual use, accustoming himself, with blessed Job,¹ to be the brother of dragons and the companion of ostriches, and like Ezekiel to dwell with scorpions, in patience possessed his soul, and was peaceful with him who hated peace. But when he spoke of the things that concerned peace, Telleyr, perverse and ungrateful that he was, only made himself ready for battle.² But God, the Lord of vengeance, the patient Rewarder,³ suffered not the injury done to His servant to go long unrequited. For on a certain day, after many reproaches, by which he had made sad the soul of that righteous one, he went forth to his work. And because he was very strong, he placed upon his shoulders a weighty beam, exceeding the measure of his strength, rejoicing and thinking that he had acquired the reputation that in bearing burdens he was stronger than the asses. But when he had gone a little way he tripped upon a stone and fell, so that, crushed by his burden, he gave up the ghost, expressing what Solomon says, "Woe unto him that goeth alone; for he shall have no one to raise him when he falleth;⁴ and again, "He hath fallen once for all, who is always doing evil."

Kentigern, hearing that his adversary had fallen, lamented him deeply, and procured for him a place of interment; in this imitating holy David, the king of the Hebrews, who bewailed the death of his persecutor Saul,⁵ and mourned for him with a great mourning. But because, according to Solomon, when the fool perisheth the wise man will be wiser, we have in the fall of this man a sufficient proof, that we ought not to offend the servants and friends of God, or dare to inflict on them molestation, grievances, or injury. For the Elect are the Temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit dwelleth in them. They are therefore the more to be deferred to, and men should

¹ Job xxx. 29; Ezek. ii. 6.

² Heb. xi. 6.

⁴ Eccles. iv. 10.

³ Ps. cxx. 6.

⁵ 2 Sam. i. 12, 17.

abstain from injuring them, inasmuch as He who dwelleth in them is most powerful in vindicating their wrongs, and just in rendering justice to those who suffer injuries.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Election of S. Kentigern, and his Consecration as Bishop.

AND when S. Kentigern, living in the place aforesaid, became fertile in the abundance of many miraculous gifts, it pleased Him who had separated him from his mother's womb, not to leave him under a bushel, but rather to place him on a candlestick, that, by making his righteousness clear as the light, and his just dealing as the noon-day, he might give light to all that were in the house of the Lord.¹ Therefore, by Divine prompting, the king and clergy of the Cambrian region, with other Christians, albeit they were few in number, came together, and after taking into consideration what was to be done to restore the good estate of the Church, which was well-nigh destroyed, they with one consent approached S. Kentigern, and elected him, in spite of his many remonstrances and strong resistance, to be the shepherd and bishop of their souls. He objected to their election of him, that he was not fit on account of his youth; they alleged the gravity of his manners and the affluence of his knowledge and wisdom. He declared that he could not with easy mind endure the diminution of his inward peace and holy contemplation; they alleged, on the other hand, that it was healthful to break in on the sabbath of the life of speculation, for the salvation of many souls. In the end, he judged himself insufficient for the honour which was in truth a burden, but the unanimous voice of all proclaimed that his sufficiency had been proclaimed by God Himself, by many indications of signs and wonders. Invoking therefore a prosperous rule, blessing him in the name of the Holy Trinity, and committing him to the Holy Ghost, the Sanctifier and Distributor of all the orders, offices, and dignities in the Church, they enthroned him; and having called one bishop from Ireland, after the manner of the Britons and Scots of that period, they caused him to be consecrated bishop.

A custom had grown up in Britannia, in the consecration of bishops, only to anoint their heads by pouring on them the

¹ Note BB.

sacred chrism, with invocation of the Holy Spirit,¹ and benediction and laying on of hands, which rite these ignorant persons alleged they had received as an institution of the Divine law and an apostolic tradition; whereas the sacred canons ordain that no bishop shall be consecrated without three bishops at least; to wit, one to act as consecrator, who shall say over him who is to be consecrated the sacramental benedictions and prayers for each of the episcopal ornaments, and two others who shall lay on hands along with him, shall be as witnesses, and shall hold the text of the Gospels supported on his neck. Yet although the consecration to which the Britons were accustomed is scantily consonant with the sacred canons, still it is agreed that it does not destroy the power and efficiency of the Divine mystery, or of the episcopal ministration. But because those islanders, as placed beyond the civilized world, on account of the attacks of the Pagans made upon them, were ignorant of the canons, the judgment of the Church, condescending to them, admits excuse for that reason, but in such times as these would never permit such a rite as this to be used by any one without grave censure.

But S. Kentigern, although he was consecrated after this fashion, took pains to correct it in every way possible, as we shall state hereafter. He established his cathedral seat in a town called Glesgu, which is, interpreted, The Dear Family, and is now called Glasgow,² where he united to himself a famous and God-beloved family of servants of God, who practised continence, and who lived after the fashion of the primitive church under the apostles, without private property, in holy discipline and Divine service.

Moreover, the diocese of that episcopate was extended according to the limits of the Cambrian kingdom, which kingdom reached from sea to sea, like the rampart once built by the Emperor Severus. This rampart afterwards, by the assistance and counsel of the Roman Legion, in order to keep off the incursions of the Picts, gave way to a wall built in the same place, eight feet in breadth and twelve feet in height; it reaches as far as the Flumen Fordense, and by division separates Scotia from Anglia.³ Now this Cambrian region, over which S. Kentigern presided as bishop, had once on a time, with all Britannia, accepted the Christian faith in the time of Pope Eleutherius,⁴ when Lucius was king; but in consequence of the Pagans from time to time infesting the island, and asserting dominion therein, the islanders, lapsing into apostasy, had cast away the faith which

¹ Note CC.² Note DD.³ Note EE.⁴ Note FF.

they had received. Many were not yet baptized. Many were stained by the contagion of manifold heresy. Many, in name only Christians, were plunged in the slough of vice of all sorts; the greatest part of them had been taught by the ministry of men who were unskilled and ignorant of the law of God. Thus all the Provincials required the counsel of a good pastor, and the healing of a good governor. Therefore God, the disposer and dispenser of all good things, provided, promoted, and proposed S. Kentigern as the remedy for all their diseases, the support of their lives, and their example.

CHAPTER XII.

How S. Kentigern conducted himself in the Episcopate; how he lived and how he taught; and how he deported himself both openly and in private.

BLESSED Kentigern having taken possession of his government, as he excelled others in dignity, so he sought to exceed them in sanctity. And as he was higher in rank, so he studied to appear more excellent than others in the ordinance of holy virtues and manners. For he deemed it unworthy for himself to crawl upon the ground, or to lie in the depths, who was bound by a Divine command to go up upon the mountain to bring good tidings to Zion. And verily it is unbecoming in him to live in an abject manner, who from his office must announce high things; wherefore the saint of God, after accepting the episcopal dignity, sought to exercise greater humility and austerity than heretofore in his food, his dress, in watchings, in his hard couches, and in the mortification of his body. And that I may in brief describe his whole life, from the time of his ordination, which took place in the twenty-fifth year of his age, until the extreme term of his life, which lasted the space of one hundred and sixty years,—when he broke his fast after three days, or oftener after four days, he revived rather than recruited his body by tasting the cheapest and lightest foods, such as bread and milk, and cheese and butter and condiments; and even that, lest the animal frame should entirely fail by the way of this mortality; yea, rather, to speak more to the purpose, that by mortifying his members which are upon the earth, by the crucifixion of a continual cross, he might by slaying offer himself a living sacrifice, holy, well-pleasing unto God. He abstained entirely from flesh and from blood, and from wine, and from all that could inebriate, like one, nay, like a chief, among the

Nazarites. If, however, at any time it happened that he was on a journey, or dining with the king, he tempered the accustomed rigour of his abstinence. Afterwards, when he returned home, punishing in himself that which he regarded as a gross crime, he increased his abstinence.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Mode of Dress of S. Kentigern.

HE used the roughest hair-cloth next the skin, then a garment of leather made of the skin of the goats, then a cowl like a fisherman's bound on him, above which, clothed in a white alb, he always wore a stole over his shoulders. He bore a pastoral staff, not rounded and gilded and gemmed, as may be seen now-a-days, but of simple wood, and merely bent. He had in his hand the Manual-book, always ready to exercise his ministry, whenever necessity or reason demanded. And so by the whiteness of his dress he expressed the purity of his inner life, and avoided vainglory.¹

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Couch of S. Kentigern, and his Vigils, and his Bath in Cold Water.

WHAT shall I say of his bed? I hesitate whether to call it a bed or a tomb. He lay in stone hollowed like a monument, having for his head a stone in place of a pillow, like another Jacob. Verily he was a staunch combatant against the flesh, the world, and the devil. Throwing in a few ashes, and taking off his sackcloth, he shook off his drowsiness rather by *tasting* than taking sleep. And to express myself more clearly, in a certain similitude of a snatch of sleep, he buried himself along with Christ. When he had taken a moderate portion of sleep, he arose in the night, at the beginning of his vigils, and poured forth his soul like water in the sight of the Lord his God. And so with psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, celebrating the Lord's night-watches, he exulted in God his Saviour, and was joyful in Him until the second cock-crowing; then, entering upon a fiercer conflict with that great and malig-

¹ Note GG.

nant dragon that, according to the prophet, lieth in the mids of his rivers,¹ he used to strip himself of his clothes, and naked following a naked Christ, making himself naked and bare, he plunged into the rapid and cold water. Then, verily, as the hart desireth the water brooks, so his soul desired and thirsted for God, the living water; and there, in cold and nakedness, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he chanted on end the whole Psalter. Thereby made like one of the flock that are ever shorn, which came out from the washing unto Mount Gilead,² emerging from the water like a dove bathed in milk, nay, rather as a Nazarite, whiter than snow, brighter than milk, ruddier than ancient ivory, fairer than sapphire, he sat himself to dry his limbs, on the brow of a hill called Gulath, by the water side, near his own home.³ So having dried his body, and resumed his clothes, as if preparing his going forth in the dawn, he exhibited himself as an ensample to his followers. And this custom of bathing, neither the fire of the glittering lightning, nor hail, nor snow, nor the spirit of storms, ever interrupted, unless a journey necessarily undertaken, or the severest sickness, prevented it; yet even then did he redeem the work by some other divine and spiritual exercise. Wherefore by the continued use of this saving laver, as of a new Jordan, his flesh was restored like the flesh of a little child; because the law of sin, which warreth in the less honourable members, was so weakened, and the fire of concupiscence so mortified and extinguished, that no corruption of the rebellious flesh, either waking or even sleeping, ever polluted or defiled the lily of his snow-white modesty. Nor even did he ever feel its simple motions rage or move within him, for by the grace of Christ co-operating with him, his flesh, with its passions stilled, continued in an almost childlike pure innocence, and verily that holy one grew up before the Lord like an unfading lily, so that once on a time he simply declared to his disciples, that the sight or touch of a most beautiful girl had no more effect upon him than the hardest flint.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the way of Speaking which the Man of God used.

IN speaking, however, he was able to control his spirit, and he learned to set a watch before his mouth and to keep the door

¹ Ezek. xxix. 3.

² Cant. iv. 2.

³ Note HH.

of his lips, that he might guide his words with discretion. Nor did any one of his words fall lightly to the ground, nor was the word he spoke given to the winds, nor did it return to him in vain. Wherefore he spoke in weight, number, and measure, as the necessary occasion demanded, for his speech was flavoured with salt, suited to every age and sex, for honey and milk were under his tongue, and his cellars were filled with spiritual wine, whence the babe in Christ drank milk from his lips, the more advanced honey, and the perfect man wine, each to his soul's health. In judging and condemning, or in chiding, he had not by him divers measures, nor did he respect the person of man, but he studied the cause, and with the greatest discretion measured forth the degree of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the name of the fault, in due time and place. Yet the saint preached more by his silence than many doctors and rulers do by loud speaking, for his appearance, countenance, gait, and the gesture of his whole body, openly taught discipline, and by certain signs, bursting forth like water, indicated openly the purity of the inner man which lurked there. It is unnecessary to commit to writing his munificence, which spent itself wholly on alms-deeds and works of mercy, for all the substance which the Divine largess had bestowed upon him was the common treasury of the poor.

CHAPTER XVI.

With what a grace he was deemed meet to be adorned, while he was celebrating the Sacred Mysteries of the Mass.

BUT although in the preceding and in similar holy exercises he showed himself as man, and sometimes as above man, it was in celebrating the holy mysteries of the Mass that, in a manner putting off the man and withdrawing himself from earthly things, he put on something like a Divine character, wholly above the human. For while with his hands lifted in the form of a cross he said, "Sursum Corda," he lifted his own unto the Lord as he exhorted others; so from that golden censer of his most pure heart, filled with coals, burning with virtue, and kindled with delight in God, like the brightest and sweetest-savoured incense, his prayer rising to the clouds, penetrating the heavens, and plunging into the light unto which no man can approach, was set forth in the presence of God; so that the Most High Himself vouchsafed by evident signs to manifest to the eyes of mortals that He had accepted it as an

oblation, an odour of a sweet savour, well-pleasing to Himself: for very often, as he handled the Divine Sacraments, a snow-white dove, having as it were a golden beak, was seen to light upon his head, and with the transparent fluttering of his wings, like a ray of the sun, to overshadow him and What was laid upon the altar. Frequently also, when he stood sacrificing at holy altars, a luminous cloud overshadowed his head, and occasionally at the time when the Son was being immolated to the Father, he seemed not to stand there, but a fiery pillar by whose brightness the sight of onlookers was blinded. But it was not given to all to know and to behold this ministry, but those only to whom it was granted by the Father of Lights.

Once upon a time, while the Lord's priest was celebrating the mysteries, a sweet-smelling cloud filled the whole house, where many were hearing the sacred mysteries of the Lord, for the odour, exceeding all perfumes, overwhelmed all who were there with exceeding delight, and gave full health to many who were afflicted with various diseases. Verily while I record these things, sorrow filleth my heart, as I see the priesthood defiled in so many ways to-day. While in the meantime I am silent about those who simoniacally come to sacrifice, or with Judas sell the Lord's Body, since forsooth some offer it for a price, I speak of those who, bound by crimes and dissolved in vices, and polluted in body and soul, dare to touch and to contaminate with their impure hands the Sacrifice of Purification. Alas, in how many priests to-day is the stench of foulness rather than the odour of spiritual sweetness observed! O how many more doth the dark whirlwind lay hold of and blind, than doth the shining cloud overshadow! Woe, woe, say I to many to-day for whom the sulphurous flame rather than the surrounding column of fire awaiteth!¹ But now I return unto myself, and to others like unto me, who in any way are discharging the office of their priesthood, and for whom, instead of a snow-white dove at the time of the sacrifice, flies sufficiently tormenting come up out of the river of Egypt²—that is the unclean, vain, useless thoughts which rush into the memory, from the imagination of this perishing world. Therefore fearfulness and trembling come upon me, for by the witness of Solomon dead flies cause the ointment to give forth an evil scent, since minds occupied with thoughts of this kind have little experience of what nature is the joy of that inward sweetness, which proceedeth from the visitation of the Holy Ghost.

¹ Note II.

² Note KK.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the way in which Holy Kentigern withdrew himself during the whole of Lent into more secret places in the Desert, and returned to his own Church before Maunday-Thursday, and sometimes before Palm-Sunday.

THE man of God maintained this manner of life here described till an extreme old age, almost all the year round, except during Lent, for in those days he was accustomed beyond his ordinary way to walk in a certain newness of life. Emulating the fervour of certain of the holy fathers, nay, rather following the footsteps of Elias and John the Baptist, and of the Saviour Himself, he retired to desert places every Lent, and so by withdrawing himself in flight from the sight of the sons of men, and remaining in a solitude of body and soul, he dwelt with himself. There, more freely giving himself up to the contemplation of God, he rested under the shadow of the Face of the Almighty, safe from the disturbance of man, from the strife of tongues and worldly converse. Therefore sitting solitary, he lifted himself above himself, and often abiding in the caverns of the earth,¹ and standing in the entering in of his cave, and praying, after the great and strong wind and the earthquake, he heard the still small whisper of thin air breathing upon him, and bathing him in and filling him with unspeakable sweetness. Wherefore he went about the streets of the heavenly Jerusalem seeking for himself Him whom his soul loved, and offering for himself, in his heart, a sacrifice of jubilation, he mortified his most holy members which were upon the earth. Offering himself a living victim, holy, well-pleasing unto the Lord, he afflicted his most innocent body by a continual martyrdom as a sweet savour. With what and what sort of food he sustained his life on those days he revealed to none, or at least to few, and to these by his episcopal authority he forbade that they should ever reveal the mystery to mortal man.

Yet once he spake, and two of his disciples heard a word not to be recalled, once only, and simply uttered from his lips. "I knew," said he, "a certain man, who during Lent sustained life on the roots of herbs only, and sometimes, the Lord giving him strength, he passed the whole of that time without the support of earthly food." Neither of them doubted that he spake this of himself; but the man of God suppressed his

¹ Note LL.

name, to avoid vainglory, which he everywhere sought to shun. At length, for a long time before Maunday-Thursday, and after that, on the Saturday before Palm-Sunday, he returned to his home and to his people to fulfil his episcopal office, and he was received by them all as an angel of peace and light. Wherefore he was used to pass that week with his disciples, and on Maunday-Thursday, after the composition of the holy chrism and oil, he washed with his own hands the feet of a multitude of poor men first, and then of lepers, bathing them with his tears, wiping them with his hair, comforting them with many kisses, and afterwards he waited upon the people diligently at table. Then sitting for their consolation with the reconciled penitents at a banquet, he consoled himself and them with spiritual and bodily refreshment. Thereafter from that hour till after the celebration of Mass on Easter Day he always remained fasting. Verily, on Good Friday he crucified himself with the Crucified One with incredible torture, and with scourging, nakedness, and frequent genuflection, scarcely ever sitting down, he passed the day and the night, bearing about in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus, with great affliction of body and soul.

But on the Holy Saturday, as if dead to the world, burying in a double tomb, the true Abraham, the Ancient of Days along with himself, and entering the sepulchre in the abundance of inward contemplation, he rested from all the tumult of this stormy world, except that he appeared to celebrate the Office of the day. Then, renewed in the spirit of his mind, he awaited with the sweet spices of holy virtues so diligently prepared, the most sacred day of the Lord's resurrection. In a way rising again with Christ, he feasted on the Flesh of the Immaculate Lamb, in the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. And on the day which the Lord had made a day of joy in earth and heaven, he rejoiced with all spiritual joy, and feasted with the brethren and a great multitude of poor. This he also was said to do at the other great festivals. If, however, from urgent necessity, it happened—which seldom, however, actually occurred—that he had to dine with seculars, tasting a little of the food placed before him, he filled the guests with spiritual dainties, and repressing the vain conversation which is apt to prevail at feasts, he concealed his own abstinence under the veil of sacred exhortation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

What a Bright Countenance he had, and what he thought and said about Hypocrites.

HOLY Kentigern in the form of his body is said to have been of middle stature, rather inclining to tallness, and it is asserted that he was of robust strength, capable to a considerable extent of enduring great fatigue in the labours both of body and soul. He was beautiful to look upon, and graceful in form. Having a countenance full of grace and reverence, dove-like eyes, cheeks like the turtle-dove, he attracted the hearts of all who beheld him. His outward cheerfulness was the sign and most faithful interpreter of that inward peace, which flooded all things with a certain contentment of holy joy and exultation, which the Lord bestowed upon him.

For himself fleeing from hypocrisy in this or that habit and gesture, he carefully taught his followers to avoid it, and showing by example that hypocrites were the most loathsome class of men, he instructed them in such words as these:—

“Beware, dearest ones,” said he to his disciples, “of the vice of hypocrisy, which in a way is the renunciation of faith, the abandonment of hope, the emptying of charity, the suppurating ulcer of chastity, the blinding of truth; it is the poison of sobriety, the fetter of righteousness, the little fox of obedience, the short cloak of patience, and, to speak briefly, it is the moth of religion, the extermination of virtues, the lurking-place of vices, the asylum of all iniquity, the habitation of crimes. That hypocrisy is the source of all evils, the Lord teacheth where he says that the hypocrisy of the Pharisees is leaven. For as the leaven placed in the food maketh it light, inflated, and acid, so hypocrisy maketh the heart where it reigns empty of religion, inflated and elated with the false praises of men, and sharp, bitter, and sour against the truth of conscience, against the holy, the righteous, and those who seek purity and holiness. And verily, dearest ones, if all sin in itself and by itself be single, hypocrisy alone in itself is double, nay, manifold. For the hypocrite, in his natural colours, seeketh to blind Him who seeth all things, and while turning away his eyes from himself he overshadoweth his vices in the sight of men under the image of a false sanctity. And although other impious, sinful, and criminal men are the members of Antichrist, hypocrites are singularly and specially his followers and forerunners, as the single-hearted, the lovers and followers of truth and purity,

are the members and disciples of Jesus Christ. For Antichrist himself, as it is written, shall sit in the temple of God, as if he were God, and by lying wonders show himself that he is God.¹ For the very angel of Satan also transformeth himself into an angel of light, and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that his special servant and member should transform himself into a minister of righteousness, seeing that he is himself a very synagogue of Satan. Believe me what I say unto you in the truth, that the anger of God never rageth more fiercely in the Church than when He makes an hypocrite reign therein on account of the sins of the people. Moreover, in the Apocalypse the persecution is described as more destructive in the pale horse than in the preceding ones, because in truth the Church is much more injured by hypocrisy, which is figured by the pale horse, than in the time of open persecution, whereby the faithful and unfaithful, the just and the unjust, are made manifest, and a multitude of the martyrs receive their crown. Yet, evidently hypocrites, by their gestures and by the ways of the outer man, indicate to those who watch closely and judge all things by the light of the Spirit, of what kind they are. For while they walk after the manner of the turtle-dove, contracting the shoulders, hanging down the head, fixing the eyes on the ground, making long faces, breathing through pinched lips, speaking in a feminine voice, by these very signs they manifest the state of the inner man. For by their steps they make themselves like peacocks, nay, like robbers; by the contraction of their shoulders they show that they shrink from bearing the sweet yoke of Christ and His light burden; by the hanging of their heads and the casting down of their eyes, they demonstrate that their hearts cleave nearer to the dust than to heaven, that they think of the earth, love the earth, and sigh for earthly desires; by turning away their faces, they show that they turn their backs rather than their faces to the Lord, and by their feminine mode of speech prove that they live dissolutely and not like men. I would say that they were like none but jugglers, who exhibit fire, water, men, beasts, etc., in an imaginary way, where there is no reality. But although pretenders and cunning hypocrites, drawing down upon themselves the anger of God, may escape the opinion of those who judge according to appearance, they shall in no ways deceive or escape the even-handed justice of Him who searcheth the heart and the reins. These things, most dear ones," said the man of God, "have I said to you, not to announce what shall be a snare to

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 5.

you, or that you should not exhibit staid demeanour in countenance, gesture, dress, or discipline, but this in every way I admonish you to seek the Lord in simplicity of heart, and to associate internal with external purity everywhere, and in reality to avoid hypocrisy, and do what you have to do with spiritual joy. Thus in all your works man shall be edified, and God glorified, for God loveth a cheerful teacher and doer of good."

CHAPTER XIX.

How S. Kentigern converted to the Faith of Christ the people over whom he presided, and who for the most part had apostatized; and how he brought back to a more correct way of living those who had profaned the faith by unrighteous works.

THEREFORE blessed Kentigern, having undertaken the episcopate, set himself diligently to administer the office laid upon him, and seeing that the northern enemy, that is, the prince of this world, had placed his seat in these parts and reigned there, he took up spiritual arms to fight against him. Accordingly, clad with the shield of faith, the helmet of hope, the breastplate of righteousness, girded with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, he attacked the house of that strong man armed, and spoiled his goods, supported by the aid of the Lord of Hosts, who is very strong in battle. And to speak shortly, neither his foot, hand, nor tongue ceased from the execution of the work which he had undertaken, from the working of miracles, from preaching of salvation, till all the ends of that earth remembered themselves, and turned unto the Lord. They who were not yet regenerated in the life-giving waters, like thirsty harts ran to the living fountain of baptism with burning desire, and they who had fallen away from the faith, and wandered aside from a sound belief in the teaching of some heretical sect, on their repenting and returning from the snares of the devil, by whom they were held captive, and returning unto the bosom of the Church, were incorporated into Christ, by means of this herald of safety, teaching them the way of the Lord in power.

Wherefore that renowned warrior began to overthrow the shrines of demons, to cast down their images, to build churches, to dedicate them when built, to divide parishes by certain limits by the cord of distribution, to ordain clergy, to dissolve incestuous and unlawful marriages, to change concubinage into

lawful matrimony, to bring in as far as he could ecclesiastical rites, and strove to establish whatsoever was consonant with the faith, the Christian law, and righteousness. Wheresoever he journeyed he did it not on horseback, but even to extreme old age, after the fashion of the apostles, on foot. Having arranged all these things in order, he returned home to his own, and there, after his accustomed way, he led a life in the perfection of the highest virtue, remarkable for virtue and miracles, some of which we now venture to write down, because we doubt not that they will be profitable to very many.

CHAPTER XX.

How holy Kentigern, placed in the Plough, under one yoke, a Stag and a Wolf, and how, sowing Sand, he reaped a harvest of Wheat.

THUS, as we have stated, the man of God joined to himself a great many disciples, whom he trained in the sacred literature of the Divine law, and educated to sanctity of life by his word and example. They all with a godly jealousy imitated his life and doctrine, accustomed to fastings and sacred vigils at certain seasons, intent on psalms and prayers, and meditation on the Divine word, content with sparing diet and dress, occupied every day and hour in manual labour. For, after the fashion of the Primitive Church, under the apostles and their successors, possessing nothing of their own, and living soberly, righteously, godly, and continently, they dwelt, as did S. Kentigern himself, in single cottages, from the time when they had become mature in age and doctrine. Therefore these "singulares clerici" were called in the common language Cal-ledei.¹ Thus the servant of Jesus Christ went forth to his work in the morning, and to his labour till the evening, labouring mainly at agriculture, that he might not eat the bread of idleness, but rather in the sweat of his brow afford an example of labour to his own, and have to give to him who was suffering necessity.

It happened once upon a time that he had no oxen whatever, and from the deficiency of these, there being no ploughing, the land lay fallow. When the man of God saw this, lifting up his eyes, he saw on the edge of a neighbouring wood a herd of deer bounding along here and there through the forest. Straight-

¹ Note MM.

way offering up a prayer, by the mighty power of his word he called them to him, and in the name of the Lord, whom all dumb unreasoning beasts and all the cattle of the plain obey, commanded them to be yoked in the place of the oxen to the plough, and to turn up the earth. They at once obeyed the command of the man of God, and like tame oxen used to the yoke ploughed the land, to the astonishment of many. Released from their work, they went to their usual pastures, and at the proper hour, like tame and domestic, nay, like trained animals, they returned to their accustomed toil. Once upon a time, as the stags were going and returning like domestic animals, a hungry wolf rushing upon one of the stags, which was wearied with its labour, and was cropping some food as it lay upon the green turf, throttled him, and filled his voracious stomach with his carcass. When the saint learnt this, extending his hand towards the wood, he said, "In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, I command that the wolf, who hath wrought this injury on me who deserved it not, appear before me to make satisfaction." Wondrous words! more wondrous deeds! Straightway at the voice of the man of God, the wolf, leaping forth from the wood, fell howling at his feet, and with such signs as he could, declared that he begged pardon, and was willing to make reparation. Whereupon the man of God, upbraiding the wolf with threatening countenance and word, said, "Arise, and I command thee, by the authority of God Almighty, that thou place thyself in the plough in the place of our labourer the stag, whom thou hast devoured, and applying thyself to the yoke, plough over all that remaineth of the little field." Verily the wolf obeyed the word spoken by the saint, and, yoked with the other stag, ploughed up nine acres, whereupon the saint freely allowed him to depart. In this act, it seemeth to me, that that prophecy of Isaiah, which he spiritually uttered of the time of our Lord's advent, was in a way literally fulfilled, where he says, "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them."¹ Let the reader consider whether it is more wonderful to see a wolf lying down with a lamb, or ploughing with a stag. But Kentigern brought this about, being a most pure little child, meek and lowly of heart in his own eyes; yet wrought he not this sign in his own power, but he did it by the might of that Little One who was born for us, of the Son who was given for us. Yet it was just that he should

¹ Isaiah xi. 6.

do this bodily, who so often spiritually won back to the yoke of faith and plough of holy conversation many from wolfish cruelty and bloody slaughter, animal fierceness and a coarse life.

Very many gathered together to behold such a sight as this, and marvelled at the unwonted miracle. Whereupon the saint opened his mouth and taught them, saying, "Men and brethren, wherefore wonder ye, beholding this word? Believe me, that before man became disobedient to his Maker, not only all the animals, but even the elements, obeyed him, but now by his transgression all things are turned against him, and the lion teareth, the wolf devoureth, the serpent woundeth, the water drowneth, the fire burneth, the air tainteth, and the earth often, become like iron, consumeth with famine. And in rivalry of this usual evil, not only is man wont to rage against man by sin, but he actually voluntarily rageth against himself. But seeing that many saints are found perfect before the Lord in true innocence, pure obedience, faith, and love, in holiness and righteousness, they receive from the Lord this power, as an ancient, natural, and primordial right, so that they authoritatively command the beasts, the elements, and sundry kinds of diseases and deaths."

While the holy man said this, and more to the same effect, they who heard his words were not less edified by his teaching than astonished by the miracle which they had just beheld. When the field that had been ploughed came to be sown, the saint sought seed and found it not, having given away all his store of grain to feed the poor. Wherefore he betook himself to his accustomed weapons of prayer, and, nothing doubting in faith, taking sand in place of seed, he scattered it on the ground. This being done, in due season the herb grew, the seed germinated, the blade produced the head, and at the proper time brought forth the best and the richest wheat, at which all who heard and saw were struck with the utmost astonishment, and his fame, great before, was mightily increased. Verily this saint, in the power of that Grain of Wheat, Which falling into the earth and dying, and by rising again hath brought to Himself much fruit, gathered corn from the sand which he had sown. Moreover he so wrought with the ploughshare of the gospel in the bowels of holy Mother Church, as in good ground, that he reclaimed many, yea, an innumerable company, of persons, who hitherto had been unstable in mind, blown about by every wind of vain doctrine, whose folly was heavier than the sand of the sea; and in faith and love, and the performance of good works, caused them, by the co-operation of God, to bring forth the fruit of salvation. And these the Supreme Householder deemed

meet to be transferred to the heavenly garners, and to be fit for his table.¹

CHAPTER XXI.

How holy Kentigern, helped by the Divine aid, and causing the force of the river Clud to serve him, without any detriment transferred the Barns of the King, which were full of wheat, to his own dwelling-place.

A CONSIDERABLE time having elapsed, a certain tyrant, by name Morken,² had ascended the throne of the Cambrian kingdom, whom power, honour, and riches had persuaded to exercise himself in great matters, which were too high for him. But his heart, as it was on the one hand elevated by pride, so on the other hand it was blinded and contracted by greed. He scorned and despised the life and doctrine of the man of God, in secret slandering, in public resisting him from time to time, putting down his miraculous power to magical illusion, and esteeming as nothing all that he did. But the man of God, once on a time, when he wanted supplies to feed the brethren of his monastery, betook himself to the king, gently hinting at his poverty, and at that of his people, desiring that out of his abundance, according to the injunction of the apostle, he should come to their aid, and supply their wants. But he, elated and haughty, continually reviled him who made his petition, and only inflicted injuries on him who besought support. Then with blasphemous words he said to him ironically, "Cast thy care upon the Lord, and He will sustain thee; as thou hast often taught others, that they that fear God shall lack nothing, but they who seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good.³ Thou, therefore, though thou fearest God, and keep-est His commandments, art in want of everything, even of thy necessary food, while to me, who neither seek the kingdom of God nor the righteousness thereof, all prosperous things are added, and plenty of all sorts smileth upon me." Lastly, he pressed upon him, "Thy faith therefore is vain, thy preaching false."

But the holy man, arguing on the other side, proved from the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, and from keen assertions of reason, and by examples, that many just and holy men, in various ways, were afflicted by hunger and want in this life; and that wicked men were exalted by plenty of wealth, the

¹ Note NN.

² Note OO.

³ Ps. xxxiv. 10.

affluence of delights, and the high places of honour. And when with power and clearness he taught that the poor were the patrons of the rich, by whose benefits they are sustained, and that the rich need the support of the poor, as the vines are supported by the elm, the barbarian was unable to resist his wisdom and the Spirit who spake through him, but in a rage answered, "What more desirest thou? If, trusting in thy God, without human hand, thou canst transfer to thy mansion all the corn that is kept in my barns and heaps, I yield with a glad mind and gift, and for the future will be devoutly obedient to thy requests."

Saying this he retired joyful, as if by such an answer as this he had made game of the saint. But when even was come, the holy man, lifting his hands and his eyes to heaven, with many tears, prayed most devoutly unto the Lord. In the very hour in which from the depth of the saint's heart these tears rose up and flowed forth from his eyes, by the will of Him who hath power in heaven and earth, in the sea and in all deep places, the river Clud, coming down, rose and became swollen in flood; then extending beyond its banks, and surrounding the barns of the king which stood there, it licked them up and drew them back into its own channel, and with great power transported them to dry land at a place called by name Mellingdenor,¹ where the saint was at that time accustomed to dwell. Straightway the river ceased from its fury, and controlled within itself the surging waves, for the Lord had placed bounds and bars that they should not pass nor overstep the limits appointed to them. There the barns were found whole and uninjured, and not a sheaf, nay, not a single blade, appeared to be wetted. Lo, in this, though in a different element, we recognise the sign repeated, which we read of as having taken place in the Chaldean furnace, into which the three children, firm in their religion, were cast in bound. For as there the fire had the power of burning only their bonds, and not their bodies or their clothes, so here this water was able to transport the barns filled with corn, but not to wet them. And when the people saw that in the name of the Lord His servant could perform this wonder, they said, Truly great is the Lord, and worthy to be praised, for thus hath He caused His saint to be magnified.

¹ Note PP.

CHAPTER XXII.

How the aforesaid King Morken, at the instigation of his military follower Cathen, struck S. Kentigern with his foot, and with what punishment both the one and the other were visited.

AFTER that by the ferrying across of these fruits of the earth, the rivers of the flood thereof had made glad the city of God,¹ in which those enrolled as fellow-citizens of the saints, and of the household of God, were assembled together, to serve the living God, that faithful and wise servant, made steward over the mansion of the Great Householder,² distributed the measure of wheat to each of his fellow-servants according to their necessities, and what was over he dispersed abroad and gave to the poor, nor did he send empty away any one in want who begged of him. But the aforesaid King Morken, though very rich and great in the eyes of men, yet being the vile slave of Mammon, bore ill the loss, as it seemed to him, of his stock of corn, and took scandal to his soul from that Divine sign whence he ought to have derived joy and gladness for his own advantage. Just as the solar ray is pleasant and agreeable to healthy eyes, and lends its aid to their sight, yet ministers the material of darkness to the unhealthy, and to those under the influence of hemlock : therefore, his eye being consumed because of fury,³ he belched forth many reproaches against the holy bishop, calling him magician and sorcerer, and he commanded that if ever again he appeared in his presence he should suffer severely as one that had made game of him. The reason for this was that a very wicked man, who was the king's confidential friend, Cathen by name, had urged him on to hatred and injury of the bishop, because the life of the good is usually hateful and burdensome to the wicked ; and the mind that inclineth to evil easily listeneth to one who persuadeth it to that which pleaseth it. For every wicked leader, according to the Scripture, hath all his servants wicked, and very often chooseth as counsellors the men who into the ears of those who willingly listen to unjust things will pour the poisonous whisper, and diligently blow up with inflated accusations the fire of malice, adding fuel to make the flame burn the higher, lest it should be extinguished to their detriment.

But the man of God, wishing by wisdom to extinguish malice, approached the presence of the king rather in the spirit

¹ Ps. xlv. 4.² S. Matt. xxiv. 25.³ Ps. vi. 4.

of meekness than with the rod of severity, and instructing and warning him after the manner of a most gentle father, sought to correct the folly of a son; for he knew that by the sweetly sounding tones of the harp of David the madness of Saul had been mitigated, and that, according to the sentence of Solomon, the king's wrath is appeased by patience.¹ But the man of Belial, like the deaf adder that shutteth his ear and listeneth not to the charmer, charm he never so wisely, acquiesced not in the warning words, which were the words of safety. Nay, excited by fiercer madness, he rushed upon him, struck him with his heel, and smote him to the ground upon his back. But the saint of God, being raised by the bystanders, that his doctrine might be known by his patience, bore most patiently both the hurt and the dishonour, committing his cause to the vindication of the Supreme Judge, and then he departed from the presence of this sacrilegious king, rejoicing that he was deemed meet to suffer contumely for the word of the Lord.

The instigator of this sacrilege, Cathen, laughing loudly, mounted his horse, and seemingly triumphing over the saint, departed full of joy. And behold judgment went forth from the face of the Lord, to do justice on behalf of His servant who had been injured. He had not gone far from the crowd that was assembled in that place, when the prancing steed on which he was seated, striking his foot on some sort of stumbling-block, fell down, and his rider, falling backward, broke the neck which he had erected loftily against the servant of the Lord, and expired before the gate of the king his master. But a swelling attacked the feet of the king, pain followed the swelling, and then succeeded death; so expiring in the royal town which from him was termed Thorp-morken, he was buried. But the disease was not destroyed or buried in the succession of that family. From the beginning of that time, for the future, the weakness ceased not, and a gout was handed down hereditarily, and this family takes after the father, not in face or in habit of the body, but in disease. For the fact that the race of that king was destroyed by this sort of disease, by the witness of death, indicateth how God, Who is jealous for His own and the avenger of such, visiteth the sins of the fathers upon the children for many generations, and how great is the retribution which He inflicteth upon the proud.

After this, for many days he enjoyed great peace and quiet, living in his own city of Glasgu, and going through his diocese ;

¹ Prov. xxi. 15 ; Eccl. x. 4.

because the Divine vengeance, shown forth upon his persecutors, supplied to others a motive of fear, reverence, love, and obedience towards the saint of God, and gave him the opportunity of doing whatsoever he desired for the service and glory of God.

CHAPTER XXIII.

How holy Kentigern, avoiding the snares of those who laid wait for his death, departed from the confines of his country, and betook himself to Saint David, who was dwelling in Menevia.

WHEN some time had passed, certain sons of Belial, a generation of vipers, of the kin of the aforementioned King Morken, excited by the sting of intense hatred, and infected with the poison of the devil, took counsel together how they might lay hold of Kentigern by craft, and put him to death; but fearing the people, they did not dare to do that evil deed openly, because all held him for a teacher, bishop, and shepherd of their souls, and loved him as an angel of light and peace. In many ways they laid great wait for him, that they might suddenly shoot him with arrows; but the Lord became unto him a tower of strength, that his enemies, the sons of wickedness, should not triumph over him. At last, binding themselves together by a solemn oath, they determined among themselves that in no way would they fail in carrying out the resolve by which they had conspired to compass his death; and that for the fear of no man would they pass over one unjust and treacherous word to which they had agreed against him. And when the man of God had learnt this, although he could meet force by force, he thought it better for the time to quit the place and to give place unto wrath, and to seek elsewhere a richer harvest of souls, rather than to bear about with him a conscience seared as with a hot iron, or even darkened by the death of any man, however wicked. For the blessed Paul, the chosen vessel, gave him the ensample of acting similarly, seeing that when at Damascus he saw a death without fruit impending over him, he sought the basket and the rope to escape and to avoid it, and yet afterwards at Rome willingly submitted to it with great gain.

At last, instructed by Divine revelation, he journeyed from those regions towards Menevia, where at that time the holy Bishop Dewi, like the morning star when it with its rosy

countenance heraldeth the day, was shining forth in his episcopal work.¹ Wheresoever the saint went, virtue went forth from him to heal many. And when he had come to Karleolum, he heard that many among the mountains were given to idolatry, or ignorant of the Divine law.² Thither he turned aside, and, God helping him, and confirming the word by signs following, converted to the Christian religion many from a strange belief, and others who were erroneous in the faith. O how beautiful on these mountains were the feet of him who brought glad tidings, that published peace, that brought good tidings of good, that published salvation, that said unto Zion, Thy God reigneth.³ He remained some time in a certain thickly planted place, to confirm and comfort in the faith the men that dwelt there, where he erected a cross as the sign of the faith; whence it took the name, in English, of Crosfeld, that is, Crucis Novale.⁴ In which very locality a basilica, recently erected, is dedicated to the name of blessed Kentigern; and to exhibit his sanctity, he is not doubted to have been distinguished by many miracles.

Turning aside from thence, the saint directed his steps by the sea-shore, and through all his journey scattering the seed of the Divine word, gathered in a plentiful and fertile harvest unto the Lord. At length, safe and sound, he reached Saint Dewi, and found in him greater works than had been reported by fame. But the holy Bishop Dewi rejoiced with great joy at the arrival of such and so great a stranger. With eyes overflowing with tears, and mutually embracing, he received Kentigern as an angel of the Lord, dear to God, and retaining him for a certain time in his immediate vicinity, always honoured him to a wonderful extent. Therefore these two sons of light dwelt together, attending upon the Lord of the whole earth, like two lamps burning before the Lord, whose tongues became the keys of heaven, that by them a multitude of men might be deemed meet to enter therein. Those two saints were united together opposite each other, like the two cherubim in the holy of holies in the temple of the Lord, having their faces bent down towards the mercy-seat. They lifted their wings on high in the frequent meditation upon heavenly things; they folded them down in the ordination and arrangement of earthly things. They touched each other mutually with their wings, as by the instruction of each other in the Doctrine of Salvation, and in the alternate energizing of virtues they excited each other to

¹ Note QQ.

² Note RR.

³ Isa. lii. 7, Vulg.: "perducentis ad eternæ salutis Autorem."

⁴ Note SS.

a more earnest advance in sanctity. Thus these saints, either mentally rising up unto God, or being made useful to us, have left to posterity an example of laying hold of and labouring so as to attain to eternal life.

And when Saint Kentigern had abode there some time, the fame concerning him shining forth, ran through the ears and mouths of the many, and led him to much familiarity and friendship, not only with the poor, the middle class, and the nobility of that land, but even with King Cathwallain, who reigned in that country.¹ For the king, knowing him to be a holy and righteous man, heard him willingly, and after hearing him, did much which concerned the good of his own soul. And when, on the occasion of the king from time to time inquiring, he expounded the causes why he left his native land, and said he would wish to live near, and have the means of building a monastery where he might unite together a people acceptable of God, and devoted to good works, the king replied, "My land is in thy sight: wheresoever it suiteth thee, and seemeth good in thy sight, there construct the habitation of thy dwelling-place, there build thy monastery. Yet, as it seemeth to me that it is more suitable for thee than any other, I assign to thee a place, Nautcharvan, because it aboundeth in everything suited to thy purpose." The man of God rendered profuse thanks to the king, and chose for his building and habitation that place which had been before marked out for him by Divine intimation. Then, giving his blessing to the king, he departed: and bidding farewell to S. Dewi, after mutual benediction, he betook himself to the place aforesaid, with a great multitude of disciples who had flocked to him, preferring to lead with him a lowly life in a foreign land to living without him luxuriously in their own.

CHAPTER XXIV.

How S. Kentigern, following a Boar which led the Way, found a fitting place.

THUS the most holy Kentigern, separated from Saint Dewi as to bodily presence, but by no means withdrawn from his love and from the vision and observation of the inner man, gave no sound sleep to his eyes, nor quiet rest to his eyelids, until he found a place fit for building a tabernacle to the Lord, the God

¹ Note TT.

of Jacob. With a great crowd of his disciples along with him, he went round the land and walked throughout it, exploring the situations of the localities, the quality of the air, the richness of the soil, the sufficiency of the meadows, pastures, and woods, and the other things that look to the convenience of a monastery to be erected. And while they went together over abrupt mountains, hollow valleys, caves of the earth, thickset briers, dark woods, and open glades in the forest, as they went along, they discoursed as to what seemed necessary for the occasion, when lo and behold a single wild boar from the wood, entirely white, met them, and approaching the feet of the saint, moving his head, sometimes advancing a little, and then returning and looking backwards, motioned to the saint and to his companions, with such gesture as he could, to follow him. On seeing this they wondered and glorified God, who worketh marvellous things, and things past finding out in His creatures. Then step by step they followed their leader, the boar, which preceded them.

When they came to the place which the Lord had predestinated for them, the boar halted, and frequently striking the ground with his foot, and making the gesture of tearing up the soil of the little hill that was there with his long tusk, shaking his head repeatedly and grunting, he clearly showed to all that that was the place designed and prepared by God.¹ Now the place is situated on the bank of a river which is called Elgu, from which to this day, as it is said, the town takes its name. Then the saint, returning thanks, adored the Almighty Lord on bended knees; and rising from prayer he blessed that place and its surroundings in the name of the Lord. After that, in testimony and sign of salvation, and in earnest of the future religion erecting a cross, he there pitched his tents. The boar, however, seeing what was done, came near, and by his frequent grunts seemed to ask somewhat of the bishop: then the saint, scratching the head of the brute, and stroking his mouth and teeth, said, "God Almighty, in Whose power are all the beasts of the forest, the oxen, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea, grant thee for thy conduct such reward as He knoweth is best for thee." Then the boar, as if well remunerated, bowing his head to the priest of the Lord, departed, and betook himself to his well-known groves.

On the following night, as the man of God, intent on heavenly things, lifted up his hands in the sanctuary, and blessed the Lord, it was revealed to him from on high that he was to inhabit

¹ Note UU.

that place, and there construct a monastery, in which the sons who were scattered abroad might be gathered into one, so that coming from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, they might be deemed meet to sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, and that God Himself would be the protector and guardian of the place, and of them that dwelt therein. And on what truth that revelation rested the successful event effectually showed; for in the morning he revealed to others the Divine oracle that had been shown to him, and cheered on the souls of those who heard him to set about building. For like bees making honey, they yielded not to sloth, but all in the sweat of their brows toiled diligently at the work. Some cleared and levelled the situation; others began to lay the foundation of the ground thus levelled; some cutting down trees, others carrying them, and others fitting them together, commenced, as the father had measured and marked out for them, to build a church and its offices of polished wood, after the fashion of the Britons, seeing that they could not yet build of stone, nor were so wont to do.

While they were hard at work, and the building was increasing on their hands, there came a heathen prince, Melconde Galganu by name,¹ with his soldiers, and along with them a great multitude of people. The man, fierce and ignorant of God, in the indignation of his wrath demanded who they were, and whence they came, and how they had dared to do all this upon his land. The saint, humbly replying to the interrogation, answered that they were Christians from the northern parts of Britannia, that they had come thither to serve the living and true God. He asserted that he had begun the mansion there by the permission, nay, through the kindness of King Cathwalain, his master, in whose possession he believed the place to be. But he, furious and raging, ordered them all to be expelled from the place, and that whatever had been built should be pulled down and scattered; and so he began to return to his own home. Therefore the man departed, breathing threatenings against the servants of Christ, and behold the hand of the Lord in chastisement touched him, and he was smitten with a sudden blindness. And yet, as was clear in the end, this did not happen to no good purpose, for on him that sat in outer darkness the true morning star shone, and the external light being for a time taken from him, drew him forth from the darkness and shadow of death into the light of truth. Wherefore inwardly enlightened and induced by

¹ Note XX.

penitence, he caused himself to be carried by his people to the man of God, and began most devoutly to entreat, that by his prayers he would dispel the darkness, and wash him in the font of salvation.

Verily the saint, who endeavoured not to be overcome by evil, but to overcome evil by good, willed to return to the man good for evil; so after beginning with prayer, he laid his healing hand on the blinded man in the name of the Lord, and signing him with the cross of salvation, turned his night into day, and again after the darkness poured into him the hoped-for and eagerly-desired light. Thus the Lord smote that He might heal, and making the new Paul out of the old Saul, He blinded him that He might give him light. No sooner therefore was he restored to sight than he was dipped by the holy bishop in the saving water, and henceforward he became an active and devoted fellow-worker in all that he desired at his hand. Taking an account of all his possessions, he bestowed them on S. Kentigern, with royal munificence, for the construction of his monastery, and, aided by this assistance, he rapidly brought what he had commenced to perfection. He established the Cathedral Chair of his bishopric in the church of that monastery, of which diocese the greater part of the country was that which by his preaching himself had won to the Lord. In truth he led back to the way of salvation a countless number of men who were either ignorant of the Christian faith, or averse from it, or degraded by profane doctrine, or deteriorated by wicked works. And by his labours he turned vessels of wrath into vessels of mercy, vessels of dishonour into vessels of the glory of God. For he went forth from his monastery to exercise his episcopal office, travelling through his diocese as time permitted. But as he never found where the foot of his desire could long find rest, he returned to the much-loved quiet of his monastery, like the dove to the ark, from the face of the deluge of the world; yet he bore with him the olive-branch with its green leaves, for he received the fruit of that peace and mercy which he preached to others.

CHAPTER XXV.

With what number of brethren his Monastery flourished, and how the holy boy Asaph carried fire without injuring himself.

THERE flocked to the monastery of the man, old and young, rich and poor, to take upon themselves the easy yoke

and the light burden of the Lord. Nobles and men of the middle class brought to the saint their children to be trained unto the Lord. The tale of those who renounced the world increased day by day both in number and importance, so that the total number of those who enlisted in God's army amounted to 965, professing in act and habit the life of monastic rule according to the institution of the holy man. He divided this troop that had been collected together, and devoted to the Divine service, into a threefold division of religious observance. For he appointed 300, who were unlettered, to the duty of agriculture, the care of cattle, and the other necessary duties outside the monastery. He assigned another 300 to duties within the cloister of the monastery, such as doing the ordinary work and preparing food, and building workshops. The remaining 365, who were lettered, he appointed to the celebration of Divine service in church by day and by night; and he seldom allowed any of these to go forth out of the sanctuary, but ever to abide within, as if in the holy place of the Lord. But those who were more advanced in wisdom and holiness, and who were fitted to teach others, he was accustomed to take along with him, when, at the urgent demand either of necessity or reason, he thought fit to go forth to perform his episcopal office. But dividing into troops and choirs those whom he had appointed for the service of God, he ordained that as soon as one choir had terminated its service in the church, immediately another entering should commence it, and that again being concluded, a third should enter to celebrate. Thus the sacred choirs being conveniently and discreetly arranged so as to succeed in turn, while the work of God was celebrated perpetually, prayer was regularly made to God without ceasing of the church there;¹ and by praising God at every time, His praise ever resounded in their mouths. Very excellent things were said in that and of that city of God, for as it became the habitation of all who were joyful therein, so one might well apply the prophecy of Balaam: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel! As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side."²

There flourished in that glorious monastery holy and perfect men, like Jacob, strong wrestlers against the world, the flesh, and the devil; by faith, love, and contemplation incessantly bent upon the vision of God, like true Israelites, fruitful in good works, humble in their own eyes, and therefore like the

¹ Acts xii. 5.

² Numb. xxiv. 5.

well-wooded valleys fragrant with sacred thought, and bedewed with the showers of the Scripture, and thus, also, like the cedars by the waters, glorious in all these many virtues and wonders.

Among them was one Asaph¹ by name, distinguished by birth and by looks, shining forth in virtue and miracles from the flower of his first youth. He sought to follow the life and teaching of his master, as the reader of a little book of his Life may learn at greater length, from which I have thought fit to insert into this work one miracle, because the perfection of the disciple is the glory of the master. Once upon a time, in winter, when the frost had contracted and congealed everything, S. Kentigern, according to his custom, had recited the Psalter in the coldest water, naked, and having resumed his clothes had gone out in public, he began to be vehemently oppressed by the power of the cold, and so in a way to become entirely rigid, so that people might clearly see what was of himself and what was of the power of the Divine condescension. For in that, naked in the waters without being frozen, he was able for so long a time to endure the icy rigour, men might learn how that in the frail vessel of the human body the Divine virtue worked; and that when clothed in skins and other clothes he became rigid from the cold, human frailty is recognised. Wherefore the holy father ordered the boy Asaph to bring fire to him whereat he might warm himself. The Lord's little boy ran to the oven and requested that coals might be given to him. And when he had not wherewith to carry the burning thorns, the servant, either in joke or seriously, said to him, "If thou wishest to take the thorns, hold out thy dress, for I have not at hand that in which thou mayest carry them." The holy boy, strong in faith, and trusting in the sanctity of his master, without hesitation, gathering together and holding up his dress, received the living coals in his bosom, and carrying them to the old man, cast them down in his presence out of his bosom, but no sign of burning or corruption appeared in the dress. The greatest astonishment therefore seized all those who beheld it, on seeing that fire carried in a dress had not in the least burnt combustible fabric. A friendly dispute concerning this sign took place between the holy father and his disciple, for the one side seemed to be maintaining his ground by assertions to which the other could not assent; the bishop ascribed to the innocence and obedience of the boy, the performance of the miracle; the boy asserted that it had taken place for the merit

¹ Note YY.

and sanctity of the prelate, obeying whose command, and trusting in whose holiness, he had dared to attempt it. And indeed without prejudice I think that the miracle is to be attributed to the merits both of the one and of the other, of each wise one, inasmuch as each of them had all along from the earliest years preserved pure the members of his body, which is the clothing of the soul, in virgin chastity, and that from their heads the oil of Divine charity never was lacking: rightly, to express the innocence of either, did the dress of the disciple fail to exhibit injury or damage. For if the flame of impure love had been hidden in their bosoms, according to Solomon's opinion their clothes would have been burnt. And if their garments had been mingled with blood; that is, if the members of their bodies had been stained with the pollution of itching lust from the will of the flesh and the blood, doubtless, according to Isaiah, it would have been the presage of burning and the food for fire. But holy Kentigern, who had always held dear and beloved the venerable boy Asaph, henceforward ever from that very day regarded him as the dearest and most loved of all, and raised him as soon as he could to holy orders. At the due season he delegated to him the care of the monastery, and made him his successor in the episcopate, as we shall relate further on.

CHAPTER XXVI.

How he saw S. David crowned by the Lord in Heaven, and what he predicted about Britannia.

ONCE upon a time, as the man of God continued longer and more intently occupied in prayer than usual, his face became as it were fire, so as to fill the bystanders with wonder and ecstasy. They beheld his countenance as the countenance of an angel standing among them, and as they saw his face shining like that of another Moses, astonishment and admiration seized them all. When his prayer was over, he withdrew himself apart and gave himself up to the most vehement grief. His disciples, understanding that his sorrow could not be without a great reason, approached him with fear and trembling, and humbly besought him, if it were permissible, and not displeasing to his paternity, to reveal to them the cause of such copious tears. The saint was silent for a time, but on their persevering and knocking at the ears of that most pious father, he at length gave way, and answered to this effect: "Be it known unto you, dearest sons, that the most holy

Dewi, the honour of Britain, the father of his country, the most precious carbuncle of prelates, hath just left the prison of the flesh rich in merits, hath been introduced among the splendours of the saints, and hath penetrated into the Holy of Holies. I say unto you, believe me, that not only hath a multitude of angels flooded in light received him with heavenly music into the joy of the Lord his God, but the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, meek and lowly of heart, hath in my sight gone out to meet him at the gates of paradise, and crowned him with glory and honour. Behold like a matchless light to his generation, and a most brilliant star which shone forth in word and in example, he hath become present to every one under his charge that calleth upon him, so as with delight to shine for Him Who made him, and assist all who ask his protection, who apply to him for help, and who celebrate his sacred memory. And truly, dearest ones, it is right for me to rejoice in the glory of such a father, who loved me full well; but that ardent affection of devoted love for him permitteth me not to abstain from tears. For know that the world of Britain, deprived of such a light, of so tender a patron, and of one so powerful before God and the people, will feel the absence of him, who ever placed himself between that region and the sword of the Lord, half drawn on account of the wickedness of those that dwell therein, lest when entirely drawn from its sheath, it should smite them even to utter destruction. The Lord will surely hand over Britannia unto strange nations, who know not God, who in religion are pagans; and the island shall be emptied of its indigenous inhabitants, and the religion of the Christian Law shall be scattered until the appointed time; but again, by the mercy of God the Mediator, who overruleth all things, Christianity shall be restored as in the beginning, yea, in a way better than before." These things spake the saint, and was silent, and fear came upon all who heard him, and a shower of tears bedewed them. But they, wishing over and above to be assured as to the fact, having called a messenger, they sent him to the Church over which S. Dewi presided as bishop, and they found that the saint had left this world in the same hour in which the man of God, instructed by the Divine oracle, had announced it to them. And in this matter, it must be considered how great was the merit of that man in the sight of God, who, either with the eyes of the body or those of the soul, was deemed meet to behold such glory, and to deliver a prophecy concerning the Britons and Angles so true, which all England was able by a faith that was sight to verify.

CHAPTER XXVII.

How S. Kentigern went seven times to Rome, and consulted the blessed Gregory about his condition.

THE blessed Kentigern, knowing that Britain in many provinces was smitten with many stripes by the Gentiles, and that the Church of God established therein was by idolaters in many ways reft and torn from the faith of Christ; discovering moreover that it was frequently assaulted by heretics, and that there were therein many things contrary to sound doctrine, and alien from the integrity of the faith of our holy mother the Catholic Church, set himself for a long time to deliberate within himself what cure he ought to apply, to all these evils. In the end, he determined in his mind to visit the seat of Peter founded on a rock; and to prevent the tares growing up in the good wheat, he resolved by the wholesome teaching of the Holy Roman Church, and by acknowledging the oracles of the faith, to cast out every scruple of doubt from his mind, so as to be able to arrive by certain guidings at the light of the truth. For Britain, during the reign of the most holy king Lucius,¹ in the papacy of Eleutherius, by the preaching of the most excellent teachers Faganus and Divianus and others, whom Gildas the wise, the historian of the Britons, commemorateth, received the faith of Christ. It preserved that Christianity thus received whole and undefiled till the time of the Emperor Diocletian. Then the moon was turned into blood, and the flame of persecution against the Christians burnt brightly through the whole world. Then that scourge, inundating Britain, vehemently oppressed it, and pagan hands, mowing the first-fruits of the island, namely, Alban, took him out of the midst to be recorded in the Book of the Eternal King; and an innumerable company of others shortly after, voluntarily, and in ignorance, it offered to heaven.

From that time the worship of idols began to spring up and increase in that island, bringing in rejection and forgetfulness of the Divine law. But Christianity after this somehow revived and flourished; however, time went on, and first the Pelagian heresy prevailing, and then the Arian creeping in, defiled the face of the Catholic faith. This, however, sprang up again and flourished when these heresies were cast down and conquered by Saint Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, a man truly apostolic, and made

¹ Note ZZ.

glorious by many miracles. Yet forthwith the invasion of the neighbouring Picts and Scots, hostile to the recognition of the name of Christ, drove away entirely both the faith and the faithful from the northern part of Britannia. Finally, Britannia was conquered by the Angles, still pagans, from whom it was called Anglia. The natives being driven out, it was given over to idols and idolaters. The indigenous inhabitants of the island, however, fled either across the sea into Little Britain, or into Wales, and though banished from their own land, all of them did not entirely abandon their faith. But the Picts, first mainly by S. Ninian, and then latterly by SS. Kentigern and Columba, received the faith. Then lapsing into apostasy a second time, by the preaching of S. Kentigern, not only the Picts, but also the Scots, and innumerable people gathered from the different parts of Britain, were, as we have said already, and shall say more at length hereafter, either turned to the faith or were confirmed therein.

However, holy Augustine, noted for his monastic life and habit, and other servants of God, religious, were sent commissioned to England by the most holy Pope Gregory, who, rich in the showers of sacred preaching, and glittering in the lightning power of miracles, either by themselves or by their disciples converting the whole island to Christ, and fully instructing them in the rules of faith and the institutes of the holy fathers, filled the whole land of Anglia with the sweet savour of Christ.

On account therefore of Britain being crushed by so many misfortunes, Christianity so often obscured, and even cast down, at different times diverse rites were found in her contrary to the form of the holy Roman Church and to the decrees of the holy fathers. In order, therefore, that he might learn and be able to meet and to remedy all these evils, blessed Kentigern, going forth from the monastery of which we have made mention, betook himself seven times to Rome, and brought home what he learnt there, in so far as the correction of Britain required it; but as he was returning for the seventh time he was attacked by a most grievous malady, and got home with the greatest difficulty.¹

One of his visits was made to Rome during the time that blessed Gregory presided on the apostolic seat, a man truly apostolic in office, authority, life, and doctrine, and the special apostle of England, for the English are the sign of his apostleship. He was as a vessel of solid gold adorned with every manner of precious stone, and was called Golden Mouth, be-

¹ Note AAA.

cause in expounding great parts of the Scripture he made it clear by the most lucid and polished style. His memory is as the work of the apothecary in making up the unguent, and as music in a banquet of wine, because by his honeyed writings, by his hymns composed according to the laws of music, he gladdened, and by his canonical institutions he strengthened and adorned, the house of God, the holy Catholic Church, diffused throughout the world. To this most holy Roman Pontiff he laid bare and declared in order his whole life, his election to the episcopate, his consecration, and all the events that had happened to him. But the saintly Pope, inasmuch as he was strong in the spirit of counsel and discretion, filled with the Holy Ghost, and knowing him for a man of God, and full of the grace of the blessed Spirit, confirmed his election and consecration, because he knew that both had come from God. And on the bishop on many occasions seeking it, and with difficulty obtaining it, he supplied what was wanting to his consecration, and destined him to the work of the ministry enjoined on him by the Spirit of God. Holy Bishop Kentigern, having received the apostolic absolution and benediction, returned home, bearing with him the codes of canons, many other books of Holy Scriptures, as well as privileges, and many relics of the saints, and ornaments of the Church, and whatever lends grace to the house of the Lord. And he gladdened his own by his return, as well as by many presents and religious gifts.¹ He dwelt there for some time in great peace and (godly) conversation, and ruled holily and firmly both his see and his monastery with great care.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

What by the revelation of the Spirit he knew of two Clerics, and what happened to them according to his prediction.

It happened that the holy bishop felt it his duty, by ordaining clergy, to confer sacred orders, and to promote some to the priestly office. Among others there was brought to him a certain cleric, of elegant form, of great eloquence, of much learning, by birth a Briton, but educated in the Gauls. When the saint saw him, he summoned the archdeacon, and ordered him to be straightway removed and separated from the clergy. For there seemed to the eyes of the saint a sulphurous flame

¹ Note BBB.

to proceed from the bosom of that clerk, and an intolerable smell to offend his nostrils. By this vision, through the revelation of the Holy Spirit, he was made aware of the vice which reigned in his body. For he was, as was then made known to the man of God alone, and afterwards to all, habitually guilty of that most disgusting crime for which the Divine vengeance overthrew in fire and sulphur, and utterly destroyed, the sons of unbelief in the Five Cities. Then said the saint to those who stood around him, "If the sacred canons forbid women, on account of the infirmity of their sex, to which in noways is blame attached, to be promoted to the rank of the priesthood, much more is it our duty to banish from a rank and office so sacred, men who pervert their sex, who abuse nature, who in contempt of their Master, in degradation of themselves, in injury of all creatures, cast off that in which they are created and born, and become as women. Nowhere read we of punishment exercising a graver vengeance than against that monstrous race of men among whom that execrable crime first began. Not only did it overthrow those cities, with the inhabitants thereof, with fire, on account of the burning of evil passion, and with sulphur, on account of the stench of that abominable sin, but it also turned them into a place horrid to the sight, full of sulphur and bitumen and horrible smells, receiving nothing living into itself, having indeed on its banks trees that produce fruits externally sound, but inwardly full of smoke and ashes, shadowing forth an image of the torture of hell. And this indeed sufficiently distinctly exhibiteth how so execrable a pleasure is to be held in abhorrence, and how horrible and how much it is to be avoided of all men in this life, and in the future with what torment it will be visited; while the fire expresseth the heat of passion, the sulphur the ill savour of the crime, the bitumen the adhering effect of the vice, the smoke the blindness of heart in this world, and in the world to come the unquenchable flame, the intolerable stench, the indissoluble chains, the horror of darkness and eternal death." After this the cleric aforesaid departed by the way that he came, and, as the report goeth, he died, cut off by a sudden destruction.

When the holy man had finished his office and was returning home, there met him among the rest a cleric, a most eloquent foreigner. The man of God, beholding him, glanced at him with burning eye, and asked who he was, and whence he was, and wherefore he had come into these parts. He asserted that he was a preacher of the truth, teaching the way of God in truth, and that he had come into these parts for the salvation of souls. But when the saint had conversed with him he con-

victed him of being intoxicated with the poison of the Pelagian pestilence. Willing therefore that he should rather return than perish, he warned and reasoned with him to renounce the pernicious sect, but found his heart stony as to conversion. Then the saint ordered him to be expelled from his diocese, and denounced him as the son of death, and that the death of body and soul was in his gates. He remembered also the saying of the apostle, "A man that is an heretic, after the second admonition, avoid; knowing that he that is such is subverted."¹ The same son of hell, expelled from these borders, departed, and trying to cross a certain river, choked in the waters, he descended into hell, and thus by an evident proof illustrated the exceeding trustworthiness of the veracious prophecy of the most saintly man.

CHAPTER XXIX.

How the Divine vengeance smote the adversaries of S. Kentigern, and how it bore down upon his countrymen who had fallen away from the faith.

HITHERTO we have related as carefully as we could what S. Kentigern did when he withdrew from his own country, and when he dwelt in a foreign land. Let us point by point henceforth turn back and show what his adversaries suffered, how he returned to the Cambrian region, and what he did there.

After that the man of God yielding to malice departed, his enemies were not long permitted to triumph over his absence. For the Lord visited them with heavy hand and hard arm, and with fury poured out, holding over them a rod that watched for evil and not for good, smiting them with the blow of an enemy, and with cruel chastisement, even to destruction. For the night obscured some of them, and a gloom of blindness followed; others were attacked by paralysis, which enfeebled all their strength, and rendered them actually effete so far as concerned their bodily strength; others an incurable madness, proceeding as far as death, seized; others a contagious leprosy devoured or struck down, tainting them, and making them, as they breathed in their half-alive bodies, like unto the dead in a state of putrefaction. Very many of them became epileptic, and exhibited a dreadful spectacle to those who beheld them. Some one way, some another, were consumed by every kind of in-

¹ Titus iii. 10.

curable disease, and gave up the ghost. So great and so sudden was the indignation of the wrath of God, that all those who had known their power and great numbers hissed over them, saying, "Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this people? since, behold, suddenly they have come to an end, and perished on account of the iniquity which they wrought against the holy one of the Lord, striving to take away from the earth his life and memory."

Even his countrymen had quickly abandoned the way of the Lord, which the good shepherd and true teacher had shown unto them, and, like dogs returned to their vomit, had fallen into the rites of idolatry. But not with impunity; for from them the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all that are therein, withdrew their obedience, use, and wonted aid, so that, according to the Scripture, the very world itself seemed to fight against these foolish ones; and the elements seemed not able to bear with equanimity the absence of so great a man exiled from that land; for according to the words of the prophecy, "All men have departed, all the cattle died, the heaven above was as brass, and the earth as iron, devouring the inhabitants thereof; and a consuming famine prevailed for a long time over all the earth."¹

But when the time of having mercy had arrived, that the Lord might remove the rod of His fierce anger, and that they should turn unto Him, and He should heal them, He raised up over the Cambrian kingdom a king, Rederech by name, who having been baptized in Ireland in the most Christian manner by the disciples of S. Patrick, sought the Lord with all his heart, and strove to restore Christianity.² And truly it is a great sign of the Divine pity, when the Lord constituteth for the government of the holy Church, and for the dominion of the earth, rulers and kings who judge righteously, live holily, seek the good of their people, and execute judgment and justice on the earth. So, moreover, on the other hand, it is an evident proof of the wrath of God when, for the sins of a people, he causeth a hypocrite to reign, when he calleth the king apostate, and the leaders unjust, as it is written in Job,³ and when, according to the prophet, he giveth kings in His indignation, and princes in His fury.

¹ Deut. xxviii. 22, 23.

² Note CCC.

³ Job xxxiv. 18.

CHAPTER XXX.

How holy Rederech, by messengers and letters, invited S. Kentigern to return to his own see in Glasgu; and how the holy prelate, taught by the Divine oracle, assented to the king's petition.

WHEREFORE King Rederech, seeing that the Christian religion was almost entirely destroyed in his kingdom, set himself zealously to restore it. And after long considering the matter in his own mind, and taking advice with other Christians who were in his confidence, he discovered no more healthful plan by which he could bring it to a successful result, than to send messengers to S. Kentigern to recall him to his first see. The fame of the saint going forth smote on the ears and mind of the king, for his light could not be hid, although it shone in the more remote regions. The king, therefore, sent forth messengers to the holy prelate with letters deprecating refusal, and warning, praying, exhorting, and adjuring him by the name of God, as a shepherd, not any longer to withdraw his care from the sheep of his pasture, long desolate and destitute, by any further absence, lest he should expose them to be carried off and torn by the open mouth of the infernal wolf; but rather to hasten forth and meet them before they were swallowed by the throat of the roaring lion seeking whom he might devour, since there is none but he who could deliver, or ought more justly to do so. He declared that it was wrong that the spouse should desert his bride, the shepherd his flock, the prelate his church, for the love of whom he ought to lay down his life, so as not to become a hireling. He showed also that they who had sought his life had perished by the just anger of God, and he swore that in all things, as a son to his father, he would obey his will, his teaching, and his commands.

On receiving this, the holy father was silent, nor did he on that day return any definite answer, for he had prepared to nourish his grey hairs to the evening of his life, and to end his days, in that glorious monastery which he had raised with long and great labour, and to lay him down to sleep, and to take his quiet rest in the sight of those, his sons, whom he had begotten in the gospel, and brought forth in Christ. But because he sought not his own, but the things that are of Jesus Christ, and came not to do his own will, but the will of Him who sent him, as it could be done in heaven, respecting himself, in himself, and towards himself, he submitted himself entirely to the

disposition of God. And while on the following night he was engaged in prayer, and was consulting the Lord on this matter, the angel of the Lord stood beside him, and a light shone in the place of the oratory where he then was, and he smote him on the side and commanded him to rise. And on his standing up, the heavenly messenger said unto him, "Go back to Glasgu, to thy church, and there thou shalt be a great nation, and the Lord will make thee to increase among thy people. Thou shalt truly acquire unto the Lord thy God a holy nation, an innumerable people to be won unto the Lord thy God, and thou shalt receive an everlasting crown from Him. There thou shalt end thy days in a good old age, and shall go out of this world unto thy Father which is in heaven. Thy flesh shall rest in hope, buried with glory and honour, much dignified by the frequent visit of the peoples, and by the exhibition of miracles, till in the last day, by receiving from the hand of the Lord a double robe, thou shalt possess a twofold reward at the general resurrection." Having said this, the angel that appeared to him and who addressed him, departed; but he, weeping copiously, gave thanks unto the Lord, frequently saying, "My heart is ready, O God! my heart is ready for whatsoever may please Thee."¹

CHAPTER XXXI.

How the Saint addressing his disciples about his return, appointed S. Asaph as his successor in the government.

AND when the day dawned, having called his disciples together, he said unto them, "I speak as a man unto you, dearly beloved; I desired, after long thought and deliberation, according to the infirmity of my flesh, that these mine aged eyes should be closed by you, and that my bones should be hidden in the womb of the mother of all, in the sight of all of you. But since the life of man is not in his own power, it is laid upon me by the Lord that I should return unto mine own church of Glasgu; nor ought we, nor dare we, nor will we, contradict the words of the Holy One, as Job saith, nor in any wise go against it;² but rather in all things obey His will and command, even to our life's end. Do you, therefore, most beloved ones, stand firm in the faith. Quit you like men³ and be comforted, and seek always that everything be done in

¹ Note DDD.

² Job vi. 10.

³ 1 Cor. xvi. 13.

charity." These, and many things like these, he said in their presence, and lifting his hand he blessed them. Then, with the unanimous consent of all, he appointed the afore-mentioned S. Asaph to the government of the monastery, and by the petition of the people, and by canonical election, the successor of his bishopric; and after that he delivered a profound sermon at great length, of faith, hope, and charity, of mercy and justice, of humility and obedience, of holy peace and of mutual forbearance, of avoiding vice and of acquiring virtue, of observing the institutes of the holy Roman Church, of the regular discipline and exercises which he had established, to be observed by them all, and, in fact, of constancy and perseverance to the end in all good things.

When the sermon was over he enthroned S. Asaph in the cathedral see, and again blessing and taking leave of them all, he went forth by the north door of the church, because he was going forth to combat the northern enemy. After he had gone out, that door was closed, and all who witnessed and heard of his egress and departure bewailed his absence with great lamentations. Hence a custom grew up in that church that that door should never be opened, save once a year, on the day of S. Asaph, that is, on the Kalends of May, for two reasons,—first, in deference to the sanctity of him who had gone forth, and next, that thereby was indicated the great grief of those who had bewailed his departure. Therefore, on the day of S. Asaph, that door is opened, because when he succeeded to S. Kentigern in the government, their mourning was turned into joy. Of that monastery, a great part of the brethren, to the number of 665, in no ways being able or willing to live without him so long as he survived, went away with him. Three hundred only abode with S. Asaph. Surrounded by such a troop as this, as if compassed by the host of the court on high, he returned to fight the old enemy, and to drive him out from the region of the earth where the apostate angel had placed his seat. And truly those who accompanied him were counted by such a number, and by multiplying the senary exercise of good works, by fulfilling the decalogue of the law, arrived at the centenary perfection of virtues, and maintained the quinary guard over the discipline of the senses, so far as they could.

When King Rederech and his people had heard that Kentigern had arrived from Wallia into Cambria, from exile into his own country, with great joy and peace both king and people went out to meet him. On account of his arrival there sound in the mouths of all thanksgiving and the voice of praise and

joy; while from the lips of the holy bishop there issued "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good-will."

CHAPTER XXXII.

Of the Devils miraculously driven away, and of the place where he stood to preach, and of the fertility of the land which ensued.

BLESSED Kentigern, on seeing the gathering together and approach of a great multitude hastening towards him, rejoiced in spirit, and therefore offering up thanks, he knelt down in prayer. When he had finished it, he arose and, in the Name of the Holy Trinity, blessed the assembled multitude. Then, as if fortifying the bystanders with the sign of the holy cross, he spake as follows:—"I command that all those who envy the salvation of men, and oppose the Word of God, in the power of the same, depart instantly from hence, and oppose no obstacle to them who shall believe." Whereupon, with exceeding speed, an immense multitude of phantoms, horrible in stature and appearance, coming out of that crowd, fled away in the sight of all; and a great terror fell on those who beheld them. The holy bishop, comforting them and strengthening them, laid bare the natures of those in whom they had believed, and encouraged the hearts of all who stood around to believe in the living God; for by clear reason he showed that idols were dumb, the vain inventions of men, fitter for the fire rather than for worship. He showed that the elements in which they believed as deities, were creatures and formations adapted by the disposition of their Maker to the use, help, and assistance of men. But Woden, whom they, and especially the Angles,¹ believed to be the chief deity, from whom they derived their origin, and to whom the fourth day of the week is dedicated, he asserted with probability to have been a mortal man, king of the Saxons, by faith a pagan, from whom they and many nations have their descent. His body, he continued, after many years had passed, was turned into dust, and his soul, buried in hell, endureth the eternal fire.

By these and similar arguments casting forth the worship of idols from their hearts, he proved to them the Almighty God, Three and One, to be the Creator of all things from the very beauty of the visible creation; and after that, preaching to them

¹ Note EEE.

the faith that is in Jesus Christ and the Sacraments of faith, he shewed by the most true and lucid demonstrations that there is none other name under heaven, believing in which men may be saved, but only the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. And when he had, by the instruction and dictation of the Spirit, taught much that referred to the Christian faith, in the place which is called Holdelm,¹ the ground on which he sat, in the sight of all, grew into a little hill, and remaineth there unto this day. Therefore, they who had come together, beholding so great and sudden a miracle, obeying the word of faith in their inmost soul, firmly and faithfully believed that Jesus Christ is God, Who had revealed himself to them by His servant Kentigern. Eagerly, therefore, men and women, old men and young men, rich and poor, flock to the man of God to be instructed in the rules of faith; after being catechised, they renounced Satan and all his pomps and works, were washed in the saving laver in the Name of the Holy Trinity; and so anointed with the sacred chrism and oil, and incorporated into the body of the Church, they became members of Christ.

Wherefore the bishop rejoiced with great joy, for that a great salvation had been made, and mighty happiness increased among that people; nor was there less joy in the presence of the angels of God in heaven, for that so great a multitude had turned unto the Lord. Appropriately by such a sign as the elevation of the mountain in the commencement of his preaching, did the Lord deem right to magnify His saint, who by that very preaching effectually brought all to believe, as unto the very mountain, compact and fruitful, in which the Lord was well pleased to dwell. That very Stone, first cut without hands from the mountain, grew up into a high mountain and filled the face of the earth,—for the omnipotent God, born of the Virgin, without human passion, was manifestly shown forth in the breadth of this world. Verily, Christ is that Hill exalted on the top of the mountains, even the Lord Himself, that surpasseth all the power and greatness of the saints; in whose ways, paths, and light, by the instruction of Kentigern, these nations walked much more devoutly and consistently than that carnal house of Jacob, who, loving darkness rather than light, and wandering away from the ways of truth, refused to be enlightened by the illumination of the Supreme Light.

After that the inhabitants of Cambria had turned to the Lord and were baptized, all the elements, which in vindication of the Divine justice had seemed leagued for its ruin, put on a

¹ Note FFF.

new face towards them for the salvation of body and soul. For as the Lord turning away from the apostates, and opposing them by forbidding the dew to fall, commanded his clouds not to rain upon the earth, and summoned a famine which desolated them, so turning to them that had returned to Him, He commanded the heaven to yield its rain, and the earth to give forth the green herb, and to produce its fruit for those who dwelt thereon. Thus by the Lord causing His face to shine upon them, the sun was felt warmer than usual, the vault of heaven clearer, the air more healthy, the earth more fruitful, the sea more calm, the abundance of all things greater, peace more confirmed, the face of all things more joyous, and therefore the devotion of all in the maintenance of Divine worship was more profuse.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

How King Rederech conceded to him power over himself and his posterity.

Now King Rederech, seeing that the hand of God was good to him, and was operating according to his desires, was filled with great joy. And he made no delay in exhibiting openly the inward fervour which animated his soul. For, stripping himself of his royal robes, on bended knees and hands joined, with the consent and advice of his lords, he gave his homage to S. Kentigern, and handed over to him the dominion and principedom over all his kingdom, and willed that he should be king, and himself the ruler of his country under him as his father, as he knew that formerly the great Emperor Constantine had done to S. Silvester. Hence the custom grew up for a long course of years, so long as the Cambrian kingdom lasted in its own proper rank, that the prince was always subject to the bishop.¹ Frequently was the word again and again asserted by the king, that not in vain, but of set purpose had he been called Kentigern by S. Servanus, because by the will of the Lord he ought to become the head lord of all; for "Ken" is "caput" in Latin, and the Albanic "tyern" is interpreted "dominus" in Latin.

S. Kentigern, thus made a new Melchizedech, hesitated not to accept what the king had so devoutly offered for the glory of God, because he foresaw that in the future even this would be

¹ Note GGG.

for the advantage of the Church. He had also a privilege sent him from the Supreme Pontiff, that he should be subject to no bishop, but rather should be styled and actually be, the vicar and chaplain of the Pope. But the king, in return for the honour and glory he bestowed upon the holy bishop, received grace for grace, and greater honours and wealth from the Lord.

Moreover, his Queen Languoreth, long bowed down by the disgrace of continued barrenness, by the blessing and intercession of the saintly bishop, conceived and brought forth a son, to the consolation and joy of his whole kindred; and the saint baptizing him, called him Constantine, in remembrance of the act of his father which he had done to him in resemblance of that which the Roman Emperor Constantine had done to S. Silvester, as has been already stated. He grew up a boy of good disposition, in stature and grace, beloved of God and man, and by hereditary right, when his father yielded to fate, succeeded him in the kingdom, but always subject to the bishop like his father before him. And because the Lord was with him, he overcame all the barbarous nations in his vicinity without bloodshed, surpassing all the kings that had reigned before him in Cambria, in riches, glory, and dignity, and, what is better still, in holiness. So that, famed for merit, and finishing his course in peace, he was deemed meet to triumph over the age, and to be crowned with glory and honour in heaven; so that to the present day he is called S. Constantine by many.¹ We have said this by anticipation, because we have mentioned Constantine as being born by the prayers of S. Kentigern, and baptized and educated by him. The holy bishop Kentigern, building churches in Holdelm, ordaining priests and clerics, placed his see there for a certain reason for a time; afterwards, warned by Divine revelation, justice demanding it, he transferred it to his own city Glasgu.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

How many nations the Saint, at one time by himself, at another by his Disciples, cleansed from the foulness of Idolatry, and how he was distinguished for many miracles.

THE blessed Kentigern, like a burning torch in those days, was diligent, by the radiant flames of his virtues, and the burning and shining word of God, to illuminate the souls that were blinded by the darkness of ignorance, to kindle in the cold the

¹ Note HHH.

love of God, and to burn up and so clear away the thorns of sins and the tares of vices, which according to the ancient curse had spread over the earth and covered it. There was none that could easily hide himself from his heat. For he carefully visited his diocese, and taking away all strange gods from the midst of them, cast forth all the ceremonies of foreign worship, and so preparing the way for the Lord, and making the paths of our God straight, he brought the whole of Christianity there into a better state than it had been before.

Then the warrior of God, consumed with the fire of the Holy Spirit, like a fire that burneth the wood, and like the flame setting on fire the mountains, after he had converted what was nearest to himself, that is to say, his diocese, going forth to more distant places, cleansed from the foulness of idolatry and the contagion of heresy the land of the Picts, which is now called Galwiethia, with the adjacent parts; and amid shining miracles, bringing it back to the rule of truth, he amended, as far as lay in his power, whatsoever he found contrary to Christian faith or sound doctrine. In all these things the fervour of his devotion was not turned away, but his hand was stretched out still to greater actions, and to the increase of the honour and glory of the Most High, his feet having been shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.

For he went to Albania, and there with great and almost unbearable toil, often exposed to death by the snares of the barbarians, but ever standing undeterred, strong in the faith (the Lord working with him, and giving power to the voice of his preaching), he reclaimed that land from the worship of idols and from profane rites that were almost equal to idolatry, to the landmarks of faith, and the customs of the Church, and the laws of the canons. For there he erected many churches, and dedicated them when erected, ordaining priests and clerics; and he consecrated many of his disciples bishops. He also founded many monasteries in these parts, and placed over them as fathers the disciples whom he had instructed.

In all these matters, his spirit, always panting for the salvation of the many, never rested till, as a glorious standard-bearer of the Lord's host, and as a wrestler of unconquered mind, he fought the battles of the Lord. Therefore he sent forth those of his own, whom he knew to be strong in faith, fervent in love, known for doctrine, lofty in religion, towards the Orchades, Noruugia, and Ysaland, to announce to the dwellers therein the Name of the Lord and the Faith of Christ,¹

¹ Note III.

for that in those places the harvest indeed was great, but there were no labourers; and seeing that he was now old and unable to go himself, he willed that this work should be accomplished by his disciples.

All this being duly done, he returned to his own church of Glasgu, where, as elsewhere, yea, where, as everywhere, he was known to shine in many and great miracles. For wheresoever his lips disseminated the knowledge of salvation, the virtue of God, working in His servant, exhibited the manifold power of marvels. For he restored sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, the power of walking to the lame, speech to the dumb, reason to the insane. He drove away fevers; he cast out devils from the bodies of those possessed by them; he gave strength to the paralytic; healing to the lunatics; cleansing to the lepers, and cure to all sorts of sicknesses. But in such works as these was his daily wont, his accustomed play, his assiduous custom, which in a way became common from so constant occurrence, and which have not been written down, lest the quantity of them brought together should engender weariness. In many other ways also were many sick men taken to the bishop to be healed by the touch of the hem of his garment, frequently by mouthfuls of food and drink given and received; and sometimes men borne in a bed were healed by the shadow of his body as he passed along, like another Peter.

CHAPTER XXXV.

How the Lord kept his Clothes untouched by any drops of rain, or snow, or hail.

ALTHOUGH the hand of the Lord worked by blessed Kentigern many miracles not commonly vouchsafed to other saints, He wrought one work in him in particular at which all men did wonder. For as all bear witness who knew the man, as well as those that conversed with him, that never in his life were his clothes wetted with drops of rain, or with snow or hail pouring upon him and falling to the ground. For often, standing in the open air, while the inclemency of the weather increased, and the pouring rain flowed in different directions like bilge-water, and the spirit of the storm raged around him, he from time to time stood still, or went whither he would, and yet he always continued uninjured and untouched by a drop of rain from any quarter. And not on him alone did the Lord vouchsafe to exhibit this prodigy, which was the Lord's doing,

and wonderful in the eyes of all, but the whole company of his disciples going along with him, by his merits, oftentimes, though not as in his own case always, experienced the same grace in themselves and for themselves. For the sanctity of the holy doctor Kentigern, who was bedewed with Divine grace, was to his followers for a shadow in the day-time from the heat, and a refuge, and for a covert from the storm and tempest.

So let no one disbelieve that the Lord bestowed the blessing of the miracle which we have described on His most devout servant, to the praise of His own most holy Name, and to commend his sanctity, since, in a manner like to this—nay, in a manner greater than this—He vouchsafed in the desert a boon to the whole Hebrew people to show that they had found favour in His eyes. For, as we read, the garments of that people were not worn or destroyed by time; the garments of this man alone were never wetted with the drops of rain from heaven. Therefore to none let this seem incredible; for, as the Lord says, all things are possible to him that believeth, and with the Lord there is nothing impossible. In like manner, the sign which in the smiting of Egypt, as we find written in a certain place concerning the children of Israel, we know to have been frequently repeated in the case of blessed Kentigern. For when darkness overwhelmed the whole land of Egypt, and thick darkness the people, as it is written, where the children of Israel dwelt, there there was light; so, often, when a cloud covered the whole earth, bringing on a darkness that might be felt, a light shone around himself, the place, and the inhabitants thereof, where the saint was preaching. Rightly, therefore, as we believe, never were wet with any drops the garments of this saint, whose members he strove with the utmost care to preserve clean and pure from all defilement of flesh and blood. With justice also did a light shine forth from the darkness in the place of his preaching where he taught the people, as in his heart the Sun of Righteousness, the Light that knoweth no setting, ever shone; and he himself, like a lamp in a dark place, gave forth light in the midst of a perverse and wicked generation, as the apostle Peter beareth witness.¹

¹ 2 Peter i. 19.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

How the Saint miraculously restored to the Queen the Ring which she had improperly given away, and which was thrown by the King himself into the River Clud.

So S. Kentigern having, as we have told, returned home, and disposing himself to dwell by himself in mental solitude far from the throngs of men, willed not to be freely seen in public or to go abroad except in cases of great urgency. Nevertheless he ceased not, though against his will, to shine forth abroad in wondrous signs. Queen Languoreth, who has been mentioned above, living in plenty and delights, was not faithful to the royal chamber or the marital bed, as she ought to have been: for the heap of her treasures, the exuberance of her means of sensuality, and the elevation of power, were wont to minister incentives and fuel to the will of the flesh. She cast her eyes on a certain youth, a soldier, who, according to the perishing beauty of this perishing flesh, seemed to her to be beautiful and fair of aspect beyond many that were with him at court. And he, who without external temptation was himself ready enough for such a service as this, was easily induced to sin with her.

So as time passed, and the forbidden pleasures, frequently repeated, became more and more delightful to both of them—for bread eaten in secret, and stolen waters, according to Solomon,¹ seemed to them to be sweeter; so from a rash act they proceeded to a blind love, and a royal ring of gold, set with a precious gem, which her lawful husband had intrusted to her as a special mark of his conjugal love, she very impudently and imprudently bestowed upon her lover, and he, more impudently and more imprudently placing it upon his finger, opened the door of suspicion to all who were conversant in the matter. A faithful servant of the king, finding this out, took care to instil the secret of the queen and the soldier into the ears of the husband, who did not willingly lend his ear or his mind to her disgrace, as the unworthiness of his wife was brought to him. It is an old and true proverb, It is difficult for a cuckold to put faith in one that reveals the failings of a beloved wife; and the odium is apt to fall rather upon the informer than upon the accused. But the detector of the adultery, in proof of the matter, showed the ring on the finger of the soldier;

¹ Prov. ix. 17.

and by this proof persuading the king to believe him, he succeeded in kindling the spirit of jealousy within him.

So the king, being secretly assured of this, veiled under a calm demeanour the wrath of his soul against the queen and the soldier, and appeared more than usually cheerful and kind. But when a bright day occurred, he went out hunting, and summoning the soldier to accompany him, sought the woods and forests with a great company of beaters and dogs. Having uncoupled the dogs and stationed his friends at different places, the king with the soldier came down to the banks of the river Clud, and they, in a shady place on the green turf, thought it would be pleasant for both to sleep for a little. The soldier, worn out, and suspecting no danger, resting his head, stretching out his arm, and extending his hand, straightway slumbered; but the spirit of jealousy exciting the king, who simulated sleep, suffered him neither to slumber nor to take any rest. Seeing the ring on the finger of the sleeper, his wrath was kindled, and he with difficulty restrained his hand from his sword and from shedding of blood; but he controlled his rage, at least in part, and after drawing the ring off the finger threw it into the neighbouring river, and then, waking him up, ordered him to return to his companions and go home. The soldier waking up from sleep, and thinking nothing about the ring, obeyed the king's order, and never discovered what he had lost till he entered his house.

But when, on the return of the king, the queen in the usual manner came forth from her chamber and saluted him, from the mouth of him who was thus saluted there proceeded continuously threats, contempt, and reproach, while with flashing eyes and menacing countenance he demanded where the ring was which he had intrusted to her keeping. When she declared that she had it laid up in a casket, the king, in the presence of all his courtiers, commanded her to bring it to him with all haste; but she, still full of hope, entered the inner chamber as if to seek the ring, but straightway sent a messenger to the soldier, telling him of the anger of the king in demanding the ring, and ordering him to send it quickly. The soldier sent back to the queen to say that he had lost the ring and could not tell where. Then, fearing the face of the king, for the sake of concealment, he absented himself from court. In the meantime, as she sought further delays, and was slow in producing what, of course, she could not find, uselessly seeking here and there, the king in fury frequently calling her an adulteress, broke forth in curses saying, "God do to me, and more also, if I judge thee not according to the law of adulterers, and condemn thee to a

most disgraceful death. Thou, clinging to a young adulterer, hast neglected the king thy spouse; yet I would have made thee the sharer of my bed and the mistress of my kingdom: thou hast done it in secret; I will do it in public, and the sun shall manifest thine ignominy and reveal thy more shameful things before thy face."

And when he had said much after this sort, all the courtiers praying for some delay, he with difficulty conceded three days, and ordered her to be imprisoned. Cast into a dungeon, she now contemplated death as imminent; but not the less did her guilty conscience torment her. O weighty and intolerable punishment, the damning testimony of a guilty conscience! Although one condemned to punishment may have external peace, yet he is acknowledged to be wretched and disturbed whom a gnawing conscience ceaselessly persecuteth. The spirit, therefore, of the guilty woman was vexed within her, and with contrite and lowly heart, with tearful prayer, she besought God not to enter into judgment with His handmaiden, but according to His great mercy, as formerly He had pity on the woman taken in adultery and placed in the midst before Him, so in a like case He would have mercy upon her. By the inspiration of the Lord, the woman in her great strait found out a wise device, and, sending a most faithful messenger to S. Kentigern, told him her whole misfortune, and from him, as her only deliverer, she urgently requested help. She also begged that at least he would use his influence with the king and beseech pardon for her, for there was nothing so great which he would, or could, or ought to deny him.

The saintly bishop, instructed by the Holy Ghost and by virtue from on high, knowing the whole story in order before the arrival of the messenger, ordered him to go with a hook to the bank of the river Clud aforesaid, to cast the hook into the stream, and to bring back to him straightway the first fish that was caught upon it and taken out of the water. The man did what the saint commanded, and exhibited in the presence of the man of God a large fish which is commonly called a salmon; and on his ordering it to be cut open and gutted in his presence, he found in it the ring in question, which he straightway sent by the same messenger to the queen. And when she saw it and received it, her heart was filled with joy, her mouth with praise and thanksgiving; her grief was turned into joy; the expectation of death into the dance of exultation and safety. Therefore the queen rushed into the midst and returned to the king the ring he had required, in the sight of all. Wherefore the king and all his court were sorry for the

injuries done to the queen; and humbly on his knees he sought her pardon, and swore that he would inflict a very severe punishment, even death or exile if she willed, upon her slanderers. But she, wisely judging that mercy rather than the award of judgment was what she had to do with, was desirous that he should shew mercy, as a servant ought to have on his fellow-servant. She said, "Far be it, my lord, O King, that any one should suffer on my account; but if thou wilt that from my heart I should forgive thee for what injury thou hast done me, I will that thou put away all angry feeling from thy heart and mind, as I do against mine accuser." And all, when they heard this, wondered and were glad. And so the king, and the queen, and the accuser are recalled to the grace of peace and mutual love. The queen, as soon as she could, betook herself to the man of God, and confessing her guilt, and making satisfaction by his advice, carefully corrected her life for the future and kept her feet from a similar fall. During her husband's lifetime she never revealed to any one the sign whereby the Lord had shown forth His mercy toward her, but after his death she told it to all who wished to know it.

Behold the Lord sitting in heaven willed to do by His servant Kentigern that which, clothed in our flesh, He condescended to do when conversing with men on earth. At His order Peter, casting a hook into the sea, drew out the great fish in whose mouth he found the piece of money, which he gave in tribute for the Lord and for himself. So by the command of S. Kentigern, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the queen's messenger, casting a hook into the river, took a fish, and bringing it thus to the saint found in it, when taken and opened, a ring which saved the queen from a double death. In both these cases, as it seemeth to me, there was rendered to Cæsar that which belongeth unto Cæsar, and unto God that which is God's. For in the piece of money the image of Cæsar was restored to him, and in the ring restored the flesh was redeemed from destruction, and the soul made in the image of God was cleansed from sin and restored to Him.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

How a Jester despising the gifts of the King demanded a dishful of fresh mulberries after Christmas; and how he received them through the instrumentality of S. Kentigern.

KING REDERECH was magnified by the Lord because he clung to Him, by serving Him in faith and good works, and because

he obeyed the will of S. Kentigern. For glory and riches were in his house, generosity in his heart, politeness in his mouth, munificence in his hand, for that the Lord had blessed the works of his hands, so that not only to the regions in his own neighbourhood, but even across the sea to Ireland, the fame of his liberality extended. Wherefore a jester from one of the kings of Ireland, skilled and clever in his art, was sent to Cambria to the court of the king aforesaid, that he might see whether the truth responded to the fame of him, which was far and wide extended. The jester, admitted into the court, played with his hand on the timbrel and harp, and gave joy to the king and his paladins all the days of the Christmas holidays. When the feast of the Lord's holy epiphany was past, the king ordered gifts to be brought forth and bestowed upon the jester, in accordance with the royal generosity, all of which the actor refused, stating that he had sufficiency of such things in his own country. Being asked by the king what he would be willing to receive, he answered that he had no need whatsoever of silver, and gold, and garments, and horses, in which Ireland abounded;¹ but "if thou desirest," said he, "that I should depart from thee well rewarded, let there be given to me a dish full of fresh mulberries." When they heard this speech uttered from the mouth of the man, all burst out laughing, because they thought that he was joking and speaking in sport; for a person of this kind is esteemed the more highly the better he is able, by words that produce mirth, to excite laughter. But he with an oath declared that he had demanded the mulberries not in jest but in all seriousness; nor could he be moved from this by prayers, promises, or the offer of the handsomest gifts; and rising, he declared that he wished to retire from the midst of the crowd, and, as the saying is, to carry off the king's honour. The king took this very ill, and asked his companions what could be done that he should not be dishonoured in this matter; for it was the season of winter and not a mulberry could be found anywhere. Acting on the advice of his courtiers, he betook himself to S. Kentigern, and humbly begged that by prayer he would obtain what he wanted from God. The man of God, although he thought that his prayer would not be fitly offered for such trifles as these, knew that the king had a great devotion to God and Holy Church, yet though his eyes beheld his substance, which was imperfect, in this case the holy bishop made up his mind to condescend to his petition, hoping that thereby in the future

¹ Note KKK.

he might advance in virtue. Therefore pondering for a time in his heart, and praying shortly, he said to the king, "Dost thou remember in what place during summer, thou didst throw away the garment with which thou wast girded, in the great heat when thou wast hunting, that thou mightest follow the dogs more expeditiously, and then forgetting or underrating it thou didst never return to recover what thou hadst cast off?" The king answered, saying, "I know, my king and bishop, both the time and the place." "Go," said the saint, "straightway to the place, and thou shalt find the garment still perfect, hanging over a bush of thorns, and below that thou shalt find mulberries sufficient still fresh and fit for gathering. Take them and satisfy the demand of the jester, and in all things concern thyself that thou more and more reverence God, who will not allow thine honour to be marred or minished even in so light a thing as this." The king did as the bishop ordered, and found all as he had predicted. Therefore taking the dish and filling it with the mulberries, he gave it to the actor, saying, "There, take that which thou hast asked for; for by the help of the Lord who worketh with me, thou canst not in anything injure the fame of my generosity. And that I may not seem to thee more niggardly than others, thou art welcome to stay here as long as it pleaseth thee." The actor, seeing the charger full of mulberries contrary to the time of the year, wondered and feared, and when he knew how it had happened, he cried out and said, "Verily, there is none like unto thee among the kings of the earth, munificent in thy generosity, and there is none like unto Kentigern, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing such wonders in my sight beyond expectation. Henceforth I will not leave thy house or thy service, and I will be unto thee a servant for ever, so long as I live." The actor therefore abode in the king's court, and served him for many days as jester. Afterwards, by the instigation of the fear of God, he set himself against his former profession, renounced the trade of actor, and entering the ways of a better life, gave himself up to the service of God.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Of the two vessels filled with Milk which S. Kentigern sent to a certain workman; how, when the Milk was poured into the river, it became Cheese.

THERE was a certain man, skilled in the trade of an artisan, who served by hammering and forging, took charge of the

works of the man of God, and of the monastery, and received from the saint the necessary wages. Now the saint was wont to use milk as food and drink, for, as we have said above, he usually abstained from all liquor that could intoxicate. He therefore ordered vessels of new milk to be carried to the artisan, because he knew that workmen and hired servants are gratified by partaking of the food prepared for the lord and householder. But when he who bore it was crossing the Clud, the covers of the vessels, by the merest accident, became open, and the whole milk was poured into the water. But, strangely and wonderfully, the milk poured out did not mix with the water, and was not altered as to colour and taste, but all at once it became curded, and was turned into cheese. In fact, that cheese was no less properly made solid by the beating of the waves, than in other cases it is compacted by the pressure of the hands. The bearer snatched the little shape of cheese out of the water, and went and detailed from the beginning the whole story to the workman to whom the saint had sent him. Many beheld this remarkable sign, and on seeing that the fluid had not been turned into fluid, or liquefied, stood astonished. But the workman and many others tasted of that cheese, and also distributed minute particles piece by piece of the same to many to be kept as relics. These relics are preserved in many places and during many times, and making the beloved and famous miracles of Kentigern more beloved and more famous by the testimony of this very fact. But although this sign, even externally, is the cause of great wonder, yet to those who view it subtilly, and who infer spiritual from corporeal things, the invisible things from the visible, it affords much instruction. In the milk which fell into the waters, yet was not mixed with them, nor turned into them, or immersed in them, we have the example of preserving innocency and justice, which are relics to a peaceable man, among those who swell with pride, who would invade us with all evil, who dissipate themselves in pleasures, and who seek to drown us in destruction by bad examples and persuasions. That the milk in the stream was hardened into cheese, gives us an ensample of maintaining constancy in the presence of trials and straits. For the just and innocent man hardeneth among the waves, as the milk did into cheese, when, in obedience to words proceeding from the mouth of God, he keepeth the hard paths, and by many tribulations seeketh to enter into His kingdom. Moreover, if he endure threats, insults, losses, and injuries, from wicked and froward men, then he feeleth them as though he did not feel, but in peace possessing his soul, he endeavoureth to

persevere in good, knowing certainly that whosoever persevereth unto the end the same shall be saved.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

How S. Columba visited blessed Kentigern, and beheld a crown that came down from Heaven upon his head, and a celestial light shining around him.

AT the time when blessed Kentigern, placed in the Lord's candlestick, like a burning lamp, in ardent desires, and shining forth in lifegiving words, in the examples of virtues and miracles, gave light to all that were in the house of God, S. Columba, the abbot, whom the Angles call Columkillus, a man wonderful for doctrine and virtues, celebrated for his pre-sage of future events, full of the spirit of prophecy, and living in that glorious monastery which he had erected in the Island of Yi, desired earnestly, not once and away, but continually to rejoice in the light of S. Kentigern. For hearing for a long time of the fame in which he was estimated, he desired to approach him, to visit him, to behold him, to come into his close intimacy, and to consult the sanctuary of his holy breast regarding the things which lay near his own heart. And when the proper time came the holy father S. Columba went forth, and a great company of his disciples, and of others who desired to behold and look upon the face of so great a man, accompanied him. When he approached the place called Mellindenor, where the saint abode at that time, he divided all his people into three bands, and sent forward a message to announce to the holy prelate his own arrival, and that of those who accompanied him.

The holy pontiff was glad when they said unto him these things concerning them, and calling together his clergy and people similarly in three bands, he went forth with spiritual songs to meet them. In the forefront of the procession were placed the juniors in order of time; in the second those more advanced in years; in the third, with himself, walked the aged in length of days, white and hoary, venerable in countenance, gesture, and bearing, yea, even in grey hairs. And all sang, "In the ways of the Lord how great is the glory of the Lord;"¹ and again they answered, "The way of the just is made straight, and the path of the saints prepared."² On S. Columba's side

¹ Ps. cxxxviii. 5.

² Isa. xxvi. 7, vetus Ital.

they sang with tuneful voices, "The saints shall go from strength to strength, until unto the God of gods appeareth every one in Sion," with the Alleluia.¹ Meanwhile, some who had come with S. Columba asked him, saying, "Hath S. Kentigern come in the first chorus of singers?" The saint answered, "Neither in the first nor in the second cometh the gentle saint." And when they loudly asked how he knew this, he said, "I see a fiery pillar in fashion as of a golden crown, set with sparkling gems, descending from heaven upon his head, and a light of heavenly brightness encircling him like a certain veil, and covering him, and again returning to the skies. Wherefore it is given to me to know by this sign that, like Aaron, he is the elect of God, and sanctified; who, clothed with light as with a garment, and with a golden crown represented on his head, appeareth to me with the sign of sanctity." When these two godlike men met, they mutually embraced and kissed each other, and having first satiated themselves with the spiritual banquet of Divine words, they after that refreshed themselves with bodily food. But how great was the sweetness of Divine contemplation within these holy hearts is not for me to say, nor is it given to me, or to such as I am, to reveal the manna which is hidden, and, as I think, entirely unknown save unto them that taste it.

CHAPTER XL

Of the head of S. Kentigern's ram, that was cut off, and how it was turned into stone.

WHILE these two men whom we have mentioned were mutually associated as two columns in the courts of the Lord's house, firmly founded in faith and love, and strengthened in the same, by the imitation and instruction of whom many peoples and tribes and tongues entered, and are still entering, into the heavenly temple, which is the joy of the Lord their God, some sons of the stranger, who had come with S. Columba, were confirmed in bad habits, and halted in the paths of the man of God. For as the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, so the man that is bred to theft and robbery findeth it difficult to change his malice. There came, therefore, some with the blessed Columba, who had no dovelike innocence, merely by the advances of their feet, and not by the affection of devotion, or by progress in morals. While they journeyed, they beheld from a distance

¹ Ps. lxxxiv. 7.

one of the flocks of the holy bishop feeding, and leaving the path and going through dark ways, as it is said of such in the Proverbs, they turned aside thither, and, in spite of the struggles and remonstrances of the shepherds, seized the fattest wether. But the herdsman, in the Name of the Holy Trinity, and by the authority of S. Kentigern, forbade them to commit such robbery, nay, such sacrilege, on the flock of the holy bishop, informing them, that if they would but ask a ram of the saint, they would be sure to obtain it. But one of them insulted and drove away the shepherd, threatening him with some injury, or even with death, and carried away a ram, while the other, taking a knife, cut off its head. Then they took counsel how to carry off the carcase, and at a time and place that suited their crime, to skin it, so as they well knew how, to fit it more carefully for their use.

But a thing wonderful to relate, more wonderful to behold, took place. The ram with his head cut off rushed back with unaccountable speed to his flock, and there fell down; while the head, turned into stone, stuck firmly, as by some most cohesive glue, in the hands of him who held it and had struck it. They who were able to pursue, catch, hold, behead the ram living and strong, were unable to overtake it by following or pursuing when it was mutilated; nor could they cast away from their hands the head which had become stone, in spite of all their efforts. The men became rigid, and their hearts died within them, and became as stone, as they were carrying a stone, and at length they took the wise determination of betaking themselves to the saints, and, prostrate before the feet of S. Kentigern, penitent and confounded, they prayed with tears that he would pardon them. But the holy prelate, chiding them with kindly reproof, and warning them never again to commit fraud, theft, robbery, or, what was more detestable, sacrilege, unloosed them from the double bond, that of sin, and of the grasp of the stone. He ordered the carcase of the slain ram to be given them, and allowed them to depart. But the head turned into stone remaineth there unto this day, as a witness to the miracle, and, being mute, yet preacheth the merit of holy Kentigern.

Assuredly this miracle, as it seemeth to me, in the main, is not inferior to that which the book of Genesis records to have been wrought in the case of Lot's wife. When the heavenly fire, the avenger of the injury done to God, being ordered to destroy the wicked ones who would upset the natural laws of the generation of man, was about to descend, Lot, warned by the angelic counsel, and aided by its help, escaped the fire of

the overthrown and overwhelmed city of Sodom. But his wife, looking back in opposition to a command sent from heaven, was turned into a rock, into an image of salt, to be a relish to the food of brute animals. Here the head of the ram is turned into stone to condemn the hardness and cruelty of those who carry off their neighbour's goods. In the figure of Lot's wife, by the Lord's own teaching, every faithful man is taught and warned, not foolishly to turn back from any sacred duty once undertaken. In the head turned into stone, every Christian is warned not to commit theft or fraud or rapine, or any violence on the property of the Church or on the substance of the servants of God. In the very place, where the miracle wrought by S. Kentigern came to the knowledge of S. Columba and many others, there they interchanged their pastoral staves, in pledge and testimony of their mutual love in Christ. But the staff which S. Columba gave to the holy bishop Kentigern was preserved for a long time in the Church of S. Wilfred, bishop and confessor at Ripun; and held in great reverence on account of the sanctity both of him who gave it and of him who received it. Wherefore, during several days, these saints, passing the time together, mutually conversed on the things of God and what concerned the salvation of souls; then saying farewell, with mutual love, they returned to their homes, never to meet again.

CHAPTER XLI.

How that the man of God erected Crosses in many places, by which, even to the present day, miracles are wrought.

THE venerable father and bishop Kentigern had a custom, in the places in which at any time by preaching he had won the people to the dominion of Christ, or had imbued them with the faith of the cross of Christ, or had dwelt for any length of time, there to erect the triumphant standard of the cross, that all men might learn that he was in no ways ashamed of the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he carried on his forehead. But, as it seemeth unto me, this holy custom of the good man is in many ways supported by sound reason. For for this cause the saint was accustomed to erect this lifegiving, holy, and terrible sign, that, like as wax melteth at the fire, so the enemies of the human race, the powers of the darkness of this world, melting away in terror before this sign, might disappear and in terror and confusion might be banished far away. Moreover, it is fitting that the soldiers of the Eternal King, recognising

by a glance the unconquerable standard of their Chief, should fly to it, as to a tower of strength, from the face of the enemy, and from the face of those wicked ones who afflict them; and that they should have before their eyes that which they adore and in which they glory. And inasmuch as, according to the apostle, the wrestling against spiritual wickednesses in high places, and against the fiery darts of the evil one, is continual, it is meet and healthful that they should fortify and protect themselves by signing themselves with this sign; and by imitating the Passion of Christ, and with the apostle bearing about in their bodies the stigmata of the wounds of Christ, they should, for the love of the Crucified One, crucify the flesh with its vices and lusts, and the world to them, and themselves unto the world.

Therefore, among many crosses which he erected in several places where the word of the Lord was preached, he erected two which to the present time work miracles. One in his own city of Glasgu he caused to be cut by quarriers from a block of stone of wondrous size, which, by the united exertions of many men, and by the application of machinery, he ordered to be erected in the cemetery of the church of the Holy Trinity, in which his episcopal chair was placed. But all their labour was expended in vain; every machine was powerless, human strength and might availed not to raise it up, though much and long they toiled. But when human genius and help failed, the saint had recourse to the Divine aid. For on the succeeding night, which happened to be Sunday, and while the servant of the Lord was pouring forth his prayers for this end, an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and coming near, rolled back the stone cross and raised it to the place where it standeth to-day, and blessing it with the sign of the cross, he signed it, sanctified it, and disappeared. The people, when they came to the church in the morning and saw what was done, were astonished and gave glory to God in His saint. For the cross was very large, and never from that time lacked great virtue, seeing that many maniacs and those vexed with unclean spirits are used to be tied of a Sunday night to that cross, and in the morning they are found restored, freed, and cleansed, though oftentimes they are found dead or at the point of death.

He constructed another cross, wonderful to be described, unless it could be tested by sight and touch, of simple sea-sand, in Lothwerved,¹ while he meditated righteously and religiously of the Resurrection. In this place he abode eight years. Who

¹ Note LLL.

ought to dispute on this truth, and say that the Lord will not raise our mortal bodies though turned into dust, since He hath so promised with His blessed mouth, when in His name, this saint, of like passions with ourselves, by praying to God raised up a cross formed of sea-sand? Verily it must be believed that at the Lord's will all the bones of the dead shall be joined to their bones, according to the prophecy of Ezechiel, and that the Lord will give them sinews and make flesh to come on them, and skin to cover them, and shall put breath into them, and they shall live for ever; seeing that at the prayer of a man still alive, a collection of the minutest sand, I had almost said of atoms, was extended into a solid and perfect matter, a mass of sand was condensed and formed into a cross, which neither the burning sun by day, nor the frost by night, nor any inclemency of the atmosphere can dissolve. That cross then was formed as proof to our faith that this our corruptible must put on incorruption; and that of the multitude of the children of Israel, if they were as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved by the faith of the cross of Christ; and that the friends of God shall be multiplied beyond the number of the sand by Him who numbereth the stars of heaven, and the sand of the sea, and the drops of rain, and the days of the age. To this cross also many afflicted with divers diseases, and specially madmen and those vexed by the devil, are bound in the evening; and oftentimes in the morning they are found safe and sound, and return to their friends.¹

There are many other places in which he lived, specially during Lent, unknown to us, which the saint sanctified by the presence of His holy indwelling. Yet very many persons relate numerous instances regarding those which, by sure tokens to this day, diffuse the odour of his sanctity, and by his merits afford many blessings to the feeble, and possess the efficacy of miracles.

CHAPTER XLII.

How he tied up his Chin with a certain bandage, and how he prepared for his Soul's Departure.

BLESSED Kentigern, overcome by excessive old age, perceived from many cracks in it that the ruin of his earthly house was imminent; but the foundation of his faith, which was founded on the Rock, comforted his soul; for he trusted

¹ Note MMM.

that when the earthly house of this tabernacle was dissolved, he had prepared for him a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. And because by reason of the extremity of old age, and the infirmity consequent thereon, the fastenings of his nerves were almost entirely withered throughout his body and loosened, therefore he bound up his cheeks and his chin, by a certain linen bandage, which went over his head and under his chin, neither too tight nor too loose. This the most refined man did, that by the fall of his chin nothing indecent should appear in the gaping of his mouth, and that such a support should render him more ready in bringing forth what he could or would.

In the end, this man, beloved by God and man, knowing that the hour was drawing near when he should pass out of this world to the Father of lights, fortified himself with the sacred unction which wrought remission of sin, and with the life-giving sacraments of the Lord's Body and Blood, in order that the ancient serpent, seeking to bruise his heel, should be unable to fix thereon his poisonous tooth or to inflict on him a deadly wound: yea rather, that with bruised head he should retreat in confusion. In this very way, the Lord treading Satan under his feet, in order that his holy soul should not be speedily put to confusion, when in his coming out of Egypt he spake with his enemies in the gate, he patiently, like an excellent under-pilot, awaited the Lord, who had saved him from the storms of this world. And now, close to the shore, driven into the harbour of a certain inward quietude, after so many dangers of the sea, he cast out the anchor of hope, with the ropes of his desire well bound, in the solid and soft ground, reaching of a truth even to the inside of the veil, whither Jesus Christ had gone before him. Henceforward he alone awaited the departure from the tents of Kedar and the entrance into the land of the living, so that in the City of Powers, that is the heavenly Jerusalem, like a successful wrestler he might receive from the hand of the heavenly King the crown of glory and the diadem of the kingdom which shall not be destroyed. He warned his disciples, gathered around him, so far as his strength would allow him, concerning the observance of the holy rule, the maintenance of love and peace, of the grace of hospitality, and of the continuing instant in prayer and holy study. But above all things he gave them short but peremptory commands, warning them to avoid every evil appearance of simoniacal wickedness, and to shun entirely the communion and society of heretics and schismatics, and observe strictly the decrees of the holy fathers, and espe-

cially the laws and customs of Holy Church, the mother of all. After that, as was right, he gave to each of them, as they humbly knelt before him, the kiss of peace; and lifting his hand as best he could, he blessed them, and bidding them his last farewell, he committed them all to the guardianship of the Holy Trinity, and to the protection of the holy Mother of God, and gathered himself up into his stone bed. Then one voice of mourners sounded full everywhere, and a horror of confusion fell on the faces of all of them.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Of his Disciples, who sought a speedy journey to heaven, and of his warm bath.

SOME of them, who very dearly loved the saint of God, prostrating themselves in tears before him, besought him thus: "We find, O Lord Bishop, that thou desirest to depart and to be with Christ. For thine old age, venerable, long protracted, and measured by many years, as well as thy spotless life, demand this; but, we pray thee, have mercy upon us whom thou hast begotten in Christ. For wheresoever we have erred through human frailty we have always confessed in thy presence, and by satisfaction have made amends by the judgment of thy discretion. Since then we have no power of retaining thee longer among us, pray to the Lord that it may be vouchsafed to us to depart with thee from this vale of tears to the glory of thy Lord. So far as concerns this we believe in truth and assert that the Divine mercy will grant thee what thou askest, for the will of God hath been to us directed in thy hand from thy youth upwards. It seemeth to us improper that the bishop without his clergy, the shepherd without any of his flock, the father without his children, should enter into these joyous and festive abodes; yea rather, the more festive and the more sublime, by how much a greater company of his own should attend him." And when they had urged him more with tears, the man of God, full of compassion, collecting his breath, as best he might, said, "The will of the Lord be done in us all: and do with us as He best knoweth, and as is well-pleasing unto Him."

After these things the saint was silent, and sighing in his soul for heaven, he awaited the passage of his spirit from the body; and his disciples watching by him, took care of him as

if close to death. And behold, while the morning day-star, the messenger of the dawn, the herald of the light of day, tearing in sunder the pall of the darkness of night, shone forth with flaming rays, an angel of the Lord appeared with unspeakable splendour, and the glory of God shone around him. And for fear of him the guardians of the holy bishop were exceedingly astonished and amazed, being but earthly vessels, and, unable to bear the weight of so great glory, became as dead men. But the holy old man, comforted by the vision and visit of the angel, and, as it were, forgetting his age and infirmity, being made strong, experienced some foretastes of the blessedness now near at hand, and held close converse with the angel as with his closest and dearest friend.

Now the heavenly messenger said these words to him:—“Kentigern, chosen and beloved of God, rejoice and be glad, let thy soul magnify the Lord, for He hath greatly increased His mercy towards thee. Thy prayer is heard, and the Divine ear hath listened to the preparation of thy heart. It shall be to thy disciples who desire to accompany thee as thou willest. Therefore be ye steadfast, and ye shall see the help of the Lord toward you. To-morrow ye shall go forth from the body of this death into the unfailing life; and the Lord shall be with you, and ye shall be with Him for ever. And because thy whole life in this world hath been a continual martyrdom, it hath pleased the Lord that thy mode of leaving it shall be easier than that of other men. Cause, therefore, on the morrow that a warm bath be prepared for thee, and entering therein, thou shalt fall asleep in the Lord without pain, and take thy quiet rest in Him. And after that thou hast paid the debt to nature, and even before the water hath begun to cool but is yet warm about thee, let thy brethren follow thee into the bath, and straightway, loosed from the bonds of death, they shall migrate with thee as companions of thy journey, and being introduced into the splendours of the saints, they shall with thee enter into the joy of the Lord.”

With these words the angelic vision and voice departed; but a fragrance of wondrous and unspeakable odour in a strange way filled the place and all that were therein. And the holy man, calling together his disciples, revealed to them in due order the secret of the angel, and ordered that his bath should be prepared as the Lord commanded by his messenger; and his brethren above mentioned rendered unmeasured thanks to God Almighty and to their holy father Kentigern, and thus assured by the oracle in every way they could, fortified by the Divine Sacraments, prepared themselves for what was awaiting them.

CHAPTER XLIV.

How he passed out of this world, and how he shone forth after his death in many Miracles.

WHEN the octave of the Lord's Epiphany, on which the gentle bishop himself had been wont every year to wash a multitude of people in sacred baptism, was dawning,—a day very acceptable to S. Kentigern and to the spirits of the sons of his adoption,—the holy man, borne by their hands, entered a vessel filled with hot water, which he had first blessed with the sign of salvation; and a circle of the brethren standing round him, awaited the issue of the event. And when the saint had been some little time in it, after lifting his hands and his eyes to heaven, and bowing his head as if sinking into a calm sleep, he yielded up his spirit. For he seemed as free from the pain of death as he stood forth spotless and pure from the corruption of the flesh and the snares of this world.

The disciples, seeing what was taking place, lifted the holy body out of the bath, and eagerly strove with each other to enter the water; and so, one by one, before the water cooled, they slept in the Lord in great peace, and having tasted death along with their holy bishop, they entered with him into the mansions of heaven. And when the water cooled, not only the fear of death, but every spark of discomfort, wholly disappeared.

My judgment is that this bath is to be compared with the sheep-pool of Bethesda, in which, after the descent of the angel and the troubling of the water, one sick man was healed of whatsoever infirmity he had, but he was still liable to death. But in this ablution a very great company of saints is set free from all sickness, to live for ever with Christ. The water of that laver was distributed to divers persons in divers places; and from its being drunk or sprinkled health was conferred upon many sick persons in various ways.

The brethren stripped the saint of his ordinary clothes, which they partly reserved and partly distributed as precious relics, and clothed him in the consecrated garments which became so great a bishop. Then he was carried by the brethren into the choir with chants and psalms, and the life-giving Victim was offered to God for him by many. Diligently and most devoutly, as the custom of the Church in those days demanded, celebrated they his funeral; and on the right side of the altar laid they beneath a stone, with as much becoming reverence as they could, that abode of virtues, that precious stone, by whose

merit, as it was a time for collecting stones for the building of the heavenly edifice of the temple, many elect and living stones, along with that pearl, were taken up and laid in the treasures of the Great King. The sacred remains of all these brethren were devoutly and disposedly consigned to the cemetery for sepulture, in the order in which they had followed the holy bishop out of this life.¹

Thus blessed Kentigern, full of years, when he was one hundred and eighty-five years old, matured in merit, famous for signs, wonders and prophecies, left this world and went to the Father on this wise:—from faith to sight; from labour to rest; from exile to fatherland; from the course to the crown; from the present misery to eternal glory. Blessed, I say, is that man to whom the heavens were opened, who penetrated the sanctuary and entered into the powers of the Lord, received by the angel hosts; marshalled among the hosts of patriarchs and prophets; joined to the choirs of the apostles; mixed up in the ranks of those martyrs who are crowned by the purple of their rosy blood; associated with the sacred confessors of the Lord; crowned with the snow-white choirs of virgins. And no wonder; for he was indeed, in office and desert, an angel of the Lord, who announced to those who were far away, and those who were near, peace and safety in the Blood of Christ; whose lips kept true wisdom; at whose mouth very many people sought and found the law of God. He, moreover, was a prophet of the Most High, who knew many things in absence, foresaw and predicted many things that were to come to pass. For he rightly is called, and is, the Apostle of the region of Cambria, since its inhabitants and many other people are the signs of his apostleship. He deservedly is called martyr, who by constant and uninterrupted martyrdom mortified himself for Christ, and was proved to have had his heart prepared to sustain any kind of death, should the occasion require it. For, for the name of Christ, and for the defence of truth and righteousness, he frequently offered himself to persecution, proscription, the wiles and swords of the enemies of the cross of Christ; and truly and happily triumphed over the flesh, the world, the devil and his satellites. He, by change of terms, is called the Confessor of Christ, who, confessing the Name of Christ before Gentiles and kings, preached with courage, and instigated all men to the profession of the Name of Christ, and to the confession of their own sins, and of the Christian Faith and praise of God. Nevertheless he by special prerogative

¹ Note NNN.

obtained the glory and honour of virgins, because from the tamarisk he extracted the balsam, from the nettle the lily, and while in the vessel of this frail and perishing body, he never disturbed, as they say, even by a look, his angelic celibacy, and preserved in a vessel of clay the heavenly treasure of chastity. Wherefore from a virgin body he soared in white to the white-robed company of the virgins, that without stain he might stand by the Throne of God and of the Lamb, and following Him whithersoever He goeth, might sing the new song which was only known to those who had not defiled their garments. Justly, therefore, the holy man liveth as the companion, fellow-citizen, and partaker with all the saints, seeing that in this life he had communion with them, and always sought to please, obey, cling to, and be united in spirit to the Saint of Saints, the Sanctifier of all; and now and ever, being united to them with Him, he liveth and rejoiceth.

The spirit of S. Kentigern being taken up to the starry realms, that which the Earth, the mother of all, had bestowed she gathered into her womb. But the power of miracles which had existed in him when alive could not be hid behind the turf or stone, but burst forth. From the very day of his burial to the present time his sacred bones are known to put forth power from their own place, and do not cease to announce, by benefits bestowed on many kinds of witnesses, that both in heaven and earth the righteous is had in everlasting remembrance. At his tomb sight is restored to the blind, hearing to the deaf, the power of walking to the lame, strength of limb to the paralytic, a sound mind to the insane, speech to the dumb, cleanness of skin to the lepers. Impious, sacrilegious, perjured men, the violators of the peace of the Church and the profaners of holy places, are justly punished.

For once upon a time a certain man by night stole away from Glasgu a cow, which in the morning was found living and bound to the foot of the thief, who had been deprived of life; which excited both astonishment and joy. Many who, having committed sins of the flesh, had not hesitated to profane the sanctuary by their impure footsteps, were sometimes either cut off by sudden death, or mutilated in their limbs, or afflicted by some incurable and protracted disease. The breakers of his peace often suffered thus. Those who presumed, by any servile work, to dishonour the anniversary of the saint, on which at Glasgu, where his most sacred body resteth, a great multitude is used to assemble from all quarters to seek his intercession, and to behold the miracles which are wont to take place there, have often experienced in themselves a speedy vengeance.

CHAPTER XLV.

Of the Prophecy of a certain man, and of the Burial of the Saints in Glasgow.

IN the same year that S. Kentigern, set free from earthly things, migrated to the heavens, King Rederech, who has been often mentioned before, remained much longer than usual in the royal town, which was called Pertnech.¹ In his court there lived a fool called Laloecen,² who was in the habit of receiving the necessaries of food and clothing from the munificence of the king; for the chiefs of the earth, the sons of the kingdom, given to vanity, are used to have such persons about them, that by their foolish words and gestures they may excite to jokes and loud laughter the lords themselves and their servants. This man, after the death of S. Kentigern, gave himself up to the most extreme grief, and would receive no consolation from any one.

When they asked him why he mourned so inconsolably, he answered that his lord, King Rederech, and another of the chiefs of the land, by name Morthec, would not live long after the death of the holy bishop, but would die within the year. That the saying of the fool was uttered not foolishly but prophetically, was clearly proved by the fact of the death of both in the same year. Nor is it much to be marvelled at that the Creator of all things should allow to be announced through the mouth of a fool what was determined, when even Balaam the soothsayer, by his inspiration seeing beforehand many important events, with foreboding mind declared them; and when Caiaphas prophesied that the redemption of the people was to come from the death of Christ; when by the mouth of a she-ass the madness of a prophet was rebuked; when the destruction of Jerusalem was foretold by a madman, as Josephus writes. Therefore in the same year in which the holy Bishop Kentigern died, the king and prince aforesaid died and were buried in Glasgu.

In the cemetery of the church of that city, as the inhabitants and countrymen assert, 665 saints rest; and all the great men of that region for a long time have been in the custom of being buried there. O how much is that place to be feared and had in reverence which so many pledges of the saints adorn as their resting-place! and which so precious a confessor decorateth with the sacred spoils of his mortality and adorneth with such frequent

¹ Note OOO.² Note PPP.

miracles, that if everything were written they would be found to fill many volumes. Not only in the place where he resteth in the body, though there most frequently, and on his anniversary, is he used to shine forth in signs, but in almost all places, in the churches, and chapels, and altars where his memory is held in honour, he is present as a powerful helper in necessities to those who are placed in tribulations, to those who love him, and trust him, and call upon him. And where faith or certain reason demandeth it, he doth not cease to shine forth in miracles, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ; to whom is glory, praise, honour, and power, for ever and ever. Amen.

Here endeth the Life of the most holy Kentigern, Bishop and Confessor, who is also called Mungu.

FRAGMENT OF
THE LIFE OF S. KENTIGERN.

FRAGMENT OF
THE LIFE OF S. KENTIGERN.

PROLOGUE

MANY regions indeed have I traversed, carefully investigating the manners of the same, and the devotions of their clergy and laity. I have found every land venerating its own provincial saints with appropriate and repeated heraldings of praise. But when at length I came to the kingdom of the Scotti, I found it very rich in the relics of saints, illustrious in its clergy, glorious in its princes. Nevertheless, in comparison with other kingdoms, it was still behind-hand, slumbering in negligent sloth as regards the reverence for its saints. For verily when I noted in the wide domains of the saints the scantiness of the honour paid to their own, I took up my pen for the honour of the most holy confessor and bishop, Kentigernus, who, in comparison with others, glittereth like Lucifer among the stars; and just as Symeon, once a monk of Durham, wove together a history of his own Saint Cuthbert, so I, a cleric of S. Kentigern, at the instance of Herbert, the venerable Bishop of

Glasgow, have, as best I might, devoutly composed a sort of a work from the material found in the little book of his virtues, and from the oral communication of the faithful made to myself.

Before proceeding, by the help of Christ, to describe the life and miracles of the most holy confessor and bishop Kentigern, it is fitting that I warn my readers at the outset to give credence to what is said, and to weigh rather the matter than the diction, and if by chance any of it should seem to them to be composed rudely, let them remember that proverb of the blessed Jerome where he saith, "Much better is it to say true things rudely, than to utter false things gracefully." Let them remember also that the kingdom of God standeth not in the richness of eloquence, but in the blossoming of faith. Nor let them despise the setting forth of things, in themselves useful and wrought not without the Divine help, on account of any uncouth names or words difficult to be understood by those who hear, or local designations, where barbarism, as I think, hath rendered rude the tongues of foreign tribes. But let all in common know this, that passing by for the sake of brevity many other things about the man of blessed memory which were worthy of being recollected, I shall commit to writing a few out of the very many, to avoid fatiguing my readers. And every one will faithfully be able to observe this who will give his attention to his miracles, which still appear throughout Cambria. To the arrangement of these instances, few as they are, which I now briefly attempt to weave together, I now by the help of God address myself.

CHAPTER I.

*Of the Cause of the Conception of S. Kentigern.
Of his Mother's Constancy in Tribulation.*

SINCE God, who is ever wonderful in His saints, worketh in marvellous wise, either by Himself or by them, whatsoever he disposeth, we shall faithfully to the faithful declare certain of the things wrought by the blessed Bishop Kentigern, as we have heard and know and understand. So a certain King Leudonus, a man half Pagan, from whom the province over which he ruled obtained the name of Leudonia in Northern Britannia, had a daughter under a stepmother, and the daughter's name was Thaney. Now this girl, so far as her faith was concerned, being a Christian, after that the sound of the doctrine of the apostles was breathed into her ears, set herself most devoutly to learn what she could of the Christian rites. She constantly meditated upon the virginal honour and maternal blessedness of the most holy Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and, revolving it in her mind, in her simplicity said, "O how glorious is the name of this honourable Virgin, and how gloriously is it praised by all people through the four quarters of the world; would that both in her virginity and in her bringing forth I could be made like unto her, for the honour and salvation of my nation in these northern parts." Verily by daily giving utterance to these things she weaned her mind and intellect from all evil desire, and for her honest devotion was deemed meet to conceive, but in another way than she willed; for what she willed could not be. But on account of the presumption of her vanity, and the forwardness of her vain-glory, she endured many and great sufferings. For she had for a suitor a most graceful young man, namely, Ewen, the son of Erwegende, sprung from a most noble stock of the Britons; yet neither by words, nor by gifts that expressed his love, could he in any wise incline the mind of the young virgin to marry him (in the Gestes of the Histories he is called Ewen, son of King Ulien), and the more she resisted the more ardently did his love burn. Now, when the king, the girl's father, after many kind words and gentle speeches, which he thought might incline her mind to the love of the young man, began to see that he was labouring to no purpose, he spoke to her harshly: "Either thou shalt be handed over to the care of a swineherd, or thou shalt please to be married to this young man. Choose now of these two which thou wishest." The king indeed said

this, imagining that the mind of the girl might in this way be led to the love of the young man. Now, when she had the choice given her, she preferred to be a lowly servant in the house of the poor man, as a chaste virgin, than to live a great lady in the royal tents as one who was not. She, therefore, by choosing the service of the swineherd incurred the king's indignation and exceeding wrath. Now the swineherd showed all possible respect to the young woman, the charge of whom he had undertaken; for he was a chaste man, and secretly a Christian; and in truth, day by day, in the fields and at home, he taught her what he had learned from Christian teachers; for he had learned in Scotia from blessed Servanus, a sacred teacher of the faith, the doctrine of the law of Christ. This Servanus, in the primitive church of the Scotti, was the disciple of the venerable Palladius, the first bishop of the Scotti, who was sent in the year of the Incarnation 430, by Pope Celestine, as the first bishop to the Scots who believed. He found blessed Servanus in Albania before him, a Christian man, and after that he had sufficiently trained him in ecclesiastical learning, he made him his suffragan for the instruction of those whom he could not himself reach. Now Ewen, the suitor of the maiden, seeing that the venerated lady was despised by her father on account of his love for her, was exceedingly sad at heart, for he loved her much. Therefore, adopting a stealthy counsel, he secretly sent a woman to her to try if perhaps by flattering words and persevering suggestion he could lure to himself that love from her, now in miserable plight, which while she was in comfort he had found impossible. So coming very often to the girl, the woman would say, "Alas, that so illustrious a royal child should choose to undergo so vile a service." Now, when she found she could in no wise, by these words and others like unto them, excite love in response to his in the heart of the maid, she said to the young man, "It were easier to turn stones into wood, and wood into stones, than to recall the mind of this virgin from the folly she has adopted."

CHAPTER II.

How S. Kentigern was conceived.

ON hearing this, the young man, being inflamed with the fire of a natural love in his heart, said, with many anxious sighs, "If perchance I could touch the knot of the virginity of this girl, perhaps after that she would consent to me." The youth

was beardless, and, dressed in female attire, as though he were the female servant of some master engaged in country work, he came frequently to the girl as she fed the herds of swine in the fields. One day starting up from a lurking-place, he found her sitting alone without any companion, beside the stream of a little fountain which flowed by the edge of a certain wood, whither she was wont to come frequently to drink and to wash her hands. The young man tenderly addressed her, and coaxed her with his words, saying, "Hail, virgin, royal child, fairest of girls, come with me, I pray thee, dearest sister, for I have made a bundle of dry wood, and I have no man to place it upon my shoulders. Arise then, and help me, that God, the rewarder of all goodness, may make thee happier in all thine undertakings. Moreover, I believe that if thou delay not to come with me thou wilt be for ever the more fortunate." This the young man said, thinking that by a chaste embrace he might raise her from the care of swine to a royal palace, and make her, instead of the keeper of hogs, a lady over knights. The gentle girl, moved by the speech which came from the lips of the young man, who desired much to possess her,—for in her innocence she believed every word,—straightway in her simplicity followed the youth, successful in his craftiness, whithersoever he willed to go. And when they had arrived at a place which suited his purpose, straightway the young man suddenly laid hold of the girl as if in play, and in a moment impregnated her, while she resisted the violence with all her might. The young man, straightway rising, esteemed her whom he had thought a virgin to be the concubine of the swineherd. And as his love accordingly cooled, he said to the girl, who was unable to speak for sobs and tears, "Weep not, my sister, for I have not known thee as a man is used to know a virgin. Am I not a woman like thyself? It is folly to cry for what is done in sport. Go in peace. It is in thy discretion to weep or to be silent."

CHAPTER III.

Of the Simplicity of his Mother.

WHEN therefore the young man retired, the virgin remained wretched and sorrowful, in doubt whether she was defiled or no; since she had heard from the youth, whom she thought to be a woman, that she had not been touched as a virgin is touched by a man, and chiefly because the tokens of her sex were then beginning to appear in her as in every woman at the

conception of a child, so that she could not discern the certain sign of corruption, although she had suffered from pain in the flesh. For at such times the membranous structures are naturally relaxed, as well in virgins as in those bearing children, and thus the means of defilement always lie more nearly within reach. And because this was unknown to the young man, he went away deceived, when in return for the scorn which he had received at her hands he left her with the scorn turned back upon herself. Of this action therefore he took no account, until it was recalled to his memory a long time afterwards by S. Kentigern his son, as is written in the following pages. But the virgin, persevering in her first intention, was unwilling to reveal to any one what had taken place, so as the child grew in her womb, and yet the mother remained silent on the subject, it became in the end known to all that she was pregnant. And as she was in this condition, and moreover was ever calling on the name of Christ, her father ordered her to be stoned, according to the laws of her country, as a daughter who had played the whore, and broken the law of her fathers. For the law commanded at that time, that any noble woman caught in fornication was to be overwhelmed by stones; a slave-girl, with the sign of her wickedness branded on her face, was to be held in scorn by all.

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CHAPTER IV.

How she was freed from Death on the top of the Mountain.

THE pregnant girl having therefore been handed over to the executioners, there arose a dispute among them who should throw the first stone at her; but because none of the officers presumed to cast one at one of the royal family, and yet dared not in any way neglect the judicial sentence, if such it might be called, they brought her to the top of a hill, which is called Kepduf, that, placed in a chariot and precipitated from the top of the hill, she might be consigned to a terrible death, and yet the agents therein should seem as if blameless of it. Now, when she stood in the presence of instant death, and recognised by Divine inspiration the cause of her misfortune, raising her eyes and her hands to heaven she exclaimed and said, "O most holy Virgin Mary, because in my folly I desired what is impossible, namely, to be compared unto thee, 'the like of whom never hath been and never will be,' I acknowledge that this punishment, which has been predestinated for me, is justly due. Now,

therefore, with sighs and tears I implore thee, pray to thy Son, my Lord, that at least for the sake of the infant whom with undefiled mind, but overcome by the frailty of the flesh, I have conceived, He may in His mercy save me in the impending fall from the pains of death. For I believe, O most holy of the holy ones, my lady, queen not only mine, but most excelling queen over all, that whatsoever thou demandest from my Lord, thy Son, the king of all, is straightway granted without delay." Then in full faith, and signed with the sign of the life-giving cross, as she gave way in no wise to lust, although being over come by a man she conceived, so when violently cast down in the chariot from the top of the high mountain, she came down to its foot unhurt.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Miracles that appeared in the Rock.

Now the pregnant young woman, chaste and simple, finding herself saved from this terrible danger, and esteeming that she had been made fruitful as she previously desired by an angel of the Lord, gave thanks unto God, saying, "From the ends of the earth have I called unto Thee, O Lord; when my spirit was in heaviness from peril, and Thou heardest me from Thy holy hill. Therefore I will not fear the thousands of the people who compass me about, for thou hast holpen me and comforted me." So fully then, as is thus shown, was her heart fixed in the constancy of faith, and so entirely was she proved by virtuous action, that to her might be referred what is said in the scripture, "Who shall find a brave woman," etc. In the forementioned wonderful fall, other miracles came to be wrought to the praise of God. For when the waggon with the pregnant woman was cast down backwards by the hands of the executioners from the mountain, straightway turning round in running down the mountain the pole became fixed in the earth, and when this was drawn out a most limpid fountain straightway began to gush forth, which has not ceased to flow till the present day. Moreover the ruts of the two wheels in the hard flint still present a great miracle to the beholders. O wonder greatly to be admired, because the very soft wood was able to indent the hard stone like melted wax! Now they that stood by when they saw these miracles said that the girl with child deserved rather life and reverence than the sentence of death.

CHAPTER VI.

How she was left alone in the Sea.

Now the king was again greatly excited against her by those who administered his law, who imputed this miracle to the sleight of the magic art, and, in order that he might not appear to prefer his love for his daughter before the justice of his kingdom, said, "If she be worthy of life, let her be given over to the sea, and then her God will free her from peril of death if He so will." They brought her therefore to the firth, which is about three miles from Kepduf, to the mouth of a river which is called Aberlessic, that is the Mouth of Stench, for at that time there was such a quantity of fish caught there that it was a fatigue to men to carry off the multitude of fish cast from the boats upon the sand, and so great putrefaction arose from the fish which were left on the shore, where the sand was bound together with blood, that a smell of detestable nature used to drive away quickly those who approached the place. She then was accompanied to the sea-shore by many men and women weeping bitterly. Some said, "O what a dreadful judgment is this awarded by a father to his child! What hath the king's daughter done that she should undergo such deadly ills as these! It is cruelty to exact punishment twice for the same crime. Let the judge who maketh no distinction perish; he is entirely cruel." And as she was consigned to the waters, the voice of all who bewailed her was heard saying, "May the Lord Who delivered thee from death upon land also free thee from peril in the waters!" And as the innocent woman consigned to death heard the voices of those who bemoaned her, she began to cry unto the Lord, saying, "Judge them, O Lord, that hurt me; fight thou against them that fight against me. Take the arms and the shield and come unto my help."

CHAPTER VII.

How her Father perished, cut off by Divine vengeance.

MEANWHILE the king regarded the death of his daughter as nothing, unless the swineherd perished in a similar manner. He therefore pursued him, who fled with hasty steps. When he saw he could in no wise escape the king, he turned aside a little out of the way into a marshy place in hopes of saving his life. And when even there he found he could get no safe

retreat, snatching up a javelin he transfixes the king, throwing it upon him from behind by means of a thong. But the friends of the king, in the place where he fell, erected in his memory a great royal stone, placing on the top of it a smaller one carved, which remaineth to this day at a distance of about a mile to the south of Mount Dumpelder. O how earnestly should the award of the just judge be announced to all men, in that what the king, without investigating the truth, had hastily inflicted on the innocent, himself received in his own person!

Meanwhile, the mother of the blessed child, who even now within her womb was guiding her by divine inspiration, was put into a coracle, that is, a boat made of hides, and carried out into deep water beyond the Isle of May. And as that pregnant girl departed from the shore all the fish of that self-same coast attended her in procession as their mistress, and after the day of her departure the take of fish there ceased. And the river-mouth, so prolific in fish as mentioned above, because it received the child unjustly condemned, remaineth unproductive unto the present day; but the fish who followed her remain where she was abandoned. From that time until now the fish are found there in such great abundance, that from every shore of the sea, from England, Scotland, and even from Belgium and France, very many fishermen come for the sake of fishing, all of whom the Isle of May conveniently accommodateth in her ports. But the mother of the blessed child was left alone in the midst of the sea. She most devoutly committed the pure conscience, which she maintained, to God who made the heaven and the earth and all that is therein, Who keepeth truth and executeth judgment for those who suffer injuries. And when the morning dawned she was in safety cast on the sand at Colleenros, which, according to sailors' computation, is thirty miles distant from the Isle of May in Scotland; but she suffered grievously from the pangs of travail.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Birth of S. Kentigern.

BUT she, tortured with continual pain and with her cheeks suffused with tears, prayed, saying, "Lord Jesu, Almighty Father, Whose hands have made the sea and the dry land, and at Whose nod all the elements exist, Who hast caused me, though adjudged to death both on land and on sea, to land here in safety, suffer me not now to perish. For I know, I know

assuredly, that for a short time impunity fostereth vice and promoteth boldness in sinning, while the correction of faults nourisheth virtue and sheweth the ways of righteousness. Wherefore I implore Thee, O kind Father, that the punishment which I have twice already suffered may avail to the remission of all my sins; and if aught remain in me of which Thou art disposed to take vengeance, at least spare the innocent offspring which Thou hast willed should be formed within my womb, that in the ends of the earth Thy salvation may, through it, be greatly increased, as I desired before it was conceived. For it is I who have sinned; it in truth hath done nothing amiss." As she lay on the ground earnestly praying, suddenly a heap of ashes, which the day before had been gathered together by some shepherds close to the shore, was struck by a gust of the north wind, which scattered around her the sparks which lay hid within them. When therefore she had found the fire, the pregnant young woman, as best she could, dragged herself at once to the place indicated by God, and, in her extreme necessity, with anxious groans, she made a little heap with the wood which had been collected the day before by the aforesaid shepherds to prepare the fire. Having lighted the fire, she brought forth a son, the chamber of whose nativity was as rude as that of his conception, "For there was no room for him in the inn." O poverty, praiseworthy in the King, which repented in his follower enriched him also. After she had brought forth her son, and a long sorrow seemed impending, it happened that some herds came to the spot, and when they found the girl having the boy, and bursting forth in sighs and tears and sobs, moved with compassion, some of them made up the fire, others gave her of the food they had brought with them; but others went straight to blessed Servanus, who at that time was teaching the Christian law to his clerks, with one accord, saying, "My Lord, thus and thus have we found." To whom the saint said, "*A dia cur fir sin,*" which in Latin means "*O utinam si sic esset!*" And the youths replied, "Yea, father, it is a true tale, and no fable which we tell; wherefore we pray thee, my Lord, come and see, that thy desire may without delay be satisfied. And he also, when he had learnt the order of the events, rejoiced with great joy, and said, "Thanks be to God, for he shall be my dear one." For as the child was being born, when he was in his oratory after morning lauds, he had heard on high the Gloria in Excelsis solemnly sung. He remembered, therefore, the joy of the angels and the visit of the shepherds to Bethlehem, even to the child Christ and His mother Mary, seeing that in some respect the birth of the ser-

vant had a similarity to that of the Lord, in the chant of the angels, and the visit of the shepherds, in the solitude of the place. Triumphantly, with his clerics, with a loud voice he sang the hymns of praise, *Te Deum Laudamus* and *Gloria in Excelsis*. "Come, therefore, dearest brethren, since thoughts cannot be subject to human condition, as they often affect the things which distress us as well as those which please us, I think, in the opinion of all the faithful, men should be exhorted not to presume to think that the conception of this blessed child hath contracted the taint of fornication. For it seemeth to me that the meeting of his father and mother excels in sanctity lawful marriage: seeing that it was the intention of the father to allure the mind of the virgin towards marriage with himself, while the devotion of the mother prompted her by preserving her virginity to avoid the society of men. From the agreement of both there proceedeth, in the case of others, an espousal, in their meeting lawful love abounded, and the virgin devotion was not destroyed, although the mother in conceiving suffered injury in the flesh, while she lost not her virginal devotion. Verily virginity is not lacking when the integrity of holy devotion abideth. Even in law she is not esteemed as defiled who yieldeth not assent to the defiler, but is regarded as a virgin. For when any handmaid of Christ suffereth injury in the flesh, she loseth not the reward of virginity, but it is reckoned to her as reward, as Lucy said to Paschatus: If thou makest me to be violated against my will, my chastity is doubled so far as gain is concerned. And as the petition of the virgin could not be fulfilled without the male sex, on this wise did the conception of the blessed Kentigern take place. Therefore is this conception to be considered as holy, which was the means granted by God to her prayer. That union which the Lord predestined to happen is not to be imputed to sin; for was it not meet that the Lord should manifest in the course of events which attended the birth, how much He loved the vow of the virgin in adopting the son? Be praise, therefore, to Him alone who governeth the world, who hath, among others, blessed our country Britain with such a patron."

VITÆ
SANCTORUM SCOTIÆ
SCIL. S. NINIANI ET S. KENTEGERNI.

I.

[VITA NINIANI

PICTORUM AUSTRALIUM APOSTOLI,

AUCTORE AILREDO REVALLENSI.

PROLOGUS.]

MULTIS virorum sapientium qui fuerunt ante nos studio fuit sanctorum vitam mores verba, eorum dumtaxat qui suis claruere temporibus, literis dare, et ad posteritatis edificacionem vite perfectioris exemplum oblivioni subducere et perpetuare memoria. Verum hi, quibus erant preclara ingenia et copia dicendi splendorque eloquentie, tanto id utilius executi sunt quanto venustiori sermone aures audientium permulcebant. Hi vero quibus ob barbariem natalis scli ornatu artificioseque loquendi facultas defuit, eorum qui essent imitandi noticia simpliciori licet stilo posteros non fraudabant. Hinc est quod vitam sanctissimi Niniani, quam morum sanctitas et miracula clara commendant, sermo barbaricus obscurabat, et quo minus delectabat legentem eo minus edificabat. Placuit perinde sancte

dilectioni vestre mee parvitati id oneris inponere, ut clarissimi viri vitam, veraci quidem set nimis barbarico a prioribus exaratam stilo, a sermone rustico quasi a quibusdam tenebris eruens in lucem latine locutionis educam. Amplector devocionem, desiderium approbo, laudo emulacionem. Sed scio inpericiam meam, verorque ne eum vilioribus in quibus hactenus latitabat pannis expoliam, nec alios in quibus ornatior appareat adhibere sufficiam. Verum, quia negare non possum quicquid injungitis, experiar que jubetis, malens a vobis inpericior quam obstinatori judicari. Forte enim quod inpericia negat, fides vestra prestabit, inpetrabit oratio, sanctitas optinebit. Aderit et ipse piis votis vestris, aderit desideriis, aderit et conatui nostro, aderit et studio, pro cuius honore et amore id a me fieri postulatis: cuius insuper meritis linguam meam eruditam et loquendi copiam dari posse confiditis. Huc accedit quod sancte ecclesie vestre clerum et populum, qui circa sanctum Dei sub cuius patrocinio vivunt miro tenentur affectu, summa cum devocione quicquid scripserimus dicitis suscepturos, quippe cum omnium vota me potissimum ut asseritis in hoc opus elegerint. Suscipio itaque onus quod imponitis, vestris quidem coactus precibus, sed fide animatus. Dabo autem operam, quantum adiuvere dignatur Ille qui linguas infantium facit disertas, ita stilum temperare meum, ut, et tantam materiam non obscuret nimium adversanda rusticitas, nec simplicitatem eorum qui rethorice profusionis ignari sunt desiderato huius laboris fructu defraudet non tam diserta quam molesta loquacitas. Aspiret ergo ceptis gracia Salvatoris, et Qui

illi virtutes contulit quibus eterna dignus esset memoria, nos dignos qui eas scribamus efficiat, illamque nobis laboris hujus mercedem retribuatur, ut in hac via per quam festinamus ad patriam eius nos semper comitetur oratio. Et in ipso exitu, quo vie finem viteque prestolamur initium, praesto sit nobis eius consolatio et sanctis meritis eius eterna celestium bonorum remuneratio.

[*Praefatio.—Testimonium Bedae de Niniano, cum observationibus Ailredi.*]

GLORIOSAM Sanctissimi Niniani vitam divina nobis commendat auctoritas, quae sanctum patriarcham Abraham, patrem multarum gentium, et fidei principem ante tempora secularia predestinatum, tali primum probatur instituisse oraculo; Egredere de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et de domo patris tui; et vade in terram quam monstravero tibi, et faciam te in gentem magnam. Ita beatissimus Ninianus, relicta patria domoque patris, didicit in terra aliena quod post doceret in propria: constitutus a Domino super gentes et regna evellere et destruere, plantare et edificare. Hujus beatissimi viri et conversationis sacra primordia et sanctitatis insignia, dignitatem officii et fructum ministerii, finem optimum et laboris premium, venerabilis BEDA in Ecclesiastica Hystoria 'gentis suae,' paucissimis commendans verbis, ita de eo scribit. "Anno ab incarnatione Domini quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto, 'quo tempore gubernaculum Romani Imperii' post Justinianum Justinus minor accepit,' venit de Hybernia presbiter et abbas, habitu et vita monachi insignis, nomine Columba, Britanniam; predicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum, 'hoc est, eis' qui arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis ab australibus eorum sunt regionibus sequestrate. Namque ipsi australes Picti, qui inter eosdem montes habent sedes, multo ante tempore

¹ MS. imperii.

relicto errore idolatrie, fidem veritatis acceperant, predicante eis 'verbum' Niniano Episcopo reverentissimo et sanctissimo viro, de natione Bretonum, qui erat Rome regulariter fidem et misteria veritatis edoctus. Cujus sedem episcopatus sancti Martini Episcopi nomine, et ecclesiam insignem, ubi ipse etiam corpore una cum pluribus sanctis requiescit,¹ jam nunc Anglorum gens optinet. Qui 'locus ad provinciam Berniciorum' pertinens vulgo vocatur ad Candidam Casam; eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide, insolito Bretonibus² more, fecerit."⁴ 'Hic quod Beda breviter scripsit latius Deo Auctore prosequi placet.'⁵

'Tanti itaque viri fideli testimonio didicimus viri hujus principia, qui eum de gente Bretonum⁶ oriundum regulis fidei in sancta Romana ecclesia astruit institutum. Didicimus et officium, qui eum episcopum et verbi Dei predicatorem commendat. Didicimus et fructum laboris, qui australes Pictos ejus industria ab idolatria ad veram fidem probat esse conversos. Didicimus et finem, qui eum in sancti Martini ecclesia una cum pluribus sanctis requiescere protestatur. Verum quod ipse breviter, prout hystorie sue tenor postulare videbatur, tantum tetigisse videtur, nobis liber de Vita et Miraculis ejus, barbario⁷ scriptus, lacius⁸ exequendum proponit. Qui quidem liber, a testimonii illius fundamento nusquam devians, modum tantum quo talia initia arripuit, quo talem fructum promeruit, quo tam laudabilem finem obtinuit, hystorico⁹ more conscribit.

[Cap. i.—*Natales Niniani, et educatio.*]

¹⁰IN insula igitur que quondam a BRUTO, ut dicitur, Britannie nomen accepit, in ipsius nominis gente, haut ignobili familia,¹⁰ beatus Ninianus extitit oriundus; in ea, ut putatur, regione, que in occiduus ipsius insule partibus ubi oceanus quasi brachium porrigens, et ex utraque parte quasi duos angulos faciens, Scotorum nunc et Anglorum 'regna' dividit constituta, usque novissima ad Anglorum tempora proprium habuisse regem, non solum hystoriarum fide, sed et quorundam quoque memoria comprobatur. Pater 'ejus' rex fuit, religione Christianus; 'talís apud Deum fidei, talis meriti, ut tali prole dignus haberetur, per quam ea que gentis sue fidei deerant supplerentur; et alterius gentis natio, que fidei sacramenta non noverat, sacre

¹ Br. una cum pluribus sanctis corpore requiescit. ² B. M. Bernitiorum.

³ B. M. Britonibus.

⁴ Hic—placet, omitted in Bodl. MS.

⁷ Brev. Aber. barbarice.

⁹ B. M. historico.

⁵ Br. fecit.

⁶ B. M. Britonum.

⁸ B. M. latius.

¹⁰ Br. In Britannia majori regali ex prosapia.

religionis imbueretur misteriis. Hic in ipsa infantia, sacrosancti baptismatis unda renatus, vestem nuptialem quam candidatus suscepit immaculatam conservans, victor vitiorum, Christi eam conspectibus presentavit; ac Spiritum Sanctum, quem primum habuit mundatorem, sanctissimis moribus sui sacri pectoris habere meruit illustratorem. Ipeius namque magisterio quod contrarium religioni, quod castitati adversum, quod bonis contrarium moribus, quod legibus veritatis dissonum, adhuc puer, set non sensu puerili, exhorruit. Quod vero legis erat, quod gratie, quod honestatis, quod utile proximo, quod gratum Deo, senili jam mente excolere non cessavit. Felix cujus voluntas fuit in lege Domini die ac nocte, qui tanquam lignum quod plantatur secus decursus aquarum fructum dedit in tempore suo, cum in etate virili strenue inpleret quod summa cum devocione didicerat.¹ Mira illi circa ecclesias devotio, mira erga socios dilectio. In cibo sobrius, parvus in verbis, in lectione assiduus, gratus moribus, joci abstinens, et spiritui semper carnem subjiciens. Igitur in scripturis sacris intendens animum, cum a peritioribus quibusque gentis sue viris fidei regulas eorum more didicisset, intellexit adolescens sagacis ingenii, secundum sensum quem inspiratione divina ex scripturis ipse conceperat, multa illis ad perfectionem deesse. Hinc fluctuare animo cepit, seque infra perfectum non sustinens estuabat, suspirabat, concaluit insuper cor ejus intra eum, et in meditatione ejus exarsit ignis. "Et quid" inquit "faciam? In terra mea quesivi quem diligit anima mea, et non inveni. Surgam, circuibo mare et aridam, queram veritatem quam diligit anima mea. Itane tantis opus est? Nonne Petro dictum est, tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam, et porte inferi non prevalebunt adversus eam? Igitur in fide Petri nichil minus est, nichil obscurum, nichil imperfectum, nichil adversum quod doctrina nequam sentencieque perverse, quasi porte inferi, prevalere sufficiant. Et ubi fides Petri nisi in sede Petri? Illuc certe, illuc mihi eundum est; ut axiens de terra mea, et de cognatione mea, et de domo patris mei, merear in terra visionis videre voluntatem Domini et protegi a templo ejus. Arridet seculi malefida prosperitas, alludit mundi vanitas, blanditur cognationis affectio, deterret labor et carnis afflictio. Sed qui diligit patrem aut matrem plusquam² me, ait Dominus, non est me dignus. Et qui non bajulat crucem suam, et sequitur me, non

¹ Cum enim Ninianus annos permultos transjecisset [mira, etc.]

² MS. pluquam.

est me dignus. Didici etiam quod contempnentes¹ aulam regiam pervenerint ad regna celestia.² Itaque Sancti Spiritus instinctu animatus, spretis divitiis omnibusque calcatis affectionibus, peregrinationem nobilis adolescens arripuit. Transiensque 'Britannicum' mare, et per Gallicanas Alpes ingressus Italiam, prospero itinere ad Urbem³ usque pervenit.

[Cap. ii.—Advenit Romam. Episcopus ordinatur a Pontifice. Conversatio cum Sancto Martino. Reditus in patriam.]

VENIENS Romam adolescens beatissimus, cum ante sacras Apostolorum reliquias devocionis sue obsides lacrimas dimisisset, ipsorumque patrocinio desiderium suum multis orationibus commendasset;⁴ accedens ad summe sedis presulem,⁵ cum ei itineris sui causam exposuisset, amplexatus ejus devocionem Pontifex, loco eum filii summa cum devocione suscepit. Moxque doctoribus⁶ veritatis, fidei disciplinis, ac sanis⁷ scripture sensibus, tradidit inbuendum. 'Animadvertit autem' adolescens 'Deo plenus se non frustra vel in vacuum laborasse: intelligens nimirum ab imperitis doctoribus multa sanè doctrine adversa sibi, suisque compatriotis, fuisse persuasa.'⁸ Tota deinde aviditate inhyans verbo Dei, instar apìs, argumentose ex diversis doctorum sententiis, quasi ex multi generis floribus, sapientie sibi favos composuit. Atque in alveolo sui pectoris recondens; ad interioris hominis sui refectionem, aliorumque multorum consolacionem, ruminandos proferendosque servavit. 'Digna sane recompensacio, ut qui amore veritatis patriam, divitias, deliciasque contempserat, in ipsa, ut ita dicam, veritatis penetralia inductus, et ad ipsos sapientie et sciencie thesauros admissus; pro carnalibus spiritualia, pro terrenis celestia, pro temporalibus⁹ eterna bona, perciperet.' Interea dum castus corpore, animo prudens, in consiliis providus, in omni actu verboque circumspectus, ab omnibus predicaretur; accidit ut ad ipsius summi pontificis gratiam, familiaritatemque conscenderet.

Pluribus igitur annis in Urbe laudabiliter conversatus, et in sacris scripturis sufficienter eruditus, ad virtutum summam provehitur; et pennis caritatis subvectus ad celestia contemplanda sustollitur. Audiens deinde pontifex Romanus quosdam, in occiduis Britannie partibus, necdum, Salvatoris nostri suscepisse fidem,⁸ 'quosdam vel ab hereticis, vel a legem Dei parum scientibus verbum Evangelii audisse; tactus spiritu Dei predictum Dei

¹ B. M. contempnentes.

³ Br. summum pontificem.

⁶ Br. sancta.

⁷ MS. temporibus.

² Br. Romam.

⁴ Br. Doctoribus moxque.

⁵ Br. Itaque [tota, etc.]

⁸ Br. fidem Christi suscepisse.

virum' ad episcopatus gradum 'propriis manibus' consecravit; et promiss¹ genti, data benedictione, apostolum destinavit.

Floruit tunc temporis beatissimus Martinus, Turonice civitatis Episcopus, cujus vita miraculis gloriosa jam ab eruditissimo viro sancto Sulpicio descripta totum illustraverat orbem. Rediens itaque ab urbe vir Dei² 'Spiritu plenus,' tactus desiderio videndi eum, ad civitatem Turonicam³ iter divertit. 'Quo gaudio, quâ devocione, quo affectu, ab eo susceptus sit, quis facile dixerit? Ex gracia quippe prophetici luminis novi eum pontificis virtus non latuit.' 'Quem sanctificatum a Spiritu,⁴ et multorum saluti profuturum, Deo revelante cognovit. 'Junguntur in tabernaculo Domini columnæ, altera ad alteram, duoque Cherubin expandentes alas suas tangunt se mutuo, et nunc pennis virtutum subvecti excedunt Deo: nunc stantes, et dimittentés alas suas, fiunt sobrii proximo. De superioribus igitur ad hec inferiora regressi; beatus Ninianus a sancto cementarios sibi dari postulavit, propositum sibi esse asserens, sicut sancte Romane Ecclesie fidem, ita et mores in construendis ecclesiis, ecclesiasticisque officiis constituendis, imitari. Annuat votis vir beatissimus. Et sic, mutuis colloquiis quasi celestibus epulis saginati; post amplexus et oscula, et lacrimas invicem fusas, Sanctus Martinus in propria sede resedit. Ninianus in opus quo fuerat dimissus a Spiritu, duce Christo, festinavit. Quo in patriâ recepto,⁵ fit magnus populorum concursus⁶ 'et occursum,' ingens cunctis leticia, mira devocio, laus ubique resonat Christi; quoniam sicut prophetam eum habebant. 'Mox strenuus agricola Domini sui agrum ingressus' cepit⁷ male plantata evellere, male collecta dispergere, male edificata destruere. Purgatis 'deinde' ob omni errore fidelium mentibus, 'cepit in eis sincere fidei jacere fundamenta; superedificans aurum sapientie et scientie argentum, bonorumque operum lapides'; que omnia⁸ fidelibus agenda 'et verbo' docuit⁹ et exemplo monstravit, ¹⁰multis etiam et magnis¹⁰ miraculis confirmavit.

[Cap. iii. — *Fundatio Ecclesie de Rhithern.*]

ELEGIT autem sibi sedem in loco qui nunc Witerna dicitur; 'qui locus super litus oceani situs, dum se ipsum mare longius

¹ Br. premissa, B. M.

² Br. vir Dei ab urbe.

³ Br. sanctum Martinum Episcopum, ad civitatem Thuronnensem.

⁴ Br. Quem Sanctus Martinus honorifice suscipiens, cum a Deo sanctificatum.

⁵ Br. insertis Domum ab eo Ninianus. Cum ad locum legationis sue venisset.

⁶ Br. magnus populorum fit concursus.

⁷ Br. Cepit mox.

⁸ Br. omnia quæ.

⁹ Br. insertis operibus multis.

¹⁰ Br. et multis.

porrigit ab oriente, occidente, atque meridie, ipso pelago clauditur a parte tantum aquilonali, via ingredi volentibus aperitur. 'Tibi igitur jussu viri Dei cementarii, quos secum adduxerat, ecclesiam construunt; antequam nullam in Britannia de lapide dicunt esse constructam.' Et quoniam jam¹ sanctissimum Martinum, quem miro semper venerabatur affectu, a terris ad celos didicerat 'transmigrasse, ipsam ecclesiam in ejus honore studuit dedicare.'²

[Cap. ib.—Regem Tuduballum sanat, et convertit.]

ETATQUE lucerna super candelabrum posita cepit his qui in domo Dei erant signis lucere celestibus, et radiantibus virtutum flammis, verbo Domini lucido et ignito mentes illuminare tenebrosas, et succendere frigiditas. Fuit in regione eadem³ rex quidam, (nam tota insula diversis regibus⁴ divisa subjacuit), Tuduvallus⁵ nomine, quem divicie, potestas et honor erexerant in superbiam; quoniam concupiscentia carnis, et concupiscentia oculorum, et divicie mundi elacionis sunt et superbie incentivum; dum quantum quisque habet tantum se posse presumit, tantum sibi et licere confidit. 'Hic' viri Dei monita⁶ contempnens, et 'clam' doctrine ejus et moribus ejus derogabat,⁷ et 'sane doctrine ejus' in facie resistebat: 'ita ut terra videretur reprobata et maledicto proxima, utpote que sepe super se venientem bibens imbrem, spinas et tribulos, non herbam opportunam germinabat. Quodam autem tempore' ⁸cum plus solito molestus esset viro Dei, non ultra passus Judex celestis servi sui inultam iri injuriam, intolerabili morbo superbum percussit in capite, confregitque verticem capilli perambulantis in delictis suis. Intantumque prevaluit egritudo ut elatos illos oculos cecitas repentina obduceret,⁹ et qui lucem impugnaverat¹⁰ veritatis lucem amitteret¹¹ carnis. Nec frustra neque ad insipientiam ei. Jacebat enim miser pressus dolore, privatus lumine, sed exterius obtenebratus, interius illustratur, dum rediens ad cor confitetur excessum, ab illo solo sperans remedium cui se semper exhibuerat inimicum. ¹²Vocatis postremo necessariis amicis, accepto ab eis

¹ Br. quidam jam.

² Br. eadem regione.

³ B. M. Tudwaldus. Br. Tudwalus dives et elatus.

⁴ Br. Monita viri Dei.

⁵ Br. *inserta* Etiam accidit.

⁶ Br. impugnavit.

⁷ Br. derogans.

⁸ Br. invasit.

⁹ Br. merito amisit.

¹⁰ Br. Seniori tandem ductus consilio, ad virum Dei sanctissimum misit, obsecrans ut imitator divine benignitatis retribuere ei bona pro malis, et dilectionem pro odio.

consilio, quoniam ipse detentus infirmitate ire non potuit, nuncios mittit ad virum Dei, obsecrans ut non intret in iudicium cum servo suo, nec retribuatur ei secundum opera sua; sed, ut imitator dominice benignitatis, retribuatur ei bona pro malis, et dilectionem pro odio.¹² 'Audiens hec vir beatissimus non in gloriam est elatus humanam, sed ut semper misericordie visceribus affluens, premissa ad Deum oratione, ad egrotum cum summa humilitate et devocione perrexit. 'Et primum quidem leni' ¹ increpacione virum² corripit, deinde' medica manu caput' ³ tangit, egroti, cecisque luminibus signum vite salutaris⁴ inpressit. 'Quid plura?' ⁵ Fugit dolor, cecitas luce superveniente fugatur.⁶ 'Sicque factum est ut morbus corporis morbum mentis curaret, morbum vero corporis viri Dei virtus expelleret. In utroque igitur, corpore scilicet et mente, sanatus cepit deinceps sanctum Dei omni affectu colere et venerari, sciens expertus quia Dominus erat cum illo, et omnia opera ejus dirigebat, prestans ei virtutem super omnem hominem extollemem se adversus scienciam Christi, cum in promptu haberet ulcisci omnem inobedientiam et injuriam illatam famulis Christi. Si igitur contemptor iste et superbus, gracia humilitatis et penitencie, a sanctissimo viro meruit sic sanari, quis dubitet eum, qui certa fide, sincero et humili corde, ad interioris hominis sui vulnera sananda auxilium tanti viri poposcerit, citum remedium ejus sanctis meritis promereri. Sed jam ad alia transeamus, que tanto videntur esse majora, quanto ipsi nature probantur esse contraria.'

[Cap. b.—Presbyterum stupri accusatum absolbit.]

RUIT¹ puella quedam in obsequium alicujus viri nobilis, secundum carnis hujus putredinem,⁷ pulchra facie et venusto aspectu⁸. In quam cum injecisset oculos juvenis impudicus, amore corripitur ceco, 'concepteque libidinis flammam non sustinens cepit puellam de consensu sceleris convenire. Effecit tandem vel prece vel precio ut conciperet dolorem, et pareret iniquitatem. Subditur⁹ aliene libidini misera mulier, 'de Dei judicio parum sollicita, que humanum se putabat latere posse conspectum. Sed' ¹⁰ tumescente utero crimen proditur, et mox risus in luctum, gaudium in dolorem, voluptas mutatur in

¹ Br. Vir autem Dei primo.

² Br. regem.

³ Br. ipsum.

⁴ Br. oculis signum crucis.

⁵ Br. Nec mora.

⁶ Br. *insertis* Rex virum sanctum deinceps honoravit; quidquid ab eo postea petiit sine mora implere curavit.

⁷ Br. cujusdam nobilis domini traditur.

⁸ Br. *insertis* erat.

⁹ Br. *insertis* tandem prece vel pretio.

¹⁰ Br. Et.

penam. Sed quid ageret? Quo se verteret? Lex, parens, Dominusque timentur. Iniiit ergo infelix mulier fedus cum morte, et in mendacio spem ponit, credens se minus ream videri, si ab aliquo magni nominis viro deceptam se diceret, vel oppressam. Compulsa itaque a majoribus reum prodere, presbitero, cui curam parrochie pontifex delegaverat, stupri crimen inponit.¹ 'Stupebant omnes, qui audiebant verbum, puellamque absolvunt crimine, quod tante auctoritatis virum estimant commisisse.' Scandalizantur boni, mali letantur, ridet vulgus, sacer ordo ab impiis blasphematur; presbiter, cujus lesa fuerat fama, tristatur. At Deo dilectum antistitem, Spiritu revelante, innocencia sacerdotis non latuit. Ecclesie tamen scandalum et sancte religionis detrimentum haut jocunde sustinuit. Mulieri interim inpleti sunt dies ut pareret, peperitque filium, non in sacerdotis, ut putabatur, sed in patris simul et ignominiose matris obprobrium. Convocat enim ad ecclesiam pontifex omnem clerum universumque populum,² 'habitoque ad eos sermone exortatorio, manum etiam inposuit baptizatis.' Interea procax mulier³ omni pudore postposito, 'cum suis' prorumpens 'in populum,' in faciem presbiteri projecit puerum, in auribus tocius ecclesie ipsum patrem pueri, ipsum⁴ corruptorem 'sui' ac deceptorem, vociferans. Fit clamor in populo; pudor bonis, risus malis. At sanctus silentium inperans plebi jubet sibi puerum presentari, non nisi unius noctis etatem habentem. Dei itaque Spiritu inflammatus, cum intendisset in eum,⁵ "Heus," inquit, "O puer, in nomine Ihesu Christi, si presbiter iste te genuit, coram plebe edicito." 'O rem stupendam! et omni admiratione dignam! O miram Dei clementiam! O ineffabilem fidei Christiane virtutem! Vere omnia possibilis credenti. Sed quid dico? Quid non posset fides Niniani? Cessit certe natura fidei, etas virtuti. Quid ni cederet natura Domino nature?⁶ non expectata est etas ad instrumentum, non doctrina ad officium, non tempus ad usum: sed fide inpetrante vis divina linguam infantis fecit disertam: et ex ore infantis et lactentis confundit reum, convincit mendacem, innocentem absolvit.' 'Ex infantili itaque corpore vox virilis⁷ insonuit;

¹ Br. Compulsa a majoribus reum prodere, se minus ream credidit si ab aliquo magni nominis viro deceptam se diceret vel oppressam. Presbitero, cui curam parrochie pontifex commiserat, crimen inponit.

² Br. Nato autem puero, pontifex clerum et populum ad ecclesiam convocavit.

³ Br. Et procax mulier.

⁴ Br. sui.

⁵ Br. Sacerdotem coram omni plebe vociferari non timuit, et in faciem ejus puerum projecit. Sanctus vero Ninianus puerum sibi presentari iussit, non nisi paucos dies habentem, cui et ait.

⁶ Deest in editione Pinkertoniana.

⁷ Br. insertis Nec mora.

⁸ Br. clara.

lingua inerudita rationabilia verba formavit.¹ Extendensque dexteram, propriumque patrem designans in populo.² "Hic est," inquit, "pater meus; ipse me genuit, ipse crimen quod inponitur sacerdoti³ commisit. Innocens quippe ab hoc piaculo presbiter tuus est, O episcopo, [nichil mihi et illi nisi communis nature consortium. "Satis hec." Siluit deinde infans, secundum legem nature, vicesque etatum sibi succedentium, postmodum locuturus. Sonat mox in ore omnium graciaram actio et vox laudis; populus 'omnis gratulabundus' exultat, intelligens quia propheta magnus surrexerat inter eos, et quia Deus⁴ visitavit plebem suam.

[Cap. vi.—Pictorum conversionem suscepit. Ad suos reuertitur.]

INTEREA ⁵egre ferens vir beatissimus quod expulsus ab orbe Zabulus infra oceanum, in angulo hujus insule, in cordibus Pictorum sibi sedem invenerit, ad ejus tyrannidem debellandam strenuus athleta accingitur; sumens nimirum scutum fidei, galeam salutis, lorica caritatis, et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei. Talibus igitur armis munitus et sanctorum fratrum consortio, quasi celesti militia constipatus, illius fortis armati invadit imperium, innumera captivitatis vasa ejus dominio erepturus. Itaque australes Pictos, quibus adhuc error gentilis inherens, idola muta et surda et venerari ac colere compellabat, aggrediens; Evangelii veritatem et Christiane fidei puritatem predicabat, Domino cooperante et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis. Ceci vident, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, surdi audiunt, mortui surgunt, oppressi a demone⁶ liberantur. 'Aperuit hostium verbo Dei,'⁷ gracia Spiritus Sancti⁸ fides suscipitur, error abdicatur, templa diruuntur,⁹ ecclesie eriguntur. Currunt ad salutaris lavacri fontem¹⁰ divites et pauperes, juvenes et virgines, senes cum junioribus, matres cum infantibus: abrenuntiantesque Sathane et omnibus operibus et pompis ejus, populo credentium fide, voce, sacramentisque junguntur. Agunt gratias 'misericordissimo' Deo, qui¹⁰ in insulis, que procul sunt, revelaverat nomen suum, mittens eis predicatorem veritatis, lucernam sue salutis;

¹ Br. *insertis* mendacem convincit et innocentem sacerdotem absolvit.

² Br. *Extendens dextram, propriumque patrem in populo designans.*

³ Br. *sacerdoti inponitur.*

⁴ Br. quia per Ninianum Dominus.

⁵ Br. Sanctus Ninianus, australes Pictos, quibus adhuc error gentilis inherens idola venerari ac colere compellebat, aggrediens, evangelii veritatem, sequentibus signis, predicabat.

⁶ Br. resurgunt, oppressi a demonibus. B. dominio.

⁷ Br. sicque.

⁸ Br. diruuntur templa.

⁹ Br. lavacrum.

¹⁰ Br. habitantes.

et vocans non plebem suam plebem suam, et non dilectam dilectam, et non misericordiam consecutam misericordiam consecutam. Cepit deinde sacer pontifex ordinare¹ presbiteros, consecrare episcopos,² ceterasque ecclesiasticorum graduum distribuere dignitates, totam terram per certas parrochias dividere.³ Confirmatis 'postremo' in fide 'et bonis operibus filiis suis quos in Christo genuerat,' omnibusque que ad honorem Dei animarumque salutem necessaria videbantur dispositis, valedicens fratribus, ad propriam ecclesiam revertitur,⁴ 'ubi vitam omni sanctitate perfectam et miraculis gloriosam, in magnâ deinceps tranquillitate transegit.'

[Cap. vii.—Miraculum in porris.]

ACCIDIT autem quadam die ut vir beatus rectorium cum fratribus commesurus intraret,⁵ cernensque⁶ nihil holerum vel herbarum mensis inpositum vocat fratrem qui fuerat horti cura commissa, queritque cause quid fuerit quod nichil porrorum vel herbarum fratribus ea die esset appositum. Et ille, "Vere, pater, quicquid porrorum vel huiusmodi supererat 'hodie' terre mandavi, nec aliquid adhuc aptum esui ortus produxit." Tunc sanctus, "Vade" inquit,⁷ "et quicquid invenerit⁸ manus tua tolle, et affer ad me." Miratus ille stabat trepidus, hesitans quid faceret. Sciens tamen nichil frustra Ninianum posse precipere hortum cunctabundus ingreditur. Mira res et illis tantum qui fidelem nichil non posse confidunt credibilia.⁹ Videt porros, aliaque herbarum genera, non solum crevisse, sed etiam semen produxisse. Stupet ille, et quasi factus in extasi estimabat se visum videre. Reversus tandem in semetipsum, et sancti viri virtutem ad memoriam revocans, agit¹⁰ gratias Deo; carpensque¹⁰ quantum sufficere videbatur, ante pontificem mense imposuit. 'Aspiciunt se mutuo convive, Deumque in sanctis suis operantem corde simul ac voce magnificant; et sic multo melius mente quam corpore pasti recedunt.'

[Cap. viii.—De animalibus et furibus.]

PLACUIT aliquando sanctissimo Niniano armenta sua et pastorum suorum visitare tuguria, volens greges suos, quos in

¹ Br. ordinavit.

² Br. episcopos consecravat.

³ Br. divisit.

⁴ Br. cum ad ecclesiam suam regressus esset.

⁵ Refectorium die quadam cum fratribus intravit.

⁶ Br. vidensque.

⁷ Br. "Vade" inquit sanctus.

⁸ Br. invenit.

⁹ Br. Cumque jussu Sancti frater hortum intrasset.

¹⁰ Br. Et gratias agens Deo.

usus fratrum, pauperum quoque et peregrinorum aggregaverat, episcopalis benedictionis esse participes. Congregatis itaque in uno aliquo loco animalibus, cum ea Domini famulus aspexisset, elevatis manibus, se et omnia sua divine custodie commendavit. Circuiens deinde omnia baculo cui innitebatur, quasi aracunculam modicam circumducens peccora circumcinxit, iubens ut infra orbiculum illum sub divina custodia omnia eâ nocte consisterent. His ita gestis, ad domum cujusdam honeste matrone vir Dei eâ nocte, ibi quieturus, divertit. Refectis autem cibo corporibus, verbo Dei mentibus, cum se cuncti sopori dedissent, fures advolant, videntesque pecora nec inclusa maceria, nec sepe munita, nec circumdata vallo, explorant si vel adessent vigiles, vel quid aliud quod eorum conatui obstitisset. Cumque viderent silere omnia, nec voce, nec motu, nec latratu quidem aliquid quod terreret instare, transeuntes metas quas sanctus prefixerat in pecus irruunt, omnia abducere laborantea. Sed affuit vis divina resistens inpiis, immo obruens inpios, contra eos qui, velut bruta animalia, mentem non colebant sed ventrem, pro instrumento bruto utens jumento. Taurus enim armentarius, quasi in furorem versus, invadit homines, latronumque principem inter ceteros inpetens prostravit miserum, cornibus ventrem perforat, animam simul cum visceribus excuciens.¹ Deinde terram unguis fodiens, mirabili impetu saxum quod invenerat pede percutit,² ac 'mirum in modum' in tanti miraculi testimonium, quasi in molli cerâ, in lapide pes mergitur, relinquens in petra vestigium, et ob vestigium loco nomen designans.³ Adhuc enim ipse locus anglice Farres Last, latine Tauri Vestigium nuncupatur. Interea pater beatissimus sollempni orationum statione soluta digreditur, cernensque hominem evisceratum inter pecudum pedes jacere exanimem, alios huc atque illuc discurrentes quibusdam furiis agitari, misericordia motus est; totusque ad Deum conversus ut mortuum resuscitaret oravit. Nec a lacrimis cessat aut precibus donec hominem, non modo vivum, set et sanum et incolumem, eadem que occiderat virtus reddidisset.⁴ Vere enim virtus Christi ob sancti viri meritum percussit et sanavit, mortificavit et vivificavit, deduxit ad inferos et reduxit. Interea ceteri quos intra septum, quod pater formaverat, tota nocte discurrentes amencia quedam concluderat, cernentes Dei famulum cum timore et

¹ Br. Cum fures animalia ejus abducere niterentur taurus quidam, quasi in furorem versus, illos invasit et principem illorum prostravit et ventrem cornibus perforavit, animam cum visceribus excucit.

² Br. percussit.

³ Br. *inerte* usque hodie.

⁴ Br. Vero Sanctus Episcopus, mortuum intuens, a lacrimis non cessavit donec vivum et sanum reddidit.

tremore ad ejus genua provolvuntur, veniam postulantes. Quos ille benigne corripiens, et timorem Dei, penamque rapacibus preparatam salutari sermone insinuans, tandem data benedictione licenciam abeundi concessit.¹

[Cap. ix.—Queritur Ailredus de moribus sui sæculi. Flores Niniani. Miraculum imbris.]

COGITANTEM me, sanctissimi viri morem sanctissimum pudet socordie nostre, pudet hujus misere¹ generationis ignavia. Quis rogo nostrum etiam inter domesticos sepius jocosa quam seria, ociosa quam utilia, carnalia quam spiritualia, in medium, mutua confabulatione, collatione² non proferat? Ora que ad laudandum Deum, ad sacra misteria celebranda, gracia divina sacravit, cotidie detractionibus, verbisque secularibus polluantur. Et Dei psalmos, evangelium, prophetasque³ fastidiunt; per hominum opera vana et turpia tota die discurrunt. 'Quid in itinere positi?' Nonne sicut corpus, ita et animus,⁴ tota die in motu est, lingua in ocio? Rumores et mores hominum inpiorum in ore versantur; risu et famulis⁵ gravitas religiosa dissolvitur; negocia regum, episcoporum officia, ministeria clericorum, principum alterationes, vita 'insuper' omnium moresque⁶ discutiuntur. Preter ipsum judicium nostrum, omnia judicamus; et, quod magis dolendum est, invicem mordemus et comedimus 'ut ab invicem consumamur.' Non sic, beatissimus Ninianus; non sic cujus⁷ quieti turba non obfuit, nec meditationem impedivit iter, nec lassitudine oratio tepuit.⁸ Ubicumque enim incedebat, aut oratione aut contemplatione⁹ animum¹⁰ ad celestia erigebat. ¹¹Verum quociens divertens ab itinere¹¹ requiei corporis 'vel etiam jumentis' indulgebat; producto libello quem, propter hoc ipsum circumferebat, legere aliquid aut psallere¹² gratum habebat. Sentiebat enim quod ait propheta "quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, super mel ori meo." ¹³Unde illi tantam gratiam virtus divina contulerat,¹³ ut etiam sub divo recumbens, et legens inter densissimas pluvias, nihil umquam humoris cui intendebat codicem attigisset. Sed vicinis locis

¹ Br. sancti Niniani, Dunstani, aliorumque Christi confessorum, mansuetudinem, pietatem, et conversationem, pudet misere nostræ, pudet fragilia.

² Br. mutua confabulationem et collationem. ³ Br. aliasque orationes.

⁴ Br. anima.

⁵ B. M. fabulis.

⁶ Br. et mores.

⁷ Br. beati confessoris nostri quorum.

⁸ Br. tepuit oratio.

⁹ Br. insertis seu operibus bonis.

¹⁰ Br. animam.

¹¹ Br. Ninianus vero, quotiens ab itinere divertens.

¹² Br. meditationi insistere.

¹³ Br. Illi gratia tanta virtus divina contulit.

circumquaque aqua¹ irruente madentibus, solus cum libello suo ita sub undis quasi sub tecti 'alicujus' culmine resideret. Contigit autem virum reverentissimum² cum suo aliquando³ fratre, viro eque sanctissimo, Plebia nomine, iter agere, ac more suo laborem itineris hymnis solari Daviticis. Cumque, post aliquod vie spacium, ut modicum repausarent, a via publicâ divertissent, aptis⁴ Psalteriis, sacra lectione animos recreabant. Mox aeris 'jocunda' serenitas, atris obducta nubibus, aquas 'pluviales' quas haustu naturali conceperat de superioribus ad inferiora transmisit. 'Quid plura? Tenuis⁵ aer, instar camere, circa Dei⁶ famulos arcuatus, quasi paries aliquis undis defluentibus impenetrabilis persistebat. Verum inter psallendum b'eatissimus' Ninianus oculos a libello detorsit, tactus modicum cogitatione illicita, etiam desiderio quodam, suggestione titillabatur demonica.⁷ 'Sed' mox ipsum, codicemque ejus, inber invadens prodidit quod latebat. Tunc frater⁸ qui assidebat, quid agebatur intelligens, leni correptione ordinis eum et etatis commouit, et quantum talem talia dedecere aperuit. Statim vir Dei⁹ in se reversus¹⁰ erubuit se inutili cogitatione 'fuisse' preventum; eodemque momento temporis et cogitationem deposuit et imbrem suspendit.

[Cap. x.—Miracula baculi Niniani in mari et in terra.]

INTEREA beato pontifici' plures tam nobiles quam mediocres filios suos¹¹ tradunt sacris literis inuendos. Quos 'et' sciencia erudiebat 'et' moribus informabat; 'vicia, quibus ea etas implicari solet,'¹² salubri disciplina¹³ coercens; 'virtutes quibus' sobrie juste et pie viverent¹⁴ insinuans. Deliquerat aliquando unus ex¹⁵ adolescentibus, quod sanctum Dei latere non potuit. Et quia non debuit disciplina deesse peccanti, parabantur virge, seivissima tormenta puerorum. Territus adolescens fugam iniiit. Nec virtutem viri ignorans, baculum cui solebat inniti secum asportare curabat, optimum sibi vie solacium arbitrans adquisisse, si aliquid de rebus sancti secum attulisset. Fugiens

¹ Br. aqua circumquaque.

² Br. aliquando Ninianum.

³ Br. sancto.

⁴ Br. quiescendi gratia, divertentesque a via, apertis.

⁵ Br. Teter viro.

⁶ Br. Christi.

⁷ Br. daemonia.

⁸ Br. inserte ejus.

⁹ Br. quum ipsum leniter corripuisset in se.

¹¹ Br. inserti viro sacro.

¹⁰ Br. inserti Episcopus.

¹² Br. inserti et.

¹³ Br. inserti vitia.

¹⁴ Br. vivere.

¹⁵ Br. discipulis sancti viri, et timens disciplinam baculum Sancti cui solisbat inniti non timuit secum asportare; et intrans parvulam naviculam, ventem irruentibus, quasi subito longius in mare deductus. Quid agere, quo se vertere ignorans.

itaque a facie viri, navem que transfretaret in Scotiam queritabat. Solet illis in locis vas quoddam in similitudinem crateris ex virgis compingi, tante magnitudinis ut sedentes juxta se tres homines capere sufficiant. Cui corium bovinum superducentes non solum nabilem,¹ sed et aquis inpenetrabilem, reddunt. Forte tunc temporis eodem modo naves immense magnitudinis parabantur. Unam itaque talem non tamen corio superductam appulsam litori adolescens offendit. Quam cum incaucius fuisset ingressus, divina providentia, nescio an propria lenitate, facili enim tactu tales super undas longius evolant, porro in mare navis abripitur. Aquis vero irruentibus stat nauta miserabilis, quid ageret, quo se verteret, vel quid facto opus esset ignorans. Si navem desereret vita periclitaretur; residentem mors certa manebat. Tunc demum miser fuge penitens ultrices paterne injurie undas vultu pallente spectabat. Tandem in se reversus, et Sanctum Ninianum in suo baculo arbitrans esse presentem, quasi ante ejus vestigia lacrimabili voce confitetur reatum, veniam postulat, ejusque sanctissimis meritis adesse sibi divinum precabatur auxilium.² Deinde de nota sibi pontificis pietate simul ac virtute confusus, in uno foraminum baculum³ fixit, ut etiam in mari quid posset Ninianus posteris non lateret. Mox ad tactum baculi elementum expavit, et quasi divina virtute repulsum per aperta foramina ulterius influere non presumpsit. Tua sunt hec, Christe, opera, qui discipulis tuis loquens, fideles tuos hac promissione donasti: Qui credit in me, opera que ego facio, et ipse faciet. Tu undis maris sacra inpressisti vestigia, virtus Niniani naturalem maris virtutem compressit. Discipulum titubantem, et ob hoc inter undas periclitantem, ne mergeretur tua sancta manus erexit. Discipulum fugientem, ne fluctibus absorberetur, baculus Niniani protexit. Tu mari inperasti et ventis ut discipulis timor adimeretur: virtus Niniani ventos moderavit, et mare, ut ad optata litora juvenis transferretur.

A parte quippe orientali ventus⁴ exurgens naviculam leni pulsu portabat. Baculus pro velo ventum excipiebat, baculus pro gubernaculo navem regebat, baculus pro anchora navem⁵ sistebat. Stat in litore occidentali⁶ populus, cernensque navicellam instar avicule fluctibus insidere, nec velo agi, nec urgeri remige, nec gubernaculo regi: quid hoc esset miraculi attonitus ex-

¹ B. M. nobilem.

² Br. Niniani Sancti meritis ut adesset divinum auxilium precabatur.

³ Br. *inserti* Sancti.

⁴ Br. Et mox ad baculi tactum, ventus ab oriente.

⁵ Br. *inserti* et.

⁶ B. M. orientali.

pectabat. Applicat interim¹ adolescens, et, ut viri Dei merita lacius innotescerent, fide animatus baculum fixit in litore²; rogans Deum ut in testimonium tanti miraculi, missis radicibus, humoreque contra naturam recepto, ramos frondesque produceret, ac flores fructusque parturiret. Affuit propicia divinitas orantis affectui, ac mox³ lignum aridum porrectis radicibus, et novo se cortice vestiens, frondes ramosque produxit, ac 'postmodum' in arborem non modicam crescens virtutem Niniani etiam nunc cunctis cernentibus patefacit.⁴ Adicitur⁵ miraculo miraculum. 'Ad radicem quippe arboris fons limpidissimus erumpens 'vit-reum' rivulum⁶ leni serpentem murmure ductu longiori emittit,⁷ et 'aspectu delectabilem et dulcem haustu,' infirmis 'autem' ob sancti merita utilem et salubrem.

[Cap. xi.—*Declamatio de morte Niniani. Ejus sepultura apud Althethern.*]

HIS atque hujusmodi miraculis b'eatissimus¹ Ninianus mirabiliter fulgens, ac summis virtutibus pollens, ad diem vocacionis sue felici cursu pervenit. 'Dies illa beato viro dies exultacionis et leticie, sed populo cui preerat dies tribulacionis et miserie. Exultabat ille cui celum aperiabatur; dolebat populus qui tali patre orbabatur. Exultabat ille cui corona perpetua parabatur, tristabantur illi quorum salus periclitabatur. Verum et ipsius gaudium interpolabat affectus, cum et ipsos deserere grave, a Christo autem diutius separari intolerabile videretur. Sed animam sic cunctantem Christus consolans, Surge, inquit, propera amica mea, columba mea, et veni. Surge, inquit, amica mea, surge columba mea, surge per intellectum, propera per desiderium, veni per affectum. Congruit sane beatissimo viro vox ista, utpote amico sponsi, cui sponsam suam sponsus ille celestis commiserat; cui revelaverat secreta sua, cui thesauros suos aperuerat. Merito amica vocatur anima illa, ut ex amore totum, nichil ex timore constabat. Amica, inquit, mea, columba mea. O columba! columba sane docta genere, que felle amaritudinis nescia flebat cum flentibus, cum infirmis infirmabatur, urebatur cum scandalizatis. Surge, propera amica mea, columba mea, et veni; jam enim hyems transiit, hymber abiit et recessit. Tunc certe, vir beate! hiems tibi transiit, quando celestem illam patriam contemplari felici oculo merebaris, quam sol justicie lumine sue claritatis illustrat, quam

¹ Br. in terra sancti baculum in litore fixit.

² B. M. patefecit.

⁴ Br. adds insuper.

⁶ Br. rivulum.

⁵ Br. Nec mora.

⁶ Br. inserts namque.

⁷ Br. emittit.

succendit amor, quam mirabilis rerum equitas, quasi verna quedam temperies, temporis ineffabili unitate modificat. Tunc tibi hyemalis intemperies que omnia hec terrena distemperat, que frigida mortalium corda viciis irruentibus durat, in qua plene nec veritas lucet, nec caritas ardet, transiit et recessit, ymbresque temptationum ac persecutionum grandines anima illa sancta, perfecte triumphans, in gloriam perpetue viriditatis evasit. Flores, inquit, apparuerunt in terra nostra. De floribus quippe Paradisi odor tibi celestis, beate Niniane! spirabat, quando tibi et purpuratorum et candidatorum grex, quasi familiarissimo suo vultu placido arridebat, et ad suum te consortium invitabat, quem nimirum et castitas candidum, et roseum reddiderat caritas. Nam etsi occasio corporalis hujus martirii non prestitit signum, illa, sine qua martirium nichil est, martirii meritum non negavit. Quociens enim se gladiis optulit perversorum, quociens se, propter justiciam, tyrannorum armis exposuit, pro veritate paratus occumbere, mori pro justicia. Merito ergo ad flores rosarum et lilia convallium ipse purpuratus et candidatus adiscitur, ascendens de Libano ut inter celestia agmina coronetur. Tempus enim putacionis advenit; quasi maturus enim botrus jam a stipite corporis vel a terrene hujus ecclesie vinea fuerat amputandus, liquandus caritate, et in apotecis celestibus recondendus.

Beatus itaque Ninianus, vita perfectus, etate maturus, feliciter migravit e mundo; eternaue percepturus stipendia angelicis spiritibus comitantibus invehitur celo. Ubi nimirum Apostolicis choris sociatus, martirum admixtus cuneis, sanctorum confessorum insertus agminibus, virgineis etiam floribus adornatus, in se sperantibus, ad se clamantibus, se laudantibus, subvenire non desinit.¹ Sepultus est autem² in ecclesia beati Martini, quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat, positusque in sarcophago lapideo juxta altare, clero et populo astante, hymnisque celestibus voce, corde cum suspiriis et lacrimis personante. Ubi virtus que in vivente claruerat circa corpus defuncti apparere non cessat; ut omnis fidelis agnoscat eum in celestibus vivere, quem in terris constat operari. Ad ejus namque sacratissimum tumultum curantur infirmi, mundantur leprosi, terrentur impii, ceci illuminantur: in quibus omnibus fides credentium roboratur, ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Ihesu Christi; qui vivit et regnat cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

¹ Br. Sicque, vita perfectus, etate maturus, xvi Kal. Oct. celestia regna feliciter conscendit [*in margine* A.D. 432.]

² Br. Sepultusque.

[Cap. xii.—Miracula Reliquiarum Niniani.]

(1. *In paupere deformi.*)

TRANSLATO igitur ad superos beatissimo Niniano, plebs fidelium que viventem dilexerat, hoc quod de eo sibi videbatur esse relictum, sanctissimas scilicet ejus reliquias, summa devotione frequentabat. Cujus religioni ac fidei favens Divinitas sanctum suum, quem communis condicio terris exemerat, in celestibus vivere crebris miraculis comprobabat.¹ Cuidam de plebe de uxore propria natus est filius miserabilis, utriusque parentis dolor, plebis admiratio, intuentium horror, quem contra naturam natura formaverat, omnibus menbris in contrarium versis. Retroversis namque pedum articulis, tali antierius prominebant, dorsum vultui coherebat, pectus vicinabatur occipiti, curvatis brachiis manus cubitis insidebant. 'Quid plura?' Jacebat illa 'atra' effigies cui data fuerant membra sine usu, vita sine fructu, cui artubus ceteris dissolutis sola lingua supererat,¹ quam miseram plangeret, qua intuentes ad luctum, audientes provocaret ad fletum. Parentibus dolor continuus erat, tristitia cotidie accrescebat. Venit eis tandem in mentem sanctissimi Niniani tociens experta majestas; ac fide pleni miserum illud cadaver arripiunt, adeuntesque sacri viri reliquias sacrificium contriti cordis cum lacrimarum profusione offerunt, ac precibus devotus usque ad horam vespertinam insistent.² 'Deinde truncum illum ante tumulum sancti proicientes, "Suscipe," inquit, "O beate Niniane! quod offerimus, munus quidem invisum, sed ad tuam virtutem comprobendam satis idoneum. Certe nos fessi, 'nos' fatigati, 'nos' affecti tristitia, nos³ tedio victi, tue illud⁴ pietati exponimus. Nimirum si munus est, debetur gracia offerentibus⁵; si honus, tu utique fortior ad sustinendum, cui pocior virtus est ad subveniendum. Hic igitur aut moriatur, aut vivat; aut sanetur, aut pereat." Hec, vel similia, cum lacrimis prosecuti, relicto ante sacras reliquias egroto, discedunt. Et ecce intempeste noctis silentio, videt miser adventantem ad se virum, celesti luce coruscum, pontificalibus insigniis prefulgentem. Qui tangens ei caput jubet sanum consurgere, et Deo, sanatori⁶ suo, gracias agere. Quo abscedente, quasi de gravi sompno evigilans pauper membra singula ad loca

¹ Br. supererat lingua.² Br. deferentes eum parentes ad tumbam sancti Niniani dixerunt.³ Br. et.⁴ Br. istud.⁵ Br. offerentibus gratia.⁶ Br. salvatori.

naturalia facili motu retorquet; recuperatoque¹ officio omnium, ad suos sanus incolumisque revertitur. Deinde totum se in ecclesia, ecclesiasticis disciplinis, primo² attonsus in clericum, et postmodum in presbiterum ordinatus, in ipsius patris obsequiis³ vitam finivit.

(2. *In paupere scabioso.*)

EXCITATA fama miraculi accurrunt multi; sua singuli incommoda ante sacras reliquias componentes. Inter quos vir quidam simplex, censu quidem pauper, sed fide ac bona voluntate dives advenit, cujus inaudita scabies totum corpus invaserat, omniaque obsederat membra, adeo ut cutis mirabiliter obdurescens venarum meatus obcluderet, arterias circumquaque constringeret; nichilque aliud nisi mortem patienti pararet. Accedens itaque miser ad corpus sancti, devotissimas orationes altari, fidei, domino, offerebat. Fluunt lacrimæ, singultus prorumpunt, succutitur pectus, ipsa viscera contremiscunt. Non defuit tante fidei tanteque contricioni meritum sancti, non defuit pietas Christi; et sanctum suum glorificans, et miserum misericorditer salvans. Quid multis morer? non cessat a precibus pauper Aedelfridus,⁴ hoc ei nomen viro, donec paucis expletis diebus pristina redditur sanitati.

(3. *In puella cæca.*)

ERAT preterea tum in populo puella quedam. Deisuit⁵ ei nomen, quæ tanto oculorum dolore vexata est ut vis morbi omnem ei videndi sensum adimeret, tenebrisque omnia occupantibus, etiam solis ei lumen absconderet. Dolor patienti, majoribus suis compacentibus meror. Sed quid agerent? Facta est de medicorum industria desperatio, quod solum spei superfuit queritur Ninianus. Ad manus itaque tracta ante sanctissimam glebam dolens ploransque dimittitur. Querit intente, petit sollicitè, pulsatur inopportune; non exciderat pio Ihesu quid in suo promiserit evangelio: Petite et accipietis; querite et invenietis; pulsate et aperietur vobis. Itaque memorate illi puellæ apparuit gratia quam quesivit. Aperta est janua pietatis ad quam pulsavit. Data est sanitas quam petivit. Sublatis enim tenebris lux amissa reparatur. Dolor omnis abscedit; ita ut quæ alio ducente ad sacrum venerat tumultum proprii luminis ductu ad domum rediret, cum magna exultatione parentum.

¹ Br. recuperato vero membrorum.

² Br. *insertis* Temporis processu.

³ Br. ad sacerdotium promotus in sanctis obsequiis.

⁴ B. M. Aedelfridus.

⁵ B. M. Deicit.

(4. *In duobus leprosis.*)

¶ ISI sunt preterea venire in civitatem viri¹, duo leprosi. Qui, presumptuosum estimantes cum lepre contagio sancta tangere, quasi de longe patris poscunt auxilium. Accedentes autem ad fontem,¹ et sanctum arbitantes quicquid sanctus contigerat Ninianus, lavacro illo se abluendos putarunt. O novum Helisei² prophete miraculum! O nova non unius sed duorum Naaman emundacio! Venit Naaman in spiritu presumptionis, isti in spiritu humilitatis: ille in dubitatione, isti in fide. Dubitabat rex Sirie, dubitabat Rex Israel, dubitabat Naaman; dubitabat rex Sirie; ³dubitabat et superbiebat, qui non ad prophetam, sed ad regem, leprosum suum mittendum putavit. Dubitavit rex Israel, qui auditis litteris regis Sirie scidit vestimenta sua, et ait: Numquid Deus ego sum, ut vivificare possim, et mortificare?⁴ Dubitavit Naaman qui, audito Prophete consilio, recedebat indignans. Naaman ergo in curru superbie stetit ad hostium Helisei.² Isti in fide et humilitate ad misericordiam vociferant Niniani. Merito ejus fons vertitur in Jordanem, Ninianus in prophetam. Mundantur leprosi tactu lavacri, sed meritis Niniani; et restituta est caro eorum, sicut caro parvuli: revertunturque ad sua incolumes, ad gloriam Niniani, in laudem Dei, in sanctis suis mirabiliter operantis. Sed jam sit hujus operis finis, quamvis miraculis sancti Niniani necdum sit finis: que adhuc nostris temporibus coruscare non desinunt, ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.⁵

¹ Br. Duo leprosi, accedentes ad fontem Sancti Niniani, aqua se abluunt, et caro eorum mundata sicut caro parvuli restituta est.

² B. Helysei.

⁴ MS. mortifire.

³ B. M. Syrie.

⁵ MS. AMN.

II.

VITA KENTEGERNI,

AUTORE JOCELINO MONACHO FURNESENSI.

[PROLOGUS.]

*Incipit Prologus Epistolaris in vitam Sancti Kentegerni,
Episcopi et Confessoris.*

DOMINO suo reverentissimo, et patri karissimo, Jocelino Christo Domini Jhesu Christi, Jocelinus minimus pauperum Christi, cum filialis dilectionis et subjectionis affectu, et effectu, utriusque hominis salutem, in nostro salutari. Quum nomen vestrum celebre, officium sublime, judicium equilibre, vita nullo sinistre fame fuco fuscata, religio diu probata, vos decorem domus Dei, cui preestis diligere animo meo satis probabiliter persuadent; congruum duxi vobis offerre manipulorum meorum primicias, que vestri, et ecclesie vestre, decus et decorem redolent. Circuivi enim per plateas et vicos civitatis, juxta mandatum vestrum, querens vitam Sancti Kentegerni descriptam, quam diligat anima vestra; cujus cathedre filiorum adoptione, ecclesiastica electione, successivo ministerio, vestram sanctitatem presidere fecit divine dignationis

gratia. Quesivi igitur diligenter vitam si forte inveniretur, que majori auctoritate, et evidentiori veritate, fulciri, et stilo cultiori¹ videretur exarari, quam illa, quam vestra frequentat ecclesia; quia illam, ut pluribus videtur, tincta² per totum decolorat³ inculta oratio, obnubilat stilus incompositus⁴: quod pre hiis omnibus quilibet sane sapiens magis abhorret, in ipso narrationis frontispicio quoddam sane doctrine, et catholice fidei adversum, evidenter apparet. Codiculum autem alium, stilo Scottico dictatum, reperi, per totum⁵ soloecismis scatentem; diffusius tamen⁶ vitam et actus Sancti Pontificis continentem. Videns igitur tam preciosi Pontificis vitam, signis et prodigiis gloriosam, virtutibus et doctrina clarissimam,⁷ relatu perverso, et a fide averso, maculari; aut sermone barbarico nimis obscurari; condolui fateor et moleste accepi. Quo circa sedit animo ex utroque libello materiam collectam redintegrando sarcire; et juxta modulum meum, et preceptum vestrum, barbarice exarata Romano sale condire. Absurdum arbitror thesaurum tam preciosum tam vilibus obvolvi semicinciis⁸; et ideo conabor illum cooperire; et, si non aurifrisiis aut olosericis,⁹ saltem vel lineis integris. Adhibui etiam operam ex veteri vase in novum vivificum liquorem ita transfundere, ut simplicioribus sit appetibile, mediocribus non sit inutile, sensu locupletioribus non sit contemptibile, pro vasis mediocritate haurire. Sancti igitur Presulis meritis et precibus suffragantibus, si superni inspiratoris¹⁰ mihi

¹ B. M. cerciori,⁴ B. M. *inserta* et.⁷ B. M. *inserta* et.² B. M. tractata.⁵ B. M. totam.⁸ B. M. sermontiis.¹⁰ B. M. inspectatoris.³ B. M. declarat.⁶ B. M. tam.⁹ B. M. oloseritis.

favor applauserit, stilum sic temperabo, ut nec nimis abjecto sermone in ceno repens obscurer opus susceptum; nec verborum faleris secus quam decet inseruiens in altum tumeat; ne videar plantasse nemus in templo Domini contra ejus interdictum. Totum igitur studium hujus operis, totum fructum mei laboris, duxi, vestro consecrandum nomini, vestro etiam statui presentandum examini. Si quid autem illepidum¹ processerit, aut insulsum discretionis vestre sale conditum saporetur. Si quid forte minus veritati consonum sonuerit quod non reor,² ad regulam judicii vestri deductum limetur, et conquadretur. Si quid invenitur a neutro dissidens,³ vestro testimonio subfulciatur, auctoritate vestra roboretur. Et in hiis omnibus si quid, secus quam rem deceat, calamo meo mandatum in lucem prodierit, exiuitatis⁴ mee imperitie imputetur.⁵ Et si quid lectione dignum apparuerit elucubratum, vestre asscribatur eminencie. Translationem autem Sancti hujus, vel miracula post decessum ejus descripta nusquam reperire potui; que aut non sunt⁶ notata quia forte⁷ effugerunt memoriam presentium, aut multiplicata sunt super numerum, ne infirmis lectoribus copia congesta conferret fastidium. Vivat et vigeat Sanctitas vestra semper in Domino. **Explicit Prologus.**

¹ *On margin*, illepidum .i. insuavis insipidus.

² B. M. diffidens.

³ B. M. imputatur impericie.

⁴ B. M. fuerunt.

⁵ B. M. reo.

⁶ B. M. exiuitatis.

⁷ B. M. fortite.

[Cap. i.]—Incipit vita¹ Sancti Kentegerni Episcopi et
Confessoris.

CLARISSIMI et karissimi Deo et hominibus Kentegerni, Nazarei Nazareni² nostri Jhesu Christi, vitam gloriosam scribendi principium illud divinum oraculum consecrat, quo beatum Jeremiam prophetam Dominus preveniens in benedictionibus dulcedinis sue, vas electionis in opus ministerii sui sanctificatum, tali eulogio³ futurum pronunciat. Priusquam, inquit, te formarem in utero novi te; et, antequam exires de ventre, sanctificavi te; et prophetam in gentibus dedi te. Vere beatus Kentegernus, ante notus Deo quam natus in mundo, prius gratia electionis perfusus quam ex materno utero⁴ profusus, primitus magnificatus miraculis, quam membris vel meritis. Ipsum namque de ventre sanctificatum, et adhuc amplius sanctificandum, Ipse Sanctus Sanctorum infra materni⁵ claustra uteri obstrusum; et in ipso ipsius ortu fulgescere fecit jubere⁶ virtutum; ut originalis peccati vinculo comprobaret non constringi spiritus sancti⁷ speciale donum. Hunc inquam genere et specie preclarum, signis et prodigiis ac presagiis multimodis insignitum, prophetam immo, et doctorem, ac rectorem optimum gentibus multis, redemptor gentium decrevit destinandum.

Hic itaque sanctissimus, quamvis ex Regali stemate⁸ originariam particulam traxerit, velud rosa tamen de spina, ut arbor aromatica ex humo cenulenta, processit. Quia mater ejus cujusdam Regis, secta paganissimi, in Septentrionali plaga Britannie⁹ principantis, filia fuit. Cum autem in terram regionis illius exiret sonus predicationis Christiane fidei, et in fines aquilones, a quibus pandebatur omne malum, procederent verba sanctorum predicatorum, auribus audiendi audivit illa, quomodo candor lucis eterne, sol justitie, per stellam Virginitatis exortus, radiis¹⁰ sue cognitionis et dilectionis mundum illuminaverit;¹¹ et hiis qui prope et procul sunt¹² salutem annuntiaverit;¹³ suos inducens in omnem plenitudinem veritatis efficacius evidentium argumentis signorum. Concaluit ilico cor ejus intra se; et in meditatione ejus exarsit ignis ille, quem Dominus misit in terram, et voluit vehementer accenditiensque anima ejus ad agnitionem veritatis venire suscepit

¹ B. M. juxta.

² On margin, Nazareus .i. sanctus gloriosus.

³ On margin, eulogium .i. sapientia testium vel causatus.

⁴ B. M. utero materno.

⁵ B. M. materna.

⁶ B. M. jubare.

⁷ B. M. sancti spiritus.

⁸ On margin, stema .i. genus progenies.

⁹ Britannie, erased in B. M.

¹⁰ B. M. radii.

¹¹ B. M. illuminavit.

¹² B. M. fuerunt.

¹³ B. M. annuntiavit.

insitum¹ verbum, quod posuit² salvare ejus animam a morte perhenni. Nondum erat lota unda salutaris lavacri, viam tamen mandatorum Dei currebat, corde dilatato et alacri. Insistebat instanter elemosinis crebris, orationibus devotis, ecclesiastice fidei in quantum licuit ob metum patris pagani discendis, et exercendis disciplinis. Precipua tamen inter hec devotione Matris Virginis integritatem fecundam ammirabatur, ammirando venerabatur, venerando et diligendo desiderabat imitari; et quadam feminee temeritatis audacia presumptiosa, in conceptu et partu illi assimilari, et super hoc studivit sedulo Dominum deprecari.

Evoluta aliquanti temporis spacio, inventa est illa³ in utero habens; magnificavitque anima ejus Dominum, desiderium suum adimpletum esse simpliciter credens. Quod autem in ea natum est de humano complexu suscepit; sed ut ipsa⁴ multociens juramento se constringens asseruit,⁵ a quo, vel quando, aut quomodo conceperit,⁶ in conscientia non habuit. Sed licet illam latuerit, aut a memoria exciderit,⁷ hujusmodi res secreti, nequaquam tamen rei veritas perire debet in animo cujuslibet discreti, aut inde scrupulus ullus emergi. Ut enim ad presens sepeliamus silentio⁸ que in poeticis carminibus, sive in hystoriis non canonicis, inserta repperimus, ad sacra volumina accedentes, in libro Genesis filius Loth non solum paternos complexus furtim sibi surripuisse, sed etiam ab eodem inebriato et rei penitus ignaro, utramque concepisse legimus. Constat nichilominus nobis multos sumpto potu oblivionis quem fisici letargion vocant, obdormisse; et in membris incisionem, et aliquociens adustionem, et in vitalibus abrasionem perpassos, minime sensisse:⁹ post sompni excussionem, que erga sese actitata fuerant ignorasse. Audivimus frequenter sortilegorum prestigiis¹⁰ puellarem pudicitiam expugnatam esse, ipsamque defloratam defloratorem¹¹ sui minime nosse. Potuit aliquid hujusmodi huic puelle accidisse, occulto Dei judicio, et ut¹² commixtionem sexuum non sentiret, ac per hoc jam inpregnata se illibatam intelligeret.

Hec inseruisse superfluo nequaquam arbitramur, quia populus stultus et insipiens, in diocesi Sancti Kentegerni degens, ipsum¹³ de virgine conceptum, et natum adhuc astruere non veretur. Sed quid hiis immoremur? Sane absurdum, et ab re arbi-

¹ *On margin*, insitum .i. plantatum radicatum. B. M. in suum.

² B. M. posset.

³ B. M. puella.

⁴ B. M. ipsam.

⁵ B. M. inserit quod.

⁶ B. M. concepit.

⁷ B. M. excideret.

⁸ B. M. silentio servemus.

⁹ B. M. inserit et.

¹⁰ B. M. sumptis transfigiis.

¹¹ B. M. corruptore.

¹² B. M. ut et.

¹³ B. M. et dixit.

tramur, diutius indagare quis quomodo sator terram araverit vel¹ severit; cum, Domino dante benignitatem, terra ista fructum optimum et opimum,² protulerit. Fructus inquam terre hujus, qui benedictionem accepit a Domino, per quem multe generationes benedicerentur a Domino, et fructum salutis perpetue perciperent a Domino. Ibat interim mulier; et uterus ejus intumescebat; cunctisque videntibus insigne corruptele preferebat. Et jam pallore vultus, et venis tumescentibus in gutture, et lacte in uberibus erumpente, vicinum partum denunciabat. Quod cum Regis patris sui auribus instillatum fuisset, et visus, ac tactus, certiori indagine sic se rem habere comprobasset; cepit intentius³ ab ea inquirere, nunc terroribus pulsans, nunc blandimentis permulcens, quis eam gravidasset? At illa, interposito juramento nominis Christi, protestabatur se expertem totius virilis consorcii. Rex autem hec audiens vehementiori felle commotus, tum propter nomen Christi quod ex ore ejus sonuit, tum quia violatorem filie reperire non potuit, juravit et statuit custodienda judicia justicie sue; nec ullatenus se velle prevaricari legem a majoribus suis statutam super tali negotio, ob amorem seu vitam filie sue.

[Cap. ii.]—*De lege constituta in illis diebus, in populo
Cambrino, super puellis fornicantibus.*

FERAT in illo populo barbaro, a diebus antiquis, lex promulgata, ut puella que in paternis fornicans⁴ gravida inveniebatur, de supercilio montis altissimi precipitaretur, corruptor autem illius capite plecteretur. Similiter apud antiquos Saxones, pene usque ad hec moderna tempora, sancitum durabat, ut quelibet virgo in paternis sponte deflorata, absque ulla retractione⁵ viva sepeliretur; violator vero ipsius supra sepulcrum ejus suspenderetur. Quid ad hec dicemus, quidve conjicere valebimus? Si tantus zelus castitatis accendit,⁶ ethnicos, divine legis ignaros, propter honestatem tantum et observantiam suarum paternarum⁷ traditionum, quid faciet Christianus, qui lege divina ad custodiam pudicitie constringitur? ob cujus meritum gaudium celicum promittitur, sicut, e diverso, ob illius prevaricationem tartarea pena rependitur? Ecce omnis sexus, omnisque conditio, in omne volutabrum carnalis colluvionis,⁸ pene tam licenter quam libenter, quia impune, immergitur; et

¹ B. M. seu.

² B. M. attentius.

³ B. M. insertis adurit.

⁴ B. M. fornicatis.

⁵ B. M. retractione.

⁶ B. M. insertis adurit.

⁷ B. M. paternarum suarum.

⁸ On margin, colluvio .i. collectio.

² On margin, opimus .i. fecundus habundans.

⁴ B. M. fornicatis.

⁵ B. M. retractione.

⁷ B. M. paternarum suarum.

non solum vilissimum vulgus tali contagio polluitur, verum hii qui ecclesiasticis beneficiis sustentati, et divinis officiis applicati, quanto sunt¹ fediores, tanto sese feliciores esse arbitrantur. Sed nunc illos² pertransit ille malleator³ universe terre, spiritus scilicet fornicationis. Qui ymaginariam quidem speciem sanctitatis in habitu exteriori preferentes, virtutem vero ejus abnegantes, operibus quidem seculo servant fidem, per vitam impuram Deo mentiri noscuntur⁴ per sacrum habitum et tonsuram. Timendum illis plane quod per prophetam Dominus comminatur, dicens, In terra sanctorum qui⁵ iniqua gessit, non videbit gloriam Dei. Nunc etiam quod omni flumine lacrimarum plangendum est, illud flagitium flagitiorum, quo nichil detestabilius excogitari potest, propter quod flamma sulphurea in Pentapoli⁶ censura⁷ celestis scelestos delevit, impune committitur. Nec qui perpetratores libere arguat facile repperitur. Quod si quispiam, quamvis raro, inveniatur, quem zelus domus Dei⁸ comedat, qui amore justitie et honestatis ignescat, ut tam monstruosa flagitia arguere videatur, protinus ei in faciem resistitur ut sicophanta,⁹ et detractor¹⁰ ab omnibus conclamatur, os ejus tanquam loquentis iniqua obstruitur, lingua copulanda judicatur.

Cur hoc? Plane quia corpus Leviathan, sicut scriptum est, squamis prementibus condensatur, et protegunt umbre umbram ejus; eo quod criminosi et flagitiosi, qui sunt membra diaboli, ab aliis, qui simili vicio laborant, ne sagitta correptionis eos penetrare possit, mutuo muniuntur. Sane, ut arbitror, ad argumentum agitur inexcusabilis dampnationis, ut tales traditi in reprobum sensum non habeant, aut non admittant, virgam correptionis. Nec eorum quemquam¹¹ levigat a supplicio multitudo laborans in parili vicio, quia non minus ardent per plures simul, quam singuli injecti camino. Sed quid dicemus de illis, quibus officium injunctum¹² est ligandi atque solvendi, claudendi et aperiendi; qui levantur super candelabrum, ut in domo Domini¹³ verbo et exemplo luceant? Nonne plures hodie fumum potius quam flammam; fetorem magis quam fulgorem, representant? Nonne canes sunt muti, non valentes, immo non volentes,¹⁴ latrare? Cum mores plusquam bestiales videntes, non audent reprehendere. Presertim cum ipsi eorum moribus conformantur,¹⁵ immo deterius deformantur? Sicut enim populus, sic

¹ B. M. fiunt.² B. M. eos.³ B. M. malleator ille.⁴ B. M. noscuntur mentiri.⁵ B. M. omite qui.⁶ *On margin*, Pentapolis continens in se quinque civitates.⁷ *On margin*, Censura .i. vindicta vindicium.⁸ B. M. Domini.⁹ *On margin*, sicophanta .i. falsus calumpniator.¹⁰ B. M. detractu.¹¹ B. M. quempiam.¹² B. M. invictum.¹³ B. M. Dei.¹⁴ B. M. immo nolentes.¹⁵ B. M. confirmantur.

sacerdos; sicut subditus, sic prelatus; immo sicut priores dignitate, sic peiores¹ iniquitate: et que prelati officio, eo et² vitio: formidandum est talibus quod scriptura mystice loquitur de talibus, Bestia si montem tetigerit³ lapidabitur. Bestia montem tangit, quando bestialis vite quilibet cathedram prelationis ascendit, et purificatoriis hostiis impurus manum apponit. Qui vero talis est lapidari jubetur, quia quum dure et gravi dampnationi subjacere debeat, sanctorum patrum sententiis evidenter edocetur.⁴ Hec dixisse per digressum nulli queso sit onerosum. Magnum ruborem incutere debet Christicolis, in pudicia plantanda et propaganda, zelus pagani hominis, qui proprie filie non pepercit, sed pro nevo fornicationis simple⁵ supplicio tali illam tradidit.

[Cap. iii.]—Qualiter matrem Sancti Bentegerni a precipitio, et naufragio, liberabit divina dignatio.

PREFATA igitur puella, ex Regis precepto, ad montis altissimi, cui vocabulum est Dumpelder,⁶ supercilium ducebatur, ut deorsum precipitata, membratim dirrumpetur, aut minutatim contereretur.⁷ At illa graviter ingemescens,⁸ et in celum suspiciens, querulis vocibus ait, "Mérito hoc patior, quia quasi una de stultis mulieribus egi, volens parificari sanctissime, serenissime, salutifere, parenti patrem suum parienti. Sed oro," inquit, "domina⁹ benedicta mulieribus, transfer iniquitatem ancille tue, quia nimis insipienter egi. O mater misericordie, ostende lucem miserationum tuarum in me, et libera me a pressura que circumdat me! Oro te, domina! ut sicut ille flos angelicorum montium, sine lesura tui nivei pudoris, in te valle humili, omnium virtutum fertili, effici dignatus est nostrarum lilium convallium, et de te, monte fidei firmissimo, lapis sine manibus excisus est, qui crevit in montem magnum, adimplentem orbem terrarum. Ita libera me, ancillam tuam, licet nondum sacra fonte lotam, firmiter tamen in filium tuum eredentem, et in umbra alarum tuarum sperantem a iminente¹⁰ precipicio, ut filii tui nomen benedictum in secula magnificetur, in conspectu istarum gentium. Sobolem etiam, quem in utero gesto, filio tuo, et tibi, in speciale mancipium, omnibus diebus vite sue mancipandum promitto."

¹ B. M. prestantiore.

² B. M. omits et.

³ B. M. tengerit.

⁴ B. M. edicetur.

⁵ B. M. simplo.

⁶ B. M. Dumpelder.

⁷ B. M. munitatim incounteretur.

⁸ B. M. ingemiscens.

⁹ Illegible in B. M.

¹⁰ B. M. ab imminente.

Cumque oraret in hunc modum, corde et ore devoto, ministri regis eam Christum, et ejus genetricem, crebro invocantem, precipitaverunt de montis fastigio. Res mira, et a diebus antiquis inusitata! Cum ergo caderet, non est collisa, quia Dominus subposuit manum suam; et ideo nullam sensit lesuram. Quum, ut sibi videbatur,¹ instar avis pennigere, ne forte offenderet ad lapidem pedem suum, placido lapsu ascendit² ad terram. Sonat gratiarum actio, et vox laudis, in ore³ plurimorum videntium hec magnalia Dei. Magnificatur sanctum et terribile nomen Christi. Innocens judicatur, et immunis ab omni pena ulterius debere fieri, et habenda omnimode venerationi. At contra ydolatre et adversarii fidei Christane non hoc virtuti divine, sed maleficiis ascribebant; et voce unanimi illam magam atque maleficam conclamabant. Scisma ergo de ea erat in populo. Alii dicebant quia bona est, et innocens; alii autem non, sed prestigiis suis seducit turbas, visus immutat, et sensus alienat. Turba ergo mutuo verborum turbine turbam turbabat; sed multitudo sacrilega invalescens, Regem suum, ydolatrie penitus mancipatum, ad novam sententiam dictandam de filia instigabant. Tandem communi conniventia⁴ conventus malignantium, et adversantium nomini Christi, decernitur ut muliercula illa gravida, sola in navicula⁵ posita, pelago exponeretur. Ut igitur sententia sancita effectui manciparetur, ministri Regis ascendentes in puppim, illam in altitudinem maris deducunt; ibique eam solam parvissimo lembo⁶ de corio, juxta morem Scottorum⁷ confecto, impositam, sine omni remigio fortune committentes, remigando littora repetunt. Regi, et plebi rei expectanti exitum, quod gestum est referunt. Illi vero irrisorie dicebant, "Ancillam Christi se nominat. Promittit⁸ se potentiam ipsius protectricem habere. Videamus si sermones illius veri sint. Confidit in Christo, liberet illam si valet de manu mortis, et de periculo maris."

Puella vero omni humano destituta auxilio, illi soli se committit, qui fecit mare et aridam; devote deprecans ut se salvet ab imminente periculo,⁹ qui primitus illam liberavit de precipicio. Mirum dictu, sed Deo nichil impossibile factu.¹⁰ Illa navicella, in qua detinebatur gravidata puella, equoreos vertices, fluctuum vertigines, versus litus adversum multo velotiori sulcabat transitu, quam si velifero veheretur flatu, aut multorum remigan-
tum propellaretur annisu. Is namque qui Ionam prophetam,

¹ B. M. *insestis* ac.² B. M. descendit.³ B. M. *more*.⁴ B. M. *consciencia*.⁵ B. M. *nacella*.⁶ *On margin*, *lembus* i. *parva navicula a lego* ia.⁷ B. M. *Scontorum*.⁸ B. M. *et promittat*.⁹ *On margin*, *vel naufragio*. B. M. *naufragio*.¹⁰ B. M. *facto*.

vastissimis sinibus ceti gustatum,¹ inter marinas voragines illesum servavit, cujus etiam dextera beatum Petrum ambulante in fluctibus ne mergeretur erexit, et co-apostolum ejus Paulum, tercio naufragantem, de profundo pelagi liberavit; ad portum salutis salvam mulierem² perduxit, ob gratiam proliis quam in utero gestavit, quem optimum prorotam³ navis sue, id est doctorem et rectorem egregium ecclesie sue, futurum predestinavit.

[Cap. ib.]—*De ortu Sancti Bentegerni, et de educatione illius circa Sanctum Servanum.*⁴

APPLICUIT prenomina mulier⁵ super arenam prope locum vocabulo Culenros.⁶ Quo in loco illo⁷ Sanctus Servanus degens, sacras litteras plures docebat pueros, divino obsequio mancipandos. Cumque egressa esset ad aridam,⁸ angustie instantis puerperii apprehenderunt⁹ eam. Elevans oculos aspexit eminus, licet in tenebris, secus littus indicium¹⁰ ignis incinerati, quem forsitan pastores, vel piscatores, reliquerant¹¹ ibi. Accessit igitur ad locum, et prout¹² potuit accendit sibi focum. Cum autem aurora, divine lucis prenuntia, albescere inciperet, impletum est tempus ejus ut pareret. Et peperit filium vere lucis futurum preconem, et nuntium.

In eadem vero hora Sanctus Servanus dum post matutinorum sinaxim¹³ orationi intentus, sacre contemplationis dulcedini inhiaret, audit angelicos cetus, melliflua preconia in ethere resonare; quorum laudibus congaudens, ipse cum discipulis exultans, in spiritu studuit hostias jubilationis canendo, "Te Deum¹⁴ laudamus, Domino immolare." Stupentibus autem clericis de rei novitate, et scicitantibus quid acciderit, rem seriatim, et hymnodiam angelorum, eis rettulit: et ut et¹⁵ ipsi immolarent Domino vitulos labiorum suorum, sedulo commonuit. Erant autem in confinio pastores vigilantes, et curam habentes super custodiam gregis sui. Qui diei diluculo egressi, cum cominus¹⁶ conspicerent ignem accensum, advenerunt illuc festinantes, et invenerunt adolescentulam partu absolutam; et infantem pannis involutum, et positum sub divo. Illi vero

¹ B. M. gestatum.

³ On margin, prorota .i. gubernator navis.

⁵ B. M. puella.

⁶ B. M. Colletiros.

⁸ On margin, arida .i. terra.

¹⁰ On margin, indicium .i. signum.

¹² On margin, prout .i. sicut.

¹³ On margin, sinaxis est hora matutina. B. M. seriatim.

¹⁴ B. M. Domine.

¹⁶ On margin, cominus .i. prope.

² B. M. puellam.

⁴ B. M. et educatione ejus.

⁷ B. M. inserto tempore.

⁹ B. M. apprehendaverit.

¹¹ B. M. reliquerant.

¹⁵ B. M. omisit et.

pietate ducti in foco copiosius augendo, et cibum ministrando, et cetera necessaria procurando, curam illorum egerunt; et quo poterant competenter eos adducentes, et Sancto Servano presentantes, ordinem rei rettulerunt.

Quibus auditis, et viso puerulo, os beati senis repletum est risu spirituali, et cor ejus jubilo. Unde et patria lingua ait, Mochöhe! Mochöhe! quod Latine dicitur Care mi, Care mi: Subjungens, Benedictus qui venisti in nomine Domini. Suscepit ergo eos in sua; enutrivit,¹ et educavit, ac si forent pignora propria. Emensis itaque aliquantulis diebus, lavacro regenerationis et renovationis illos perfudit, et sacro crismate linivit:² vocans matrem Taneu;³ et puerum Kyentyern, quod interpretatur Capitalis Dominus. Quod utaque⁴ nomen novum, quod os Sancti Servani nominavit, quum non in vanum⁵ accepit suo in loco in sequentibus evidenter elucebit. Educavit ergo vir Domini puerum Domini, velud alterum Samuelem sibi commendatum, et assignatum a Deo. Puer vero crescebat, et confortabatur, et gratia Dei erat in eo. Cum autem accessissent ei etas intelligibilis, et tempus habile, et acceptabile ad discendum, tradidit illum litteris erudiendum; et ut in eis proficeret multam industriam⁶ impendit ei, et studium. Ipse vero in hac parte non est fraudatus a desiderio suo, quia puer discendo, et retinendo, optime et opime respondit ipsius magisterio, velud lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dat in tempore suo. Profecit puer bone spei et sancte indolis,⁷ unctione⁸ eum edocente, in disciplinis litterarum, et non minus in exercitiis virtutum sanctorum. Collata enim ei erant a patre luminum, a quo est omne datum⁹ optimum, et omne donum perfectum, cor docile; ingenium ad intelligendum perspicax; ad retinendum que didicerat memoria tenax;¹⁰ ad proferendum que voluit lingua suadibilis; ad canendum divina preconia vox altisona, melliflua, consona, et quodammodo infatigabilis. Hec autem omnia gratiarum munera inaurabat¹¹ vita laudabilis: et ideo pre cunctis sociis¹² suis erat in oculis sancti senis preciosus, et amabilis. Unde et illum patria lingua Munghu, quod Latine dicitur Karissimus Amicus, ex consuetudine appellavit. Quo nomine usque in hodiernum diem vulgus eum vocare, et in necessitatibus suis invocare, crebrius¹³ consuevit.

¹ B. M. et nutritiv.

² On margin, linio—is .i. ungere.

³ B. M. Tannu.

⁴ B. M. itaque.

⁵ B. M. vacuum.

⁶ On margin, industria .i. vigilancia assiduitas studii.

⁷ On margin, indolis .i. sine dolo.

⁸ B. insertis interioris.

⁹ B. M. donum.

¹⁰ B. M. insertis et.

¹¹ B. M. narrabat.

¹² On margin, vel consortibus. B. M. consortibus.

¹³ B. M. crebro.

[Cap. v.]—*De avicula extincta,¹ per Kentegernum bibificata.*

VIDENTES condiscipuli Sancti Kentegerni, quod a magistro et patre spirituali plus cunctis amaretur, oderant eum; nec poterant ei clam, seu palam, quicquam pacifice loqui. Unde et in multis insidiabantur, conviciabantur, invidebant, et detrahebant illi. Sed puer Domini oculos cordis semper habebat ad Dominum; et magis dolens illis quam sibi, parumpendebat omnia iniqua machinamenta hominum. Quedam namque avicula, que vulgo ob ruborem corpusculi rubisca nuncupatur, nutu Patris celestis, sine quo nec passer unus cadit super terram, consuevit de manu servi Dei Servani cotidianam alimoniam accipere; talique consuetudine accepta, familiarem et domesticam semet illi exhibere. Aliquando etiam capiti ejus, seu² vultui, sive scapulis, seu gremio solebat insidere: oranti vel legenti assistere; et plausu alarum, aut sono inarticulate vocis, et qualicumque gesticulatu affectum³ quem erga eum habuit ostendere. Unde nonnunquam facies viri Dei in gestu volucris obumbratam⁴ induebat hylaritatem, amirans nimirum in creatura exigua magnam Creatoris potentiam, cui muta locuntur, et irrationabilia⁵ rationem sentire noscuntur.

Et quia avis illa multociens ad imperium, vel nutum, viri Dei⁶ ad ipsum accedebat, et recedebat, incredulitatem et duriciam cordis exprobat⁷ in discipulis suis, et inobedientiam illorum arguebat. Nec inconueniens alicui hoc videatur, cum Deus⁸ voce animalis muti, et subjugalis prophete arguebat insipientiam; et Salomon sapientissimus pigrum invitat⁹ ad formicam, ut ejus considerando laborem et industriam, a se excutiat torporem et desidiam. Et quidem sanctus ac sapiens religiosos invitat ad considerandam apum operam, ut in parvis corporibus perpulcram discant ministerii¹⁰ disciplinam. Sed mirum forte alicui videbitur¹¹ quod vir tam sanctus, atque perfectus, delectaretur circa avicule ludos vel gestus. Sed noscat qui ejusmodi est perfectos aliquando emolliendos a rigore suo ut qui mente excedunt Deo aliquando sobrii sint et nobis; quia et arcus aliquando dissolvendus est a diutina¹² extensione, ne enervis et inutilis fiat, cum tempus oportunum ingruerit, in sagitte emissionem. Aves etiam erectis alis aera volando petunt¹³ et iterum eisdem¹⁴ demissis ad inferiora terre descendunt.

¹ B. M. *inserta* et.

⁴ B. M. *obumbrata*.

⁷ B. M. *exprobat*.

¹⁰ B. M. *monasterii*.

¹³ B. M. *potuerant*.

² B. M. *aut*.

⁵ B. M. *irrationalia*.

⁸ B. M. *Dominus*.

¹¹ B. M. *videbitur alicui*.

¹⁴ B. M. *omittit* eisdem.

³ B. M. *effectum*.

⁶ B. M. *Domini*.

⁹ B. M. *mittat*.

¹² B. M. *a nimia*.

Quadam itaque die, cum senex oratorium thimiama¹ precum Deo oblaturus intrasset, pueri magistri absentiam nacti, lusu cum predicta avicula indulgere ceperunt; et dum illam mutuo attractarent, ac alter ab altero illam sibi abripere conaretur, in manibus eorum extinguitur; capud a corpore avellitur. Quo facto lusus in luctum convertitur,² et plagas virgarum que puerorum gravissima tormenta esse solent, jamque sibi imminere ymaginantur. Inito³ tandem communi consilio, puero Kentegerno, qui se ab hujusmodi penitus circumciderat, hoc factum imponunt. Et antequam senex adventaret extinctam avem ei ostendunt, et a se projiciunt. Senex vero moleste tulit volucris interitum, comminatusque est in interfectorem illius districtius vindicandum. Exultabant ergo pueri estimantes se evasisse, et in Kentegernum intorsisse vindictam sibi debitam, et Servani minuisse gratiam amicitie erga illum hactenus habitam.

Quo comperto Kentegernus, puer purissimus, volucrem suscipiens in manibus, ac capud corpori applicans, crucis signaculum impressit; elevansque puras manus in oratione ad Dominum ait, "Domine Jesu Christe, in cujus manu est flatus omnis⁴ creature tue rationalis, et irrationalis, redde huic avicule vite spiraculum, ut glorificetur nomen tuum benedictum in secula."⁵ Hec sanctus orando dixit, et continuo avis revixit. Et non solum incolumis libero volatu auras petivit, verum etiam more solito seni revertenti de ecclesia applaudens, obviam prosiluit. Quo viso prodigio exultavit cor sancti senis in Domino, magnificavitque anima ejus puerum Domini in Domino, et Dominum, qui facit mirabilia magna solus, operantem in puero. Hoc itaque signo insigni insignivit Dominus, immo quodammodo presignavit Kentegernum suum, et primitiavit,⁶ quem postmodum plus mirandis multipliciter mirificavit.

[Cap. vi.]—*De igne per invidiam a sociis Sancti Kentegerni extincto, et flatu ejus celitus in ramusculo corili dato.*

CONSTITUTUM erat a Sancto Servano ut unusquisque puerorum, quos instituebat, et instruebat, per septimane circulum ad luminaria in ecclesia concinanda, dum opus Dei ibidem die vel nocte celebraretur, sollicitè deserviret; ac per hoc⁷ dormitum issent ignem⁸ diligenter subcineraret, ne aliqua negligentia, ob defectum luminis, divino obsequio eveniret. Accidit autem ut Sanctus⁹ Kentegernus huic ministerio in

¹ *On margin*, .i. incensum. ² B. M. vertitur.

⁴ B. M. totius.

⁷ B. M. *insertis* dum.

⁵ B. M. seculum.

⁸ B. M. *insertis* diligne.

³ *On margin*, .i. incepto.

⁶ B. M. pronunciavit.

⁹ B. M. *omits* Sanctus.

ordine vicis sue, deputaretur; et dum illud diligenter et decenter exequeretur, emuli ejus facibus invidie inflammati, immo obcecati, ut¹ proprium perversorum profectibus invidere meliorum, et² bonum quod in se non habent, vel habere nolunt, vel³ non valent, in aliis habentibus persequi, seu pervertere, aut minuere: quadam sollempni nocte totum ignem, infra monasterii habitacula, et vicina loca clanculo⁴ extinxerunt. Et quasi inscii et innoxii, lectulos suos repetierunt. Cumque circa gallicinium, de more ad vigiliis sacras, surrexissent Kentegernus, ut mos exigebat luminaria procurare deberet, quesivit ignem circumcirca, et non invenit.

Cognita tandem nequitia emulorum suorum, sedit animo⁵ dare locum invidie, et de monasterio cepit exire. Cumque ad sepem que habitationem illam ambiebat venissent in se reversus substitit; et ad sufferenda pericula in falsis fratribus, et tolerandam⁶ perversorum persecutionem animum armavit. Deinde conversus ad dominum, virescentis corili que secus sepem excreverat ramum extrahens, arripuit; et fide succensus patrem luminum exoravit, ut tenebras suas illuminaret novi luminis infusione, et novo modo pararet lucernam sibi⁷ per quam inimicos suos se persequentes salubri indueret confusione. Elevata postea pura manu crucis impressione ramum signavit, et in nomine sancte et individue trinitatis benedicens, in eum insufflavit. Mira res, atque preclara! Illico ignis celitus emissus ramum corripiens, acsi pro flatu flammam puer emisisset, ignivomos⁸ crines longius produxit, cunctasque circumjacentes tenebras effugavit, sicque in lumine illius videns lumen usque ad domum Dei ambulavit. Emisit ergo Deus lucem suam, et deduxit et adduxit eum in monasterium, montem⁹ sanctum suum, et in tabernacula sua. Sic et¹⁰ introivit ad altare Dei, qui letificavit juventutem suam tam lucido signo, et accendit luminaria ecclesie, ut opus divinum celebraret, et consummaretur tempore oportuno. Dominus ergo fuit illuminatio, et salus ejus, ne quempiam emulorum suorum ultra timeret, quia judicavit et discrevit causam suam de pueris illis erga eum iniquis, invidis et dolosis, ne ulterius malitia eorum adversus eum vigere valeret.

Obstupuerunt omnes, videntes visionem hanc magnam, quum facula illa ardebat absque sui detrimento, sicut quondam rubus qui apparuit Moysei comburi videbatur, sine sui incendio.

¹ B. M. *inserts* est.² B. M. *omits* et.³ B. M. *aut.*⁴ *On margin*, clanculo .i. clam oculis.⁵ B. M. *inserts* ejus.⁶ B. M. tolerandum.⁷ B. M. sibi lucernam.⁸ B. M. ignovimas.⁹ B. M. *inserts* videlicet.¹⁰ B. M. et sic.

Idem tamen atque unus Dominus utrumque operatus est signum in rubo et in corilo; quia isdem qui destinavit Moysen populo Ebreorum legislatorem, ut eos educeret de servitute Egiptiaca; ipse Kentegernum destinare dedignatus¹ est Christiane² legis predicatorem, pluribus populis nationum, ut eos eriperet de dominatione demoniaca. Extincta est denique³ facula illa, postquam accensa sunt ecclesie luminaria, et amplius ammirati sunt⁴ universi, cernentes hec Dei magnalia. Corilus etiam illa, de qua ramusculus scisus est, benedictionem a Sancto Kentegerno accepit, et⁵ postmodum in nemusculum silvescere cepit. Si vero de corileto illo, ut patriote dicunt, ramusculus etiam viridissimus assumptus fuerit, quasi aridissimum quid ad tactum ignis quodammodo lambentis, usque in hodiernum diem ignem suscipit, et modico flatu⁶ pulsatus per meritum Sancti igneam comam ex se spergit.⁷ Et merito miraculum huiusmodi continuare, immo perpetuare, promeruit, cui in virore vernantis etatis carnis jucunditas et si exterius viruit, interius viluit;⁸ et omnis mundi gloria tamquam flos feni penitus aruit eo quod spiritus Domini sufflavit in eo, et verbum Domini in eternum manens⁹ lucidissimam animam illius, et corpus incoinquinatum, illustrando sibi consecraverit, et in holocaustum mundissimum, in odorem suavitatis acceptum, flamma, sancti spiritus concremaverit.

[Cap. vii.]—*De coco resuscitato a mortuis precibus Sancti Kentegerni.*

HABEBAT Sanctus Servanus quemdam coquine officio deputatum, sibi et¹⁰ suis pernecessarium, eo quod in tali officio peritus esset, et expeditus; et sollicite satageret circa hoc frequens ministerium. Contigit ut accerima infirmitate tactus, lecto decumberet; et languore ingravescente et invalescente, vitalem flatum exhalaret.¹¹ De cujus morte tristitia implevit cor senis. Omnisque turba discipulorum ejus, totaque familia, lamentabantur super eo, quia non facile aliquis similis illi inveniebatur in tali ministerio. Nature munus persolventes originariam particulam in ventre¹² omnium tradiderunt; nec minimum de decessu ejus dampnum¹³ sustinuerunt. Postera die sepulture ejus, accesserunt omnes discipuli, et famuli, ad

¹ B. M. dignatus.

² B. M. fuerunt.

³ B. M. spargit.

⁴ B. M. in.

⁵ B. M. inserto matris.

⁶ B. M. Christi.

⁷ B. M. que.

⁸ B. M. valuit.

⁹ On margin, exhalare .i. expirare mori.

¹⁰ B. M. miramum dampnum de decessu ejus.

¹¹ B. M. inserto celitus.

¹² B. M. afflatu.

¹³ B. M. manentis.

beatum Servanum, tam benevoli quam emuli, obnixè deprecantes ut suum Munhu¹ prece compelleret, et in virtute obedientie compelleret, quatinus a mortuis cocum suum resuscitare conaretur.² Emuli enim asserebant magos in Egypto prestigiis³ suis de celo signa ostendisse et teste Johanne in Apocalypsi, discipulos antichristi ignem de celo missuros fore, et multos maleficos in oculis omnium que miranda apparerent maleficiis exercuisse,⁴ nullum vero hominum aliquem veraciter defunctum, nisi perfectus sanctitate fuerit,⁵ posse a morte ad vitales auras reducere.

Persistebant oportune, importune, verbis persuasoriis instigantes, ut sanctitatem ejus tali opere experiri attemptaret; meritumque ejus per⁶ secula predicandum, si ad vitam mortuum ac sepultum revocaret. Sanctus senex primo hesitans ne tam insolitum opus juveni injungere presumeret, sed tandem importunitate inprobitatis illorum devictus et constrictus, adolescentem Domini blandis sermonibus ac⁷ precibus, super tali opere convenit; sed renitentem⁸ et hoc non esse sui meriti affirmantem invenit. Tunc Sanctus Servanus illum per sanctum et terribile⁹ nomen Domini adjuravit, ut si quid possit in hac re saltem attemptaret, et hoc in vi sancte obedientie imperavit. Adolescens autem adjurationem illam extimescens, existimansque obedientiam omnibus victimis meliorem, et Deo acceptiorem, ad tumulum ubi pridie cocus sepultus fuerat ivit, et humum qua operiebatur erui et ejici fecit. Solus ergo solotenus fusus, et lacrimis ubertim profusis, faciem perfusus, "Domine," inquit, "Jhesu Christe! vita et resurrectio tuorum in te fideliter credentium; qui mortificas, et vivificas; deducis ad inferos, et reducis; cui vita et mors famulantur; qui suscitasti Lazarum quadriduanum, resuscita hunc mortuum, ut glorificetur nomen sanctum tuum super omnia in secula benedictum."

Res nimium stupenda! Dum Sanctus Kentegernus preces profluas profunderet, prostratus in pulvere defunctus, continuo revixit a funere; et prodiit, institis¹⁰ tamen involutus, a sepulcrali lare. Qui plane cum surgente ab oratione a morte resurrexit, et cum eo incolumis et alacer turba copiosa comitante, prius ad ecclesiam Deo gratias acturus, deinde jussu Kentegerni ad consuetum coquine officium, cunctis miraculo applaud-

¹ B. M. Munghu snup.

² B. M. temptaret.

³ *On margin*, prestigium est genus magice artis sive fraus.

⁴ B. M. grecoisae.

⁵ B. M. fuerit perfectus sanotitate.

⁶ B. M. in.

⁷ B. M. omits sermonibus ac.

⁸ B. M. retinentem.

⁹ B. M. intribile.

¹⁰ *On margin*, institia .i. vinculum pedum.

entibus, et Deum laudantibus, perrexit. Resuscitatus vero reproborum supplicia, et justorum gaudia, que vidit, postmodum enarravit; et¹ multos de malo ad bonum convertit, multosque ut de bono in melius proficere satagerent in sancto proposito consolidavit. Sciscitatus vero² a pluribus taliter modum denudavit resuscitationis ejus. Asserebat se rebus humanis indicibili dolore exemptum, et ante tribunal tremendi judicis adductum, ibique vidisse plures accepta sententia in tartara precipitari; alios ad loca purgatoria destinari; quosdam ad celestia gaudia trans ethera elevari. Cumque sententiam suam tremulus expectasset, se esse illum pro quo dilectus Domini Kentegernus oraret, audivit: et a lucifugo uno³ ad corpus reduci, vite et sospitati pristine restitui, jubetur: atque ut correctiori vite et⁴ deinceps invigilaret, ab eodem ductore suo sedulo commonetur. Isdem vero cocus, sacram religionem habitu et actu preferens,⁵ et profitens, et perficiens de virtute in virtutem, supervixit⁶ septennio, sicque in fata concessit inclusus nobili sarcophago. Exaratum est etiam in ejus tumbe operculo, qualiter resuscitatus fuerat a Sancto Kentegerno, ut usque in seculum a cunctis videntibus, vel visuris, glorificetur mirabilis Deus⁷ in sancto suo.

[Cap. viii.]—Qualiter Sanctus Kentegernus a Sancto Serbano clam discesserit,⁸ et quale miraculum in ejus discessu factum fuerat.⁹

CUM sanctitas Sancti Kentegerni, signis tam insignibus crebrescentibus, claresceret; et virtutum suarum aromata longe lateque odorem vite diffunderent; emuli ejus ex vivificis odoramentis hauserunt sibi odorem mortis: et sancta opinio, que multis ad sancte conversandum prebebat, incentivum¹⁰ illis erat erga Sanctum Dei majoris odii seminarium. Intellexit puer prudens in Domino erga se completam esse eorum malitiam, nec posse quiescere in inquietis cordibus inveteratam, invisceratam, et immedullatam invidiam. Nec tutum arbitrabatur sepius sopire juxta¹¹ serpentium venenatam turbam, ne forte interioris suavitatis sentiret jacturam. Perpendit etiam popularis favoris auram, serenius et suavius sibi aspirantem, et undique Euge! Euge! acclamantem. Deliberavit proinde loco

¹ B. M. omits et.² B. M. autem.³ B. M. sellutifugo viro.⁴ B. M. omits et.⁵ B. M. perferens.⁶ B. M. supervixerat.⁷ B. M. omits Deus.⁸ B. M. discessit.⁹ B. M. fuerit.¹⁰ On margin, incentivum .i. suggestio desiderium. B. M. incientium.¹¹ B. M. secus.

cedere, ut posset conventum malignantium, et sibi invidentium humiliter declinare, et cenodoxiam¹ prudenter evitare. Consuluit super hoc, orationis intentissime instantia, magni consilii angelum, ut spiritus ejus bonus deduceret eum in viam rectam; ne forte in vacuum curreret, aut cucurrisset. Inclinavit ergo Dominus aurem suam ad preces servuli² sui, revelans ei per spiritum sanctum hoc, quod animo sederat, gratum fore in oculis Domini.

Recessit ergo³ clam a loco, habens Deum itineris ductorem et protectorem in omni loco. Arripiens iter ad Frisicum litus pervenit, ubi fluvius Mallena⁴ vocabulo, alveum⁵ suum, ex reumate⁶ maris influente, excedens, omnem transseundi spem ademit. Sed pius Dominus et potens, qui divisit mare rubrum in divisiones, et eduxit Israel per medium ejus siccis pedibus, gradientem⁶ sub Moyse: et iterum Jordanis perpetem⁷ meatum in proprium fontem retorsit, ut filii Israel sicco vestigio transirent, in terram repromissionis sub Josue; et ejusdem Jordanis flumen divisit, ad precem Helie et Helisei discipuli ejus, ut pertranssirent siccis gressibus: ipse nunc in eadem manu potenti et brachio excelso divisit Mallenam fluvium, ut per aridam transsiret dilectus Deo et hominibus Kentegernus. Miro satis modo maris reumate refluyente, et, ut ita dicam, obstupescente, erant aque tam maris, quam fluminis, quasi muri a dextris et a sinistris ejus. Deinde brachiolum marinum per pontem, qui ab incolis Pons Servani vocatur, pertranssiens, reductis oculis ad ripam vidit aquas, que in quandam congeriem antea steterunt, refluxu impetu alveum Mallene implere; pontem etiam prenommatum superfleuere, et cuilibet transsitum omnino negare.

Et ecce Sanctus Servanus seniles artus baculo regente, fugientem secutus⁸ supra ripam stetit, manu⁹ innuit, clamans et ejulans dixit; "Heu mi fili karissime! lumen oculorum meorum! baculus senectutis mee! quare me deseris? Cur me derelinquis? Cogita queso dies preteritos, et annos transactos in mente habe, quomodo te¹⁰ materno profusum utero suscepi; enutrivisti; edocui; educavi; usque in hanc horam. Et noli despicere, nec derelinquere canos meos; sed revertere, ut in proximo claudas oculos meos." His verbis senis Kentegernus motus, et in lacrimis resolutus, respondit. "Vides, pater, divinum esse quod agitur; nec debemus aut valemus consilium

¹ *On margin*, cenodoxia .i. vanagloria.

² B. M. igitur.

³ *On margin*, reuma est tempestas a maris inundacio.

⁴ *On margin*, perpes .i. perpetus. B. M. perpetum.

⁵ B. M. manum.

⁶ B. M. servi.

⁷ *On margin*, alveus est venter fluviorum.

⁸ B. M. gradientis.

⁹ B. M. secus.

¹⁰ B. M. inserto ex.

Altissimi immutare, aut voluntati ejus non obtemperare. Insuper mare istud, quasi quoddam chaos¹ inter nos firmatum est; ut si vellem ad vos transire non possem, neque vos inde huc ad me transmeare. Rogo ergo te, habe me excusatum." Tunc senex, "Rogo," inquit, "te ut prece tua, sicut paulo ante fecisti, resolides² liquidum, dividas salum,³ denudes solum, ut saltem solus pertranssiens ad te perveniam per⁴ siccum. Libenti animo efficiar de patre tibi filius, de doctore discipulus, de nutritore alumnus; ut usque ad vesperum dierum meorum sim tibi comes individuus." Tunc iterum Kentegernus, multo fletu madefactus, ait: "Regredere queso, pater mi, ad tuos, ut in tua sancta presentia sacra doctrina instruantur, tuo exemplo instituantur, tua disciplina corrigantur. Retributor omnium retribuat tibi, pro universis beneficiis que mihi exhibuisti. Et quum bonum certamen certasti, cursum jam jamque consummasti, fidem vivam et fructuosam servasti, superest tibi corona justicie, quam tibi in proximo reddet justus iudex. Ego autem in opus ministerii destinatus, pergam ad quod me misit, qui me segregavit ex utero matris mee, et vocavit per gratiam suam."

Hiis dictis, et mutuo benedictione percepta, divisi sunt⁵ ab alterutrum: nec deinceps in hoc seculo mutuum exhibuere conspectum. Servanus domum⁶ regressus, in senectute bona expectabat diem vocationis sue. Sicque inveteratus dierum bonorum appositus ad patres sanctos, requievit in Domino, et tanquam bonus operarius in vinea, ad vesperum denarium eterne remunerationis accepit a Domino. Qui profecto qualis et quantus vir iste fuerit, et quantis miraculis⁷ claruerit, libellus de ipsius vita conscriptus luculentius legentibus ostendere poterit. Locus autem ille per quem transsivit Sanctus Kentegernus in posterum prorsus intransmeabilis fuit. Nam ille pons, aquis maris semper deinceps contactus, nulli ulterius transseundi facultatem prebuit. Mallena etiam cursus sui impetum a loco proprio permutavit; et ab illa die usque inpresens in Ledonis fluvii alveum retorsit. Sic profecto fluvii qui eo usque tunc⁸ ab invicem erant divisi, effecti sunt⁹ commixti atque conuniti.

¹ On margin, chaos .i. profunditas foeta confusa caligo.

² On margin, resolido .i. iterum solido.

³ On margin, salum .i. mare.

⁴ B. M. fuerunt.

⁵ B. M. namque domi.

⁶ B. M. omits per.

⁷ B. M. virtutibus.

⁸ B. M. tunc eo usque.

⁹ B. M. fuerunt.

[Cap. ix.]—*De egro qui desiderabat, et orando petiit, ac impetravit a Domino, ut ante mortem Sanctum Kentegernum videret; et coram illo mortem gustaret, et per illius providentiam sepulturam perciperet.*

RUIT quidam vir vite venerabilis, Fregus nomine, multa et diutina¹ excoctus egritudine. Degebat iste in villa cui vocabulum est Kernach, lecto doloris detentus: fide fortis: conversatione sancta sanus: celo intentus. Iste vir justus et timoratus austro perflante hortum suum ut fluerent aromata illius aure, et corde suavitatem sanctitatis ex optima opinione Sancti Kentegerni emanantem sensit. Unde et in illum estuanti desiderio, et animus et oculus ejus sitiivit ut sancti² Symeonis desiderium renovatum, iterato putaretur, quod erga Dominum videndum habuit. Symeon namque hanelo³ spiritu salutare Dei, Christum Domini carne vestitum, carneis oculis videre concupivit. Fregus ut videret famulum Christi Domini Kentegernum, fide fixa, indefessis desideriis, crebris precibus, a Domino petivit. Utriusque desiderium Christus exaudivit, et, preparationem⁴ cordis eorum auri Dei audiens, adimplevit. Symeonis desiderium et gaudium, die qua Christus in templo presentabatur, in salutem sui impletum est. Fregus Kentegernum, eadem die qua a Sancto Servano discessit, in consolationem sui vidit, et gavisus est. Responsum enim Fregus accepit⁵ a Spiritu Sancto, non visurum se mortem, nisi prius⁶ videret Kentegernum Nazareum Domini. Et cum ad habitaculum sancti egroti Kentegernus venisset, et pulsasset ad januam, eger intus divino edoctus oraculo clamavit, dicens, "Aperite portas, quia nobiscum Deus. Adest mee salutis nuntius, a Deo mihi promissus, a me diu expectatus, hodie exhibitus." Et cum vidisset eum exultavit in spiritu, et gratias agens benedixit Deum; et dixit,⁷ "Nunc dimittis, Domine, servum tuum, secundum verbum tuum, in pace, quia viderunt oculi mei consolationem tuam, quam preparasti ante faciem plurium populorum, lumen ad revelationem veri luminis quod illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, et gloriam vite eterne declarandam plebibus istarum et multarum nationum." Et conversus ad eum, iterum dixit, "Dispone domui mee, et vite mee hodie, et cras sepulture, prout placuerit providentie tue, Deo inspirante." Deinde, commonente Sancto

¹ B. M. divina.

² On margin, hanelus .i. anxius.

³ B. M. accepit Fregus.

⁴ B. M. omits prius.

⁵ B. M. insertis senis.

⁶ B. M. preparatione.

⁷ B. M. ait.

Kentegerno, quicquid terrene substantie possedit, dispersit, dedit pauperibus, et¹ pura confessione facta oleo remissionis est inunctus, et vivifici² Dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentis munitus, in manus Domini spiritum suum commendavit, oculis ac manibus in celum intentus inter verba orationis expiravit. In crastino Kentegernus ad plaustrum novum duos tauros indomitos junxit, super quod corpus exanime posuit; et oratione facta in nomine Domini brutis animalibus precepit, ut asportarent onus impositum, ad locum quem ei Deus providit. Tauri vero minime recalcitrantes, nec in aliquo voci Sancti Kentegerni resistentes, sine aliquo offendiculo vel lapsu, nullo previo³ usque ad Cathures, que nunc Glasgu vocatur, itinere recto, Kentegerno cum pluribus se commitantibus sequente pergebant; ibique juxta cimiterium quoddam a Sancto Niniano quondam consecratum, cum sacre glebe⁴ sarcina superinposita, pulcro satis spectaculo, cum omni mansuetudine subsistebant. Ille nimirum non minori miraculo, nec modo dissimili, vel potentia dispari, hanc redam regens, et minans ad locum prenominatum dirigebat, qui quondam archam federis ab Allophilis⁵ captam, Dagon obruto, et obtruncato, plastro novo impositam, vaccis fetis, que nunquam jugum traxerant, subjugatis, ab Accaron usque Bethsames perducebat. Sanctus igitur⁶ sanctum corpus ibidem de plastro deposuit, et celebratis exequiis in illo cimiterio sepulture tradidit, in quo nondum quisquam positus fuit. Hec fuit in illo loco⁷ prima sepultura, in quo postmodum corpora multa in pace sunt⁸ sepulta. Plurima reverentia sepulcro viri Dei impendebatur; nec impune ab aliquo ausu temerario conculcari aut pertranssiri presumebatur. Unde et infra anni evoluti circulum plures gravi infortunio multi etiam morte multabantur, qui⁹ conculcare aut revereri aspernabantur. Illud bustum usque in presens robore¹⁰ obumbrantium arborum cingitur delectabili densitate, in indicium sanctitatis sepulti¹¹ et reverentie.

¹ B. M. que.² B. M. vivificia.³ B. M. pervio.⁴ B. M. glebis.⁵ *On moryin*, allophalus i. alienagena.⁶ B. M. itaque.⁷ B. M. loco illo.⁸ B. M. fuerunt.⁹ B. M. inserta illud.¹⁰ B. M. omnis robore.¹¹ B. M. inserta et robore.

[Cap. x.]—*De duobus fratribus, quorum unus divino judicio interiiit, alter cum tota genealogia sua¹ in multas generationes a Deo benedici promeruit.*

VIRO Dei Frego funerato, Sanctus Kentegernus cum duobus fratribus, qui ante ejus adventum in eodem loco habitabant, sicut et ei per revelationem a Domino injunctum est ibidem degebat, et in multa sanctitate vitam suam componens, virtutibus magnis ad perfectionem proficiebat. Vocabatur unus eorum cum quibus commorabatur Telleyr alter Anguen. Sed Anguen sanctum Dei, tamquam angelum¹ Domini suscipiebat, et ex benignissimo cordis affectu diligebat, et cum omni reverentia et veneratione illius obsecundabat² imperiis, ipsius etiam semetipsum mancipabat obsequiis. Sed non frustra. Nam servus Domini benedixit ei in nomine Domini. Qua sane benedictione dulcedinis proventus non solum ipse, sed tota pene posteritas ejus, accepit benedictionem a Domino, et misericordiam a Deo Salutari nostro, illamque possidere videbatur quasi jure hereditario. Magnificavit enim eos³ in conspectu regum, fecitque eis nomen magnum, juxta nomen magnorum qui fuerunt in terra illa; ut tam opulentia rerum, quam Christiane religionis cultura, crescerent et dilatarentur, ut merito diceretur de illis,⁴ isti sunt semen cui benedixit Dominus,⁵ precibus servi sui Kentegerni.

Alter autem, vocabulo Telleyr, valde molestus erat ei, clam religioni ejus detrahens, omnes actus ejus depravans, multociens ei palam in faciem resistens, contumeliis et injuriis illum afficiens: bona ejus aut minuendo, aut pervertendo, sinistra interpretatione omnia obnubilabat. At servus Dei qui usu diutino didicerat, cum beato Job, frater esse draconum, et socius⁶ strutionum;⁷ et cum scorpionibus,⁸ instar Ezechielis, habitare; in patientia possidebat animam suam, et cum odiente pacem erat pacificus. Et cum loqueretur ei que ad pacem sunt, impugnabat tamen eum Telleyr gratis, utpote perversus et ingratus. Sed Deus ultionum dominus, patiens redditor, non est ultra passus inultam iri injuriam illatam famulo suo. Quadam namque die, post multa convitia quibus animam justus⁹ exacerbaverat, exhibat ad opus suum. Et quia robustus erat viribus, inposuit humeris suis,⁹ lignum magni ponderis mensus-

¹ B. M. *inserts* usque.

² *On margin*, obsecundo—as .i. obedire obtemperare ex ob et secundo.

³ B. M. nam eos Dominus.

⁴ B. M. de illis diceretur.

⁵ B. M. *inserts* meritis et.

⁶ B. M. accrus.

⁷ *On margin*, strucio .i. avis anglice ostriche.

⁸ B. M. justa.

⁹ B. M. *omits* suia.

ram virium suarum excedens, elatus et triumphalem sibi titulum¹ aquisisse ratus, si² in omnibus portandis asinos superasset. Et cum paululum processisset offendens ad lapidem pedem suum corruit, sicque onere depressus expiravit; expertus quod Salomon ait, "Ve soli, quia si³ ceciderit non habet sublevantem." Et iterum, semel corruit qui semper male agit.

Kentegernus agnoscens quia⁴ adversarius ejus occubuit, gravibus lamentis se afflixit, et sepulturam ei procuravit; imitans in hoc facto sanctum David pium Ebreorum, qui super persecutoris sui Saulis interitu luxit, et planctu magno planxit. Sed quia teste Salomone, stulto pereunte sapiens astutior erit, evidens satis documentum habemus in casu hujus hominis, et⁵ servos et amicos Dei offendere caveamus, nec eis molestiam aut gravamen, vel injuriam, inferre audeamus. Templum enim Dei sunt electi, et Spiritus Sanctus habitat in eis. Tanto ergo magis ipsis deferendum, et a lesione eorum abstinendum est, quanto inhabitator eorum ad vindicandum eorum injurias potentissimus, et ad faciendum justiciam injuriam patientibus equibris est.

[Cap. xi.]—*De electione Sancti Kentegerni et consecratione ejus in episcopum.*⁶

DUMQUE⁷ Sanctus Kentegernus, in loco supramemorato degens multorum karismatum affluentia exuberaret,⁸ placuit ei qui eum segregavit ex utero matris sue, ne ulterius sub modio lateret, sed positus potius⁹ super candelabrum educendo quasi lumen justiciam suam, et judicium suum tamquam meridiem, omnibus qui in domo Dei sunt lucere¹⁰ deberet. Instinctu ergo divino Rex et clerus regionis Cambrensis cum ceteris Christianis, licet perpauci essent, in unum convenerunt; et de statu ecclesie reparando, que jam pene deleta fuerat tractantes, unanimi consensu accedentes ad Sanctum Kentegernum, ipsum in pastorem et episcopum animarum suarum, licet plurimum renitentem, et plura objicientem, elegerunt. Objiciebat namque electioni eorum non ydoneam¹¹ esse¹² adolescentiam; at illi perorabant morum in eo canitiem, et sapientie ac scientie affluentiam. Ille causabatur se non posse pati¹³ equanimiter

¹ B. M. titulum sibi.

² B. M. se.

³ B. M. omits si.

⁴ B. M. quod.

⁶ B. M. ut.

⁶ B. M. in episcopum et consecratione ejus.

⁷ B. M. cumque.

⁸ B. M. exuberet.

⁹ B. M. potius positus.

¹⁰ B. M. lucem.

¹¹ B. M. idoneam.

¹² B. M. inserte suam.

¹³ B. M. omits pati,

interne quietis, et sancte contemplationis diminutionem. Illi econtra¹ allegabant interpolandum esse salubriter sabbatum speculative vite, ob multarum animarum salvationem. Postremo se huic honori, immo oneri, insufficientem judicabat: illorum omnium vox sufficientiam suam a Deo esse multis signorum, et virtutum indicis, propalatam conclamabat. Imprecantes ergo ei prospera, et in nomine sancte Trinitatis benedicentes, et spiritui sancto glorificatori,² distributori omnium graduum, et officiorum ac dignitatum in ecclesia, committentes illum intronizaverunt; accitoque uno episcopo de Ybernia, more Britonum et Scottorum tunc temporis, in pontificem consecrari fecerunt. Mos inolevit in Britannia, in consecratione pontificum, tantummodo³ capita eorum sacri crismatis infusione perungere, cum invocatione Spiritus Sancti,⁴ et benedictione, et manus impositione; quem ritum dicebant desipientes se suscepisse divine legis institutione, et Apostolorum traditione. Sacri vero canones sanciant,⁵ ut nullus episcopus consecratur, absque tribus ad minus episcopis; uno videlicet consecratore, qui sacramentales benedictiones, et orationes ad singula insignia pontificalia dicat supra sacrandum;⁶ et duo alii cum eo manus imponant; testes existant; textum evangelorum cervici illius impositum⁷ teneant. Sed licet consecratio Britonibus assueta, sacris canonibus minus consona videatur, non tamen vim aut effectum divini misterii, aut episcopalis ministerii amittere comprobatur. Sed quia insulani, quasi extra orbem positi, emergentibus paganorum infestationibus canonum erant ignari, ecclesiastica censura ipsis condescendens excusationem illorum in hac parte admittit. Sed temporibus istis hujusmodi ritum ab aliquo, absque gravi animadversione, nullatenus⁸ presumi permittit. Sanctus vero Kentegernus, quamquam hoc modo consecratus fuerit, correctioni omnimode hujus ritus de qua postmodum dicemus, satisfecit. Cathedrali sedem suam in villa dicta Glesgu,⁹ quod interpretatur Cara Familia, que nunc vocatur Glasgu,¹⁰ constituit. Ubi¹¹ et plurima¹² servorum Dei continentium, et secundum formam primitive ecclesie sub Apostolis, sine proprietate, in disciplina sancta, et divino obsequio viventium, caram et claram¹³ Deo familiam adunavit.

Diocesis vero Episcopatus illius secundum limites Cambrensis

¹ B. M. equa.

² B. M. sanctificatori.

³ B. M. tam modo.

⁴ B. M. sancti spiritus.

⁵ B. M. sanctificant.

⁶ B. M. super sacrandum dicat.

⁷ B. M. impositam.

⁸ B. M. ullatenus.

⁹ B. M. Deschu.

¹⁰ B. M. Glaschu.

¹¹ B. M. omits ubi.

¹² B. M. plurimam.

¹³ B. M. claram et caram.

regni extendebatur. Quod itaque¹ regnum, sicut vallum quondam a Severo Principe, a mari usque ad mare: postmodum auxilio et consilio legionis Romanorum, ob arcendam irruptionem Pictorum, in eodem loco murus habens in latitudine viii^{to}² pedes, in altitudine xii^{am}³ pedes construebatur:⁴ usque ad flumen Fordense pertingit; et Scociam ab Anglia disterminando dividit. Hec autem regio Cambrina,⁵ cui jam Kentegernus episcopali prefuit honore,⁶ quondam tempore Eleutherii Pape, principante rege Lucio, sicut et tota Britannia, fidem Christianam susceperat; sed paganis diversis temporibus insulam infestantibus,⁷ et in ea dominantibus, insulani susceptam fidem in apostasiam lapsi abjecerant. Multi etiam salutari nondum erant abluti lavacro. Multi multiplicis heresis maculati contagio. Multi nomine tenus Christiani vitiorum volutabro obvoluti multiphario: perplures imperitorum⁸ et legem Dei ignorantium edocti magisterio. Et omnes ideo⁹ provinciales boni Pastoris consilio egebant, et boni rectoris remedio. Deus ergo omnium bonorum dispositor et dispensator providit,¹⁰ preposuit, proposuit Sanctum Kentegernum, morbis omnibus universorum in medellam, et vitalem alimoniam, et exemplum.

[Cap. xii.]—*Quomodo Sanctus Kentegernus in episcopatu, bibendo, et docendo, se habuit;*¹¹ *vel palam, vel*¹² *privatim, se exhibuerit.*

BEATUS Kentegernus regimine potitus, sicut ceteris preminebat dignitate, ita cunctis satagebat precellere sanctitate. Et sicut sublimior gradu, sic ceteris excellentior apparere studuit, sanctorum virtutum morumque profectu. Indignum enim arbitrabatur humi repere, ac¹³ jacere in imo, qui supra montem ascendere, ut evangelizaret Syon, divino perstringebatur precepto. Et vere indecens est abjecte vivere, qui ex officio cogitur alta annunciare; et ideo sanctus Dei ampliorem solito humilitatem, et austeritatem, in victu, et vestitu, in vigiliis, et lectisterniis, et mortificatione sui corporis, post acceptum episcopalem gradum semper studuit exercere. Et ut breviter totam vitam ejus depingam, a tempore ordinationis sue, que ei evenit vicesimo quinto anno etatis sue, usque ad ultimum terminum vite que scilicet per centum et sexaginta annorum

¹ B. M. utique.² B. M. octo.³ B. M. duodecim.⁴ B. M. *inerte* et.⁵ B. M. Cambria.⁶ B. M. honore prefuit.⁷ B. M. infestantibus.⁸ B. M. impiorum.⁹ B. M. ideo omnes.¹⁰ B. M. providet.¹¹ B. M. habuerit.¹² B. M. et.¹³ B. M. aut.

spatium¹ durabat, post triduum, ac multociens quadriduum, jejunium solvens, vilibus et levissimis cibis, pane videlicet, et lacte, vel caseo, aut butiro, et pulmento, corpus potius refocillabat gustando, quam reficiebat; ne animal penitus deficeret in via mortalitatis hujus: inimo² ut competentius dicam diutine³ crucis cruciatu membra sua super terram mortificans, semetipsum hostiam vivam Deo placentem in odorem suavitatis mac-tando offerret. A carne enim,⁴ et sanguine; vino, et omni quod inebriare potuit, tamquam unus, immo precipuus, de Nazareis, omnino abstinuit. Se vero aliquando contingebat ut in itinere esset, vel cum Rege prandens, a consueto rigore abstinendo⁵ se temperaret. Postmodum ad sua reversus illud, quasi grave crimen in se vindicans, abstinentiam amplificabat.

[Cap. xiii.]—*De modo vestitus Sancti Bentegerni.*

UTEBATUR⁶ ad nudum asperimo cilicio; deinde melote ex pellibus caprinis confecto; deinde cuculla stricta quasi piscatoria. Super quam alba candida contextus, stolam cervici semper⁷ impositam⁸ gestabat. Et virgam pastorem⁹ non spericam¹⁰ etiam auratam ac gemmatam, sicut nunc temporis est cernere; sed de simplici ligno, tantum reflexam. Habens¹¹ in manu librum manuales, semper paratus ad ministerium suum exercendum, ubi necessitas vel ratio exposcebat. Sicque candore vestis candidatum interioris hominis exprimebat, et vanam gloriam evitabat.

[Cap. xiv.]—*De lectisternio Sancti Bentegerni; et vigiliis, et balneo¹² in aquis frigidis.*

DE lecto ejus quod dicam? Hesito utrum lectum nominem, an sepulcrum. Jacebat in saxo,¹³ instar monumenti cavato; habens capiti¹⁴ lapidem, loco cervicalis suppositum, velud alter Jacob. Optimus sane luctator contra carnem, contra mundum, contra diabolum. Injectis aliquantis cineribus, cilicio sub-tracto, potius sompnum hauriendo quam carpendo, se a sopore excuciebat. Et ut luculencius exprimam, quadam sompni delibati similitudine, Christo semetipsum consepelebat. Hausto

¹ B. M. omits spatium.

⁴ B. M. autem.

⁷ B. M. omits semper.

⁹ B. M. pastorem virgam.

¹¹ B. M. habebat.

² B. M. immo.

⁵ B. M. abstinentie.

⁸ B. M. inserts jugiter.

¹⁰ On margin, spericus—ca. i. rotundus.

¹³ B. M. inserts ejus.

¹⁴ B. M. captu.

³ B. M. divine.

⁶ B. M. Tegebatur.

¹⁵ B. M. inserts ad.

denique modice quietis sopore consurgebat in nocte, in principio vigiliarum suarum, et effundebat sicut aquam cor suum ante conspectum Domini Dei sui. Sicque in psalmis, et hymnis, et¹ canticis spiritualibus, celebrans excubias Domini, exultabat Domino, jubilabat Deo Salutari nostro, usque ad secundum gallicinium. Tunc acriori certamine contra draconem illum magnum, et malignum, qui juxta prophetam cubat in medio fluminum² suorum, conflictum iniens, expoliare se vestimentis suis solebat et nudus,³ nudum Christum sequens, nudum et⁴ exertum⁵ se reddens, aquis vehementibus et⁶ frigidis se immergebat. Tunc plane quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita anima ejus desiderabat,⁷ ad Deum fontem vivum; ibique in frigore⁸ et nuditate oculis ac manibus celo infixus, corde⁹ et ore devoto, totum ex integro decantabat psalterium. Dehinc effectus unus ex grege tonsarum que ascendere de lavacro usque ad montem Galaad, ex aquis emergens velud columba lacte lota, immo velud Nazareus candidior nive, nitidior lacte, rubicundior ebore¹⁰ antiquo, saphiro pulcrior, super lapidem in supercilio montis vocabulo Gulath, juxta fluenta, prope casam suam, membra sua exsiccans sedebat. Sicque siccato corpore vestimenta resumens, quasi diluculo preparans¹¹ egressum suum, copiam sui suis exhibebat. Hujus consuetudinem lavacri non coruscantis fulguris ignis, grando, nix spiritus procellarum, ei defraudabant; nisi¹² iter inevitabile arreptum, aut egritudo gravissima prohiberent.¹³ Sed et tunc aliquo alio divino et¹⁴ spirituali exercitio illud opus redimebat. Ex diutino ergo usu hujus salutaris lavacri, quasi Jordanis novi, restituta est caro ejus quasi caro pueri parvuli; quia lex peccati que in membris pudendis militat, ita in ipso debilitata est, et ignis libidinis emortuus, et¹⁵ extinctus, ut nulla carnis prurientis putredo in vigilando, vel etiam dormiendo, lilium sui nivei pudoris pollueret, vel decoloraret.¹⁶ Nec¹⁷ etiam simplicem motum in se seivire, vel¹⁸ vigere sentiret. Cooperante namque gratia Christi in cujusdam puerilis¹⁹ puritatis innocentiam, sopitis stimulis caro ejus effloruit. Et imo²⁰ justus iste, sicut inmarcescibile lilium, ante Dominum germinavit. Unde etiam quadam vice discipulis suis simpliciter profitebatur, quod non magis

¹ B. M. que.⁴ B. M. que.⁶ B. M. que.⁹ B. M. *inserta* que.¹² B. M. ubi.¹⁵ B. M. que.¹⁸ B. M. aut etiam.² B. M. fluvium.⁵ *On margin*, exertus .i. manifestus nudus.⁷ B. M. *inserta* et sitivit.¹⁰ B. M. elore.¹³ B. M. prohibent.¹⁶ B. M. decoloraret.¹⁹ B. M. puriliter.³ B. M. suis sabba.⁸ B. M. *inserta* que.¹¹ B. M. preparatis.¹⁴ B. M. *omits* divino et.¹⁷ B. M. non.²⁰ B. M. ideo.

ad speciosissime puelle visum, aut tactum, quam ad durissimi scilicis, stimularetur.

[Cap. x.]—*Quali modo loquendi vir Dei uti consuevit.*¹

IN loquendo autem potens erat cohibere spiritum suum, et² doctus ponere custodiam ori suo, et³ hostium circumstantie labiis suis, ut disponderet in iudicio sermones suos. Nec facile caderet aliquis sermonum ejus super terram, aut verbum emissum volaret, inventum et⁴ ad se rediret in vacuum. Loquebatur ergo in pondere, numero, et⁵ mensura, ubi occasio necessaria se ingerebat. Sermo enim ejus sale conditus, omni etati, omnique sexui, congruebat. Mel enim et lac sub lingua ejus et vino spirituali repleta erat apotheca ejus, et imo⁶ lac parvulus in Christo, mel provectior, vinum perfectus, in salutem sibi hauriebat ex ore ejus. In judicando, aut redarguendo, seu corripiendo, penes se pondus et pondus⁷ non habebat, nec accipiebat personam hominis, sed causam attendebat; et⁸ secundum nomen⁹ culpe, pro tempore et loco, mensuram ecclesiastice discipline cum summa discretione extendebat. Ceterum plus predicabat Sanctus iste silendo, quam multi doctores aut rectores clamando. Quia aspectus ejus, vultus, habitus, incessus, et tocius corporis gestus, disciplinam profitebantur, et interioris hominis, que¹⁰ intrinsecus latebat, puritatem certis indiciis foris irumpentibus¹¹ ad liquidum interpretabantur. De munificentia ejus que se totam elemosinis, et¹² misericordie operibus, dederat, superfluum est calamo quippiam mandare. Cum omnis substantia, quam ei divina largitas contulerat, commune pauperum erarium erat.

[Cap. xvi.]—*Quanta illustrari meruit gratia, dum sacra missarum celebraret misteria.*

SED licet in prefatis, et similibus sanctis exercitiis, se hominem, aut aliquando supra hominem, se exhibebat; in sacris tamen misse misteriis celebrandis, quodammodo hominem, exuens, ac terrenis se subducens, divinum quiddam¹³ supra hominem totum agebat. Dum enim elevatis¹⁴ in modum crucis manibus sursum corda diceret, ad quod ceteros ammonuit,

¹ B. M. vir uti consuevit Dei.

⁴ B. M. que.

⁷ B. M. omits et pondus.

¹⁰ B. M. qui.

¹³ B. M. quoddam.

² B. M. omits et.

⁵ B. M. que.

⁸ B. M. que.

¹¹ B. M. erumpentibus.

¹⁴ B. M. elevatis enim.

³ B. M. que.

⁶ B. M. que ideo.

⁹ B. M. modum.

¹² B. M. que.

suum habebat ad Dominum. Ita ex thuribulo illo aureo sui purissimi cordis, vivis virtutum et ignitis divina dilectione carbonibus repleto, sicut incensum lucidissimum et odoriferum, oratio ejus nubes transiens, celos penetrans, luci inaccessibili se immergens, in conspectu Domini dirigebatur. Ut ipse Altissimus eam sibi in odorem suavitatis acceptasse, signis evidentibus oculis mortalium declarare dignaretur. Multociens enim, dum sacramenta divina tractaret, columba nivea, rostrum quasi aureum habens, visa est capiti¹ ejus insidere, ac perlucido alarum suarum remigio,² instar solaris radii, ipsum et altari imposita obtigere. Crebro etiam dum sacrifex sacrificans sacris astaret altaribus, nubes lucida obumbravit super caput ejus. Aliquociens etiam tempore illo quo Patri immolabatur Filius, non ipse astare videbatur, sed columpna ignea, cujus fulgore intuentium obtunderentur obtutus. Non tamen omnibus datum est nosse vel³ videre hoc ministerium,⁴ sed quibus datum est a Patre lumen. Quadam vice enim⁵ dum sacra celebraret mysteria⁶ sacerdos Domini odorifera quedam nebula implevit totam domum, ubi plurimi erant audientes sacra mysteria Domini. Odor enim super omnia aromata omnes qui convenerant inestimabili suavitate perfudit; et⁷ multis inibi constitutis variis incomodis laborantibus⁸ plenam sanitatem infudit. Sane dum hec refero tristitia implevit⁹ cor meum, qui tam multipharie video hodie pollui sacerdotium. Ut enim interim taceam de hiis qui symoniace ad immolandum accedunt, aut cum Juda corpus dominicum vendunt, qui videlicet illud non nisi pro precio offerunt; de illis loquor, qui criminibus obvoluti, et flagitiis dissoluti¹⁰ corpore et corde polluti, purificatorium sacrificium impuris manibus contrectare, et contaminare, presumunt. Heu in quantis sacerdotibus hodie sentitur putor feditatis, potius quam odor spiritualis suavitatis! O quam plures hodie tenebrosus turbo possidendi¹¹ obcecat, quam lucida nubes obumbrat! Ve, ve, inquam pluribus hodie, in quibus potius attenditur flamma sulphurea, quam circumfulgens columpna ignea! Sed nunc ad meipsum, et mei similes, qualicunque modo sacerdocio fungentes oculos reduco, quibus pro columba nivea tempore sacrificii, musce satis importune emergunt ex flumine Egypti. Hoc est cogitationes immunde, vane, inutiles, prorumpunt¹² in memoria,¹³ ex ymaginatione hujus labentis seculi. Quo circa

¹ B. M. capita.

² *On margin*, remigium .i. actus vel officium remigis sive remigim.

³ B. M. et.

⁴ B. M. misterium.

⁵ B. M. non vice.

⁶ B. M. *omnis* mysteria.

⁷ B. M. que.

⁸ B. M. variis langoribus.

⁹ B. M. implet.

¹⁰ B. M. *inserta* et.

¹¹ B. M. possidendo.

¹² B. M. perumpunt.

¹³ B. M. memoriam.

timor et tremor veniunt super me, quia, teste Salomone, musce morientes perdunt suavitatem unguenti; eo quod mentes hujusmodi cogitationibus occupate, minime experiantur quanta sit dulcedo interne suavitatis, que procedit ex visitatione Spiritus Sancti.

[Cap. xvii.]—Qualiter Sanctus Bentegernus, omni quadragesima, ad loca secretiora in heremo secedens, ante cenam Domini, aliquando vel dominicam palmarum, ad ecclesiam suam redierit.

FORMAM vite descriptam vir Dei, fere omni tempore, usque ad ultimum senium¹ extra quadragesimam tenebat. Nam in illis diebus ultra solitum, in quadam vite novitate ambulare assueverat. Quorundam enim sanctorum patrum fervorem² emulatus, vel potius Helye et Iohannis Baptiste, aut ipsius Salvatoris, vestigia sectatus, omni quadragesimali tempore ad deserta loca secedebat. Et³ sic se elongando fugiens a conspectu filiorum hominum, et manens in solitudine corporis et mentis, secum habitabat. Ibique liberius Deo vacans, a conturbatione hominum et a contradictione⁴ linguarum, et confabulatione absentatus, in abscondito faciei Dei latitabat. Sedens ergo solitarius levabat se supra se; et⁵ crebro in cavernis terre commorans, et in ostio spelunce sue stans, et⁶ orans, post commotionem⁷ turbinis et ignis, senciebat sibilum aure tenuis perflantem, et indicibili quodam dulcore perfundentem et implentem se. Circuibat ergo plateas superne Ierusalem, ad querendum dilectum suum, sibi, immolansque in corde suo hostiam jubilationis, mortificabat nichilominus membra sua, sanctissima que erant super terram. Semetipsum offerrens hostiam vivam sanctam, Deo placentem, diutino martyrio innocentissimum corpus macerans in odorem suavitatis. Quibus vel qualibus cibus diebus illis vitam suam sustentabat, nulli, aut forsitan⁸ paucis, indicavit. Quibus tamen ut nulli⁹ mortalius misterium illud denudarent pontificali auctoritate interdixit.

Semel tamen locutus est, et duo ex suis audierunt hoc irrevocabile verbum, ex ore ejus simel et simpliciter emissum. "Novi," inquit, "quendam qualibus¹⁰ quadragesima radicibus tantum herbarum vitam suam sustentasse, et aliquotiens, Domino

¹ B. M. servum.

² B. M. servorem.

³ B. M. que.

⁴ B. M. omits hominum et a contradictione.

⁵ B. M. que.

⁶ B. M. que.

⁷ B. M. commotationem.

⁸ B. M. forsitan.

⁹ B. M. nulla.

¹⁰ B. M. qualiter.

tribuente virtutem, totum illud tempus absque terreni cibi sustentaculo transegisse." Hoc autem illum de seipso dixisse neuter eorum dubitavit: sed nomen suum vir Dei suppressit, ob vanam gloriam vitandam, quam ubique fugere curavit. Ante cenam tamen Domini prius multo tempore, postea sabbato ante dominicam palmarum, ad sua et suos, ob episcopale officium peragendum revertebatur. Et velud angelus lucis et pacis ab omnibus suscipiebatur. Illam itaque ebdomadam cum suis agere consueverat, et in cena Domini, post confectionem sacri crismatis, et olei, prius multitudinis pauperum, et postea leprosororum, pedes propriis manibus cum lacrimis lavans, et capillis tergens ac crebris oculis mulcens,¹ ad mensam postea ipse diligenter illis ministrabat. Postmodum² cum penitentibus reconciliatis in convivio, ob eorum consolationem sedens, semetipsum et ipsos, corporali et spiritali alimonia reficiebat. Et ab illa hora usque ad³ missam die Pasche celebratam, jejunos jugiter permanebat. In paraseve vero incredibili cruciatu cum crucifixo semetipsum crucifigebat. Et plagis virgarum, et nuditate, et crebris genuum flexionibus, vix aliquando sedens stigmata⁴ vulnerum Christi in corpore suo circumferens, cum nimia cruce cordis et corporis, diem cum nocte continuando ducebat.

Sacratissimo autem sabbato, quasi mundo mortuus, in sepulcro dupplici antiquum dierum verum videlicet⁵ Abraham sibi conspeliens in abundantia interne contemplationis sepulcrum ingrediens, ab omni tumultuantis seculi strepitu sabbatizabat; excepto quod officium ad diem pertinens celebraturus apparebat. Demum renovatus spiritu mentis sue, cum aromatibus sanctarum virtutum, tam diligenter preparatis, diem dominice resurrectionis sacratissimum expectabat. Cum Christo quodam modo conresurgens, de carnibus agni immaculati, in azimis sinceritatis et veritatis epulabatur. Et in die quam fecit Dominus fecit⁶ celis et terris exultabilem, omni spiritali jocunditate letabatur: et cum fratribus, et copiosa pauperum multitudine, convivabatur. Quod et in ceteris precipuis solemnitatibus facere dicebatur. Si vero casu urgente contingeret, ut cum secularibus pranderet, quod tamen raro evenit, gustans modicum de cibo apposito, spiritalibus epulis convivantes saginabat, et vaniloquium⁷ quod in conviviis superfluere solet, refrenans, suam abstinentiam sacre predicationis velamine palliabat.

¹ B. M. oculis demulcens.² B. M. postmodo.³ B. M. post.⁴ *On margin*, stigma .i. cicatrix signum ustio.⁵ B. M. in delice.⁶ B. M. qua Dominus fecit.⁷ B. M. vaniloquum.

[Cap. xviii.]—Quam hylarem vultum habuit : et¹ quid de
hypocritis senserit.²

SANCTUS Kentegernus secundum corporis formam medio-
cris stature, vicinioris tamen longitudini, esse³ dicitur. Et
robustus viribus, et ad cujuslibet laboris tolerantiam, sive
secundum corpus, seu secundum spiritum, quodammodo infati-
gabilis extitisse asseritur. Erat enim pulcher aspectu, et forma
decorus : plenum gratie et reverentie vultum habens, oculis
columbinis, et genis turturinis,⁴ omnium intuentium affectus in
dilectionem sui conducebat. Et⁵ exterioris hominis hylaritatem⁶
interioris suavitatis indicem, et satis fidissimum interpretem
representans, quodam placore⁷ spiritualis jocunditatis et exulta-
tionis quam Dominus thesaurizavit super eum, cunctos perfunde-
bat. Hypocrisym namque tali habitu talique gestu fugiens,
omnes sui sequaces illam summopere fugere docebat. Et⁸ ypo-
critis teterrimum esse genus hominum exemplis monstrans, ver-
bis taliter astruebat : "Cavete,"⁹ inquit ad suos, "karissimi, ab
ypocrisis vitio, que est quodam modo fidei abrenuntiatio, spei
alienatio, caritatis exinanitio,¹⁰ cancer castitatis, veritatis excec-
catio :¹¹ carcer sobrietatis, compes justicie, vulpecula obedientie,
pallium¹² breve patientie. Et, ut breviter inferam, ipsa est
religionis tineæ, virtutum exterminium,¹³ latibulum vitiorum,
totius iniquitatis asilum,¹⁴ flagitiorum¹⁵ domicilium. Quod
autem ypocrisis sit omnium malorum fomentum, docet Domi-
nus ubi dicit ypocrisim esse Phariseorum fermentum. Sicut
enim fermentum pasto immisum illud inane inflatum, aci-
dum reddit; sic ypocrisis cor quod possidet a religione
vacuum, et de falsis laudibus hominum inflatum, et elat-
um, etiam contra veritatem conscientie, et adversus bonos
justos, puritatem et sanctitatem¹⁶ sectantes, asperos, acros, et
amaros, efficit. Et vere, karissimi, cum omnis iniquitas per se,
et in se, sit simplex sola ypocrisis in se est duplex, inimo
multiplex. Hypocrita namque, quantum in se est, omnia
videntem excecari temptat, dum ab ipso oculos avertens, ante
humanos obtutus vitia sua, sub ymagine ostense sanctitatis,

¹ B. M. nullum habuerit : que.

² B. M. adds vel dixerit.

³ B. M. fuisse.

⁴ B. M. turturinus.

⁵ B. M. que.

⁶ B. M. hylaritate.

⁷ On margin, placore .i. tranquillitate mitigatione. B. M. placere.

⁸ B. M. que.

⁹ B. M. cavere.

¹⁰ On margin, exinanicio .i. revacuacio.

¹¹ B. M. veritatis execatio, cancer castitatis.

¹² B. M. inserts utique.

¹³ B. M. extiminium.

¹⁴ On margin, asilum .i. domus refugii.

¹⁵ B. M. fronciorem in.

¹⁶ B. M. puritatem sanctitate.

obumbrat.¹ Et licet alii impii, et flagitiosi, ac facinorosi, sunt membra Antichristi, soli tamen ypocrite singulariter et specialiter sunt ejus sequaces, et preambuli;² sicut simplices veritatis, et puritatis amatores, atque sectatores, sunt membra et discipuli Jesu Christi. Ipse namque Antichristus, sicut scriptum est, sedebit in templo Dei, signis mendacibus ostenderet³ se tanquam⁴ sit Deus. Ipse etiam angelus Sathane transfigurat se in angelum lucis: et ideo non est mirum si specialis minister ejus, et membrum, transformet se in ministrum justitie, cum sit ipse synagoga Sathane. Credite mihi, quia in veritate dico vobis, non est multo major ira Dei seviens in ecclesia Dei quam ut ypocritam regnare in ea faciat, propter peccata populi. Nam et in Apocalipsi perniciosior persecutio in equo pallido, quam in ceteris precedentibus sevire describitur; quia nimirum multo perniciosius sancta ecclesia sub ypocrisi leditur, que per pallidum equum signatur⁵ quam sub tempore aperte persecutionis, quo fideles vel infideles, justi sive injusti, manifesti fiunt, et multitudo martyrum coronabatur. Sed plane ypocrite quales intus lateant in gestu, et habitu exterioris hominis, subtiliter intuentibus, et spiritualia⁶ omnia judicantibus declarant. Dum enim gressus suos in modum turturis depingunt, scapulis contractis capud demittunt, oculos in terram defigunt, facies exterminant, suppressis labiis suspirando loquentes nescio quid muliebre pronunciant, statum suum interiorem talibus indicibus manifestant. Gressibus enim suis pavonibus immo latronibus se simulant; scapularum contractione jugum Christi suave et onus leve ejus se minime gestare:⁷ capitis demissione et oculorum intuitu corde ceno inherere potius quam celo, de terra cogitare, terram amare, terrenis desideriis⁸ se inhiare, demonstrant; facie vero exterminata⁹ dorsa magis quam facies ad Deum se convertere insinuant; et muliebri locutione dissolute et non viriliter se vivere¹⁰ comprobant. Quibus tales similes dixerim nisi prestigiatoribus, qui ignem, aquam, homines, bestias, et cetera, ostendunt ymaginarie, ubi substantia non est? Sed licet simulatores, et callidi ypocrite, provocantes in se iram Dei, evadant opinionem secundum faciem judicantium, nullatenus illius qui scrutatur corda et renes fallent, aut effugient equilibre judicium. "Hec vobis, karissimi," ait vir Dei, "dixi, non ut vobis laqueum, nuntiem,¹¹ aut ut¹² maturitatem

¹ B. M. adumbrat.² B. M. fambuli.³ B. M. ostendet.⁴ B. M. inest ei.⁵ B. M. figuratur.⁶ B. M. spiritualiter.⁷ B. M. ejus leve se gestare minime.⁸ B. M. desidiis.⁹ B. M. exterminata.¹⁰ B. M. vivere se.¹¹ B. M. nunciam.¹² B. M. omits ut.

in vultu, gestu, habitu, et disciplinam, non exhibeatis; sed hoc¹ omnimodis ammonéo ut in simplicitate cordis Deum queratis, et interne puritati intrinsecam² sociantes, et³ ypocrisim ubique fugientes, cum spiritali hylaritate omnia vestra faciatia.⁴ Sic sic in omnibus operibus vestris edificabitur homo, glorificabitur Deus, quia hylarem doctorem et boni operatorem⁵ diligit Deus."

[Cap. xix.]—Quomodo Kentegernus populum cui preerat, et ex magna parte apostatabat, ad fidem Christi converteret; et eos qui fidem iniquis operibus prophanabatur, ad correctiorem vitam reduxit.

BEATUS itaque Kentegernus pontificatu suscepto, officium⁶ injunctum strenue administrare studuit. Vidensque hostem Aquilonalem, principem scilicet hujus mundi, in partibus illis sedem sibi posuisse, ibique regnare, contra eum dimicaturus spiritualia arma arripuit. Indutus ergo scuto fidei, galea spei, lorica justitie, accinctus gladio spiritus, quod est verbum Domini, invadit atrium fortis illius armati, et vasa ejus dirupit, suffultus amminiculo Domini ubi tutum,⁷ fortis plane in prelio. Et ut ad compendium veniam non cessavit pes ejus, non manus, non lingua, ab arrepti itineris⁸ circuitione, a virtutum operatione, a salutari predicatione, donec remiscerentur,⁹ et converterentur ad Dominum, omnes fines illius terre. Qui vero vitali unda nondum regenerati fuerant, sicut cervi sitibundi, ad fontem vivum baptismi, estuanti desiderio, concurrerunt.¹⁰ Qui autem apostataverant, aut aliqua secte hereticæ erratica doctrina a sana fide aberraverant, per preconem salutis, viam Dei in veritate¹¹ docentem, a laqueis diaboli quibus captivi tenebantur, resipiscentes, et ad ecclesie gremium revertentes, Christo incorporati sunt.

Cepit ergo bellator inclitus delubra¹² demonum debellare, simulacra subvertere, ecclesias exstruere, exstructas dedicare, parochias certis limitibus in funiculo distributionis dividere; clerum ordinare, incestuosa et illicita conjugia dissolvere, concubinatus in legitima matrimonia commutare; ritus ecclesiasticos pro posse studebat inducere; et quod fidei, quod legi¹³ Christiane, quod justitie, erat consonum, conabatur constituere. Ubicumque enim proficiscebatur, non equo vectus, sed usque ad

¹ B. M. hec.

⁴ B. M. facietis.

⁷ B. M. virtutum.

¹⁰ B. M. cucurrerunt.

¹² On margin, delubra dicuntur templa.

² B. M. extrinsecam.

⁶ B. M. operatione.

⁸ B. M. muneris.

³ B. M. omits et.

⁶ B. M. inserts sibi.

⁹ B. M. reminiscerentur.

¹¹ B. M. virtute.

¹³ B. M. legis.

ultimum pene senium, more Apostolorum, pedes gradiebat. Hiis ita rite peractis, domi reversus, in sua se recipiebat; ibique more solito, in summe religionis perfectione, vitam virtutibus et miraculis gloriosam ducebat. De quibus nunc aliqua calamo mandare dignum dicimus,¹ quia plurimis ea profutura non ambigimus.

[Cap. xx.]—Quomodo Sanctus Kentegernus cerbum et lupum sub uno iugo ad aratum posuerit; et arenam seminans, triticum messuerit.

VIR Dei itaque² perplures, ut diximus, discipulos adunaverat. Quos divine legis sacris litteris erudiens, verbo et exemplo ad vite sanctitatem instituit. De quibus cooperarios in messem dominicam destinare proposuerat. Hii omnes emulabantur Dei emulatione vitam, et doctrinam ejus, jejuniis et vigiliis sacris assueti, psalmis, et³ orationibus, et divine legis⁴ meditationi intenti, victu et vestitu mediocri contenti, labore manuali certis temporibus et horis occupati. More namque primitive ecclesie, sub Apostolis et eorum successoribus, nichil proprium possidentes, satis sobrie, juste, et pie, et continentissime, viventes, in singulis tamen casulis ex quo etate⁵ et sapientia maturaverant, sicut et ipse Sanctus Kentegernus commorabantur, unde et singulares clerici a vulgo⁶ Calledei nuncupabantur. Famulus itaque Jhesu Christi exhibit mane ad opus suum, et quandoque ad operationem suam⁷ usque ad vesperam, et maxime in⁸ agricultura laborans, ne panem suum ociosus, sed potius in sudore vultus sui commederet, et exemplum operandi suis preberet, et ut haberet unde necessitatem patienti tribueret.

Contiget quodam tempore ut boves ei omnino deessent, ex quorum penuria aratro cessante tellus inarata remansit. Quod cum vir Dei cerneret, elevatis oculis ad oram nemoris prope positi, vidit gregem cervorum, passim⁹ per saltum salientem. Qui statim oratione facta, potenti verborum virtute eos ad se accersivit, et in nomine Domini, cui omnia muta et irrationalia, bestia, et universa pecora campi, obsecuntur, loco boum jugari ad aratrum, et terram arare precepit. Qui ilico imperio viri Dei obtemperabant, et quasi boves mansueti, et agriculture

¹ B. M. aucimus.² B. M. itaque Dei.³ B. M. que.⁴ B. M. lectionia.⁵ B. M. erant.⁶ B. M. clerici singulares et vulgo.⁷ B. M. quando adoptionem suam.⁸ B. M. omits in.⁹ On margin, passim .i. ubique.

assueti multis ammirantibus terram arabant. Disjuncti vero ab opere ad pascua solita ibant, et hora competenti, sicut animalia domita et domestica, immo docta, ad opus consuetum redibant. Cum ergo aliquandiu cervi irent et reverterentur, in similitudinem¹ animalium domesticorum, lupus rapax in unum de cervis fatigatum ex labore, et procumbendo in gramineo cespite pabulum carpentem, irruens suffocavit, et voracem ingluviem ex ejus cadavere saturavit. Quod cum a Sancto compertum esset, manum contra silvam extendens dicebat, "In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, precipio ut lupus qui mihi non promerenti hoc dampnum intulit, mihi satisfactorius accedat." Mirum dictu, sed mirabilius factu! Protinus ad vocem viri Dei lupus de silva prosiliens, ante pedes ejus cum ululatu corruit, et indicio quo potuit se veniam petere, et velle satisfacere declaravit. Vir autem Dei vultu et voce minaci lupo improperans, "Surge," inquit, "et ex auctoritate Dei omnipotentis precipio tibi, ut loco cervi operatoris nostri, quem devorasti, aratro applicatus ares ex integro quod restat agelluli." Lupus vero verbo oris Sancti paruit; et cum altero cervo ad aratrum copulatus² novem jugera arando explevit. Sicque Sanctus libere eum abire permisit.³

Quo in facto, ut mihi videtur, illud Ysaie vaticinium quod spiritualiter de tempore dominici adventus protulit, etiam⁴ ad litteram per quamdam similitudinem adimpletur, ubi ait: Habitabit lupus cum agno, et pardus cum edo accubabit. Vitulus, et leo, et ovis, simul⁵ morabuntur; et puer parvulus minabit eos. Videat lector utrum mirabilius sit videre lupum cum agno accubantem, an cum cervo arantem. Hos tamen minavit Kentegernus, purissimus parvulus, plane in oculis suis mitis, et humilis corde; non tamen faciens hoc signum ex⁶ illius parvuli qui natus est nobis, et filii qui datus est nobis, fecit virtute. Qui tamen jure hoc operatus est corporaliter, qui multociens multos a lupina credulitate, et cruenta cede, et beluina feritate, et agresti vita, revocans, jugo fidei, et sancte conversationis⁷ aratro, subdidit spiritualiter.

Convenerunt perplures ad tale spectaculum, et ad insolitum stupebant miraculum. Sanctus autem aperiens os suum docebat eos dicens: "Viri fratres, quid admiramini aspicientes verbum istud? Credite mihi, antequam homo inobediens existeret suo Conditori, omnia non solum animalia, sed etiam elementa obtemperabant illi. Nunc vero ob ipsius prevarica-

¹ B. M. similitudine.

² B. M. altero copulatus ad aratrum.

³ B. M. promisit.

⁴ B. M. et.

⁵ B. M. similiter.

⁶ B. M. inserts se sed in.

⁷ B. M. conversationis.

tionem omnibus in adversis,¹ leo lacerare, lupus devorare, serpens sauciare, aqua submergere, ignis comburere, aer corrumpere, terra sepe effecta ferrea fame subruere, consuevit. Et ad emulum consueti² mali homo non solum hominem, sed ipse homo in seipso peccando, contra seipsum sponte sevit. Sed quum plerique sancti in vera innocentia, et pura obedientia, fide, et dilectione,³ in sanctitate, et justitia, coram Domino perfecti inventi sunt, quasi antiquum jus, et naturale, et primordiale, dominium a Domino recuperabant. Dum bestiis, et elementis, et multorum morbis et mortibus potestative imperabant."

Plura perorante in hunc modum viro sancto, non minus edificabantur qui aderant in ejus alloquio, quam prius ammirabantur in ostenso miraculo. Ager igitur aratus cum seri debuisset, quesivit sanctus semen et non inveniebat, quum totam annonam suam in pauperum alimoniam expenderat. Ad consueta ergo orationis arma confugit; et in fide nichil hesitans, assumens arenam vice seminis, in terram sparsit. Quo facto tempore oportuno herba crevit,⁴ germen pullulavit, spica culmum produxit, et messis⁵ tempore triticum optimum, et opimum, proferens, omnes videntes et audientes ammiratione permaxima percussit: et ipsius opinionem prius celebrem multo post celebriorem effecit. Vere sanctus iste in virtute illius grani frumenti, quod cadens in terra moriendo multum fructum resurgendo⁶ attulit, de arena seminata frumentum collegit. Ipse etiam multos et innumerabiles mente prius instabiles, et omni vento erratice doctrine circumlatos, quorum stultitia gravior erat arena maris, sancte matris ecclesie, scilicet⁷ optime, vomere evangelico procisae visceribus indidit; et in fide, et in⁸ caritate, et bonorum operum exercitatione, frumentum salutis Deo cooperante proferre fecit. Quos ipse summus Paterfamilias celestibus horreis transferendos et mensa sua dignos judicavit.

[Cap. xxi.]—*Quomodo Sanctus Kentegernus horrea regis plena tritico, famulante impetu fluminis Elud, absque⁹ detrimento, usque ad mansionem suam, divino suffultus adjutorio transposuerit.*

EMENSO aliquanti temporis spacio, quidam tyrannus, vocabulo Morken, Cambrensis regni solium ascenderat.¹⁰ Cui potes-

¹ B. M. adversa versis.

² B. M. dilectione.

³ B. M. resurgens.

⁴ B. M. insertis omni.

⁵ B. M. cumulum consummati.

⁶ B. M. insertis et.

⁷ B. M. terre videt.

⁸ B. M. mellis.

⁹ B. M. omits in.

¹⁰ B. M. ascendat.

tas, honor, et divitie ambulare in magnis et in mirabilibus super se persuaserant. Sed cor illius, sicut elevatum erat in superbiam, ita e regione contractum et excecaturum extitit per avaritiam. Hic viri Dei vitam et doctrinam spreverunt, atque despexit, occulte ei detrahens, in facie quandoque resistens, signa ejus magicis figmentis deputans, omnia facta ejus pro nichilo duxit. Vir vero Domini cum quadam vice annona ad victualia fratrum monasterii indigeret, adivit Regem, penuriam suam, et suorum, insinuans; et petens ut suam inopiam illius abundantia, juxta Apostoli monita, subveniundo suppleret. Ille vero elatus et inflatus preces profundenti refudit contumelias, et aliquam subventionem roganti irrogavit injurias. Deinde ore blasphemoyronice ait ad eum: "Jacta curam tuam in Domino, et ipse te enutriet, sicut sepe ceteros ammonuisti, quum nichil deest timentibus Deum, inquirentes vero¹ eum non minuentur omni bono. Tu ergo, cum timeas Deum, et mandata ejus observes, omnibus bonis, victu etiam necessario indiges. Ego autem, qui nec regnum Dei quero, nec justiciam ejus, omnia mihi adjiciuntur prospera; omnium rerum arridet affluentia." Ad ultimum autem intulit "inanis est ergo fides tua, falsa predicatio tua."

At vir sanctus² allegans astruebat testimoniis sanctarum scripturarum, et vivis rationum assertionibus, et exemplis, multos justos et sanctos, et siti et egestate in hoc seculo affligi multipharia:³ reprobos rerum opulentia, deliciarum affluentia, et honorum fastigiis, sublimari. Et cum efficaciter et evidenter doceret pauperes patronos divitibus fore, quorum beneficiis sustentantur, divites vero pauperum patrocinio indigere, sicut vites ulmi sustenculo.⁴ Barbarus non potuit resistere sapientie, et spiritui qui loquebatur per instrumentum suum, sed stomachando⁵ respondit: "Quid multa? Si confidens in Deo tuo, absque manu humana, omne far meum quod in horreis meis que cernis continetur, ad mansionem tuam transferre possis, animo libenti⁶ concedo et dono, et de cetero postulationibus tuis devotus obtemperabo."

Hec dicens letabundus recessit, quasi qui tali sponsione virum sanctum deluserit. Vespere autem facto Sanctus elevatis oculis, ac manibus in celum, profluentibus lacrimis, orationem devotissime fudit ad Dominum. Eadem autem hora, cum ex imo pectore Sancti emergentes lacrimae per oculos profluxerunt, flumen Clud, subtus defluens, nutu illius qui potestatem habet

¹ B. M. autem.

³ B. M. multipharia in hoc seculo affligi.

⁵ On margin, stomachor .i. irasci.

² B. M. inserta contra.

⁴ B. M. sustentaculo.

⁶ B. M. inserta tibi.

in celo et in terra, in mari et in omnibus abyssis, subito ibat, et intumescebat; ripasque suas transcendens, ac horrea Regis inibi constituta circumfluens,¹ et adlambens in alveum suum traxit. Et cum impetu magno usque ad locum nomine Mel-lingdenor, ubi Sanctus tunc degere solebat, in aridam transposuit. Stetit deinceps fluvius a fervore suo, et in se confregit tumescentes fluctus suos, quia Dominus posuit ei ostia et vectes, ne ultra procederent,² et transgrederentur limites constitutos. Inventa sunt³ horrea illa illic integra et illesa, et⁴ non solum una geluma,⁵ sed nec una arista, apparuit humecta. Ecce signum, licet in contrariis elemento, iteratum cognoscimus,⁶ quod quondam in fornace Caldaica cui tres pueri religione liberi, sed vincti erant injecti, factum legimus. Sicut enim ibi ignis adurendi tantum eorum vincula, non autem corpora, aut vestimenta potestatem habuit; sic hic aqua horrea frugibus plena transvehere non⁷ humectare potuit. Cum autem vidisset turba, quod in nomine Domini servus ejus tale fecerat signum, dicebant quia vere magnus Dominus, et laudabilis nimis, qui ita mirificavit Sanctum suum.

[Cap. xxii.]—Quomodo prefatus Rex Morken, instigante eum milite suo Cather, Sanctum Kentegernum pede percussit,⁸ et quali pena uterque multatus sit.

POSTQUAM transvectione frugum fluminis impetus letificarat civitatem Dei, in qua conscripti cives Sanctorum et domestici Dei erant in unum congregati, ad serviendum Deo viventi, fidelis et prudens dispensator in magni Patrisfamilias domo constitutus erogavit tritici mensuram, conservis suis dividens singulis prout cuique opus erat. Quod vero residuum fuit dispersit, dedit pauperibus; nec aliquem inopem petentem dimisit inanem. Rex autem prefatus Morken, licet locuples valde, et magnus in oculis hominum, vile tamen mancipium Mammone, egre tulit amissionem, ut sibi videbatur, annone sue, et⁹ de signo quod divinitus acciderat. Unde gaudium et leticiam in profectum¹⁰ sui habere debuit, scandalum sumpsit anime sue. Quia profecto¹¹ jubar¹² solare sanis oculis gratiosum et jucundum, ad intuendum se prestat; egris et cicutientibus caliginis materiam ministrat. Turbato ergo pre furore oculo¹³ multa convitia

¹ B. M. circuminena.⁴ B. M. que.⁷ B. M. *inserta* autem.¹⁰ B. M. im, perfectum.¹² B. M. *inserta* et.² B. M. procederit.⁵ B. M. gelinia.⁸ B. M. percusserit.¹¹ *On margin*, profecto .i. proculdubio utique.¹³ B. M. *inserta* ejus.³ B. M. fuerunt.⁶ B. M. agnoscimus et.⁹ B. M. que.

in Sanctum presulem evomuit, magum et maleficum inclamans. Eique mandavit ut si ulterius in conspectu ejus¹ appareret, gravissimas penas, utpote qui illi illuisset, lueret. Instigaverat enim eum² in odium et injuriam sui³ pontificis quidam pessimus, qui erat a secretis⁴ regis, nomine Cathen,⁵ quia odiosa et onerosa solet esse pravis vita bonorum; et facile persuasorem admittit ad id quod amplectitur animus prodigus⁶ ad malum. Dux enim impius, secundum scripturam, omnes ministros habet impios, et tales persepe sibi eligit auricularios,⁷ qui auribus libenter iniqua audientibus venenosum susurrum infundant, et ignem malitie accensum ultro⁸ adhibitis fomentis, cum sufflatoriis accusationum, non⁹ in se extinguatur copiosius inflammaret.¹⁰ Vir vero Dei sapientia volens extinguere¹¹ malitiam, in spiritu mansuetudinis potius quam in virga severitatis adivit principis presentiam. Et more benignissimi patris instruendo, commonendo, corrigere studuit filii insipientiam. Noverat namque Davitice cythare dulcisonis modululis Saulis mitigatam insaniam: et quia patientia lenitur ira principis,¹² secundum Salomonis sententiam. Vir autem Belial, instar aspidis surde, et obturantis aures suas ne audiret vocem incantantis sapientis, verbo commonitorio¹³ consilio salutis non adquevit. Immo majori dementia instimulatus irruit in eum, in¹⁴ calce percussit, et solo tenus resupinavit.¹⁵ Sanctus autem a circumstantibus,¹⁶ ut per patientiam doctrina ejus nosceretur, patientissime lesionem, et ignominiam illam, sustinuit; causam suam committens summo judici vindicandam:¹⁷ et sic gaudens ibat a conspectu Regis, immo sacrilegi, quum dignus habitus est pro verbo Domini contumeliam pati. Incentor hujus sacrelegi Cathen chachinnans equum ascendit, et quasi qui de Sancto triumphasse sibi videbatur, gratulabundus abscessit. Et ecce judicium prodiit de vultu Domini, ut justitiam faceret servo suo patienti injuriam.¹⁸ Nondum longius processit a turba constituta in loco, et sonipes¹⁹ cui insedit nescio in quem obicem pede offendens corruit, et ascensor ejus cadens²⁰ retro ante januam²¹ domini sui, fracta cervice, quam adversus episcopum Domini superbe extulerat, expiravit.

¹ B. M. suo.² B. M. illum.³ B. M. sancti.⁴ *On margin*, a secretis est qui noscit secreta.⁵ B. M. Catheli.⁶ B. M. proclivus.⁷ *On margin*, auricularius .i. districtius consiliator.⁸ B. M. ultro accensum.⁹ B. M. ne.¹⁰ B. M. inflammant.¹¹ B. M. vincere.¹² B. M. principis ira.¹³ B. M. commonendo.¹⁴ B. M. illum et.¹⁵ *On margin*, resupinare .i. retro versare.¹⁶ B. M. inserti levatus.¹⁷ B. M. judicandam.¹⁸ B. M. injuriam patienti.¹⁹ *On margin*, sonipes .i. equus qui facit sonum cum pedibus.²⁰ B. M. omits cadena.²¹ B. M. inserti regia.

Regis vero¹ pedes preoccupavit tumor, tumori successit dolor, dolorem mors subsequitur. Mortuusque in villa regia, que vocatur ex nomine ejus Thorp-morken, funerabatur. Nec tamen morbus ille a stirpis ejus successione succisus sepelitur. Ab initio enim temporis illius usque ad futurum seculum languor non desiit, sed podagra in posteros parentat; et licet non vultu vel corporis habitu, morbo tamen hujuscemodi prosapia patrissat. Genus namque Regium illius hoc genere morbi extinctum, testimonio mortis sue denunciat qualiter zelotes² suorum, et ulciscens, Dominus visitet peccata patrum in filios et multas generationes, et qualem retributionem superbis retribuatur. Multis postea diebus in civitate sua Glasgu, et diocesi sua, in quietem³ magnam degens pacem in circuitu habuit; quia divina animadversio, persecutoribus suis exhibita, ceteris metus, et⁴ reverentie, dilectionis et obedientie, erga Sanctum Dei, fomitem ministravit; et quecumque secundum Deum vellet agendi occasionem prebuit.

[Cap. xxiii.]—Quomodo Sanctus Kentegernus insidias sibi mortem insidiantium declinans, a finibus⁵ patrie discessit,⁶ et ad Sanctum Favid in Genevia degentem pervenerit.

ELAPSO aliquanto tempore, quidam filii Belial genimena viperarum,⁷ de cognatione Regis Morken superius memorati, acrioris odii instimulati aculeo, diabolicoque infecti veneno concilium fecerant⁸ in unum ut Kentegernum dolo tenerent et occiderent. Timentes vero plebem, illud facinus palam aggredi non audebant, quia omnes eum sicut doctorem, episcopum, et pastorem animarum suarum, habebant; et sicut angelum lucis et pacis diligebant. Tetenderunt ei multociens multas insidias, ut subito sagittarent eum; sed Dominus factus est ei turris fortitudinis, ne prevaleant⁹ inimici ejus, filii iniquitatis adversus eum. Ad extremum juratoria cautione ad invicem prestita firmaverunt sibi sermonem nequam, quo in ejus mortem conspiraverant, effectui¹⁰ mancipaturos; nec ob alicujus timorem verbum iniquum et dolosum quod constituerant adversus eum, omisso.¹¹ Quo comperto homo Dei, licet posset vim vi repellere, satius¹² tamen ratus est ad tempus loco cedere, et dare locum ire; et alibi uberiores animarum fructum querere, quam ob cujuslibet hominis quamvis pessimi necem, aliquo cauterio conscientiam adustam, aut etiam¹³ obfuscata, gestare.

¹ B. M. autem.² On margin, zelotes .i. emulatores.³ B. M. quiete.⁴ B. M. que.⁵ B. M. inserte proprie.⁶ B. M. decesserit.⁷ B. M. gemini nec impares.⁸ B. M. fecerunt.⁹ B. M. prevalerent.¹⁰ B. M. effectu.¹¹ B. M. emissuros.¹² B. M. satia.¹³ B. M. et.

Beatus namque Paulus, vas electionis, exemplum dedit ei, idem faciendi cum Damasci cerneret absque fructu sibi mortem imminere ad evadendum, et evitandum sportam¹ et funem quesivit, quam postea Rome cum multiplici lucro gratanter² subivit.

Divina denique revelatione instructus, a finibus illis egressus versus Meneviam iter arripuit, ubi tunc sanctus præsul Dewi, sicut sydus matutinum, quando suo roseo provehit ore diem, pontificando emicuit. Ubicumque tunc sanctus ibat, virtus de illo ad sanandum plurimos exibat. Cumque pervenisset Karleolum audivit multos in montanis ydolatriæ³ deditos, aut divine legis ignaros; illucque divertit, et plurimos a fide alienos,⁴ alios in fide erroneos, Deo cooperante, et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis, ad Christianam convertit religionem. O quam speciosi pedes ejus, super montes illos, evangelizantis pacem, annuntiantis bona, predicantis salutem, perducentis ad eterne salutis auctorem! Morabatur aliquantulum in loco quodam condenso, ad confirmandos et confortandos in fide homines ibidem habitantes, ubi et crucem in signum salutis eorum erexit; a qua locus Anglice Crosfeld, id est Crucis Novale nomen accepit. In quo profecto loco basilica Beati Kentegerni nomini, moderno tempore edificata, attituitur; et ad ostendam sanctitatem illius, multis miraculis claruisse non dubitatur.

Digressus Sanctus inde per loca maritana gressus suos direxit, et per totum iter suum divini verbi semina spargens, multam et fertilem messem in Dominum collegit. Ad Sanctum denique Dewi sanus et incolomis pervenit; et majora in illo opera quam fama loquebatur invenit. Sanctus vero presul Dewi in adventu talis, et tanti hospitis, gavisus est gaudio magno valde. Libatissime oculis, et confertis mutuo complexibus,⁵ ut angelum Domini carum Deo Kentegernum suscepit; et secum aliquanto tempore retinens, miro effectum semper excoluit. Cohabebant ergo isti duo filii splendoris, assistentes Dominatori universe terre, quasi duo candelabra lucentia ante Dominum, quorum lingue claves celi facte sunt, ut per eas ejus ingressum promeretur⁶ multitudo hominum. Innexuntur⁷ ad invicem isti Sancti, quasi duo cherubyn in templi Domini sanctuario, habentes vultus suos irreflexos a propiciatorio. In crebra celestium contemplatione⁸ alas suas sursum extendebant; in terrenorum dispositione, et dispensatione, deorsum alas submittebant. Mutuis etiam⁹ alis sese tangebant, dum vicaria¹⁰ instructione salu-

¹ *On margin*, sporta .i. vas viminium.

³ *On margin*, idolatria .i. cultus idolorum.

⁵ B. M. consertis mutuo amplexibus.

⁷ B. M. innexeruntur.

⁹ B. M. minutis et.

² B. M. gratanter.

⁴ B. M. avenos.

⁶ B. M. pineatur.

⁸ *On margin*, contemplatio .i. vis rei spiritalis.

¹⁰ *On margin*, vicarius—a .i. per vicem succedens.

taris¹ doctrine, et alterna virtutum operatione, ad propensionem² perfectum sanctitatis semetipsos excitabant. Sic sic sancti isti sue mente excedentes Deo, sive sobrii facti nobis, ad capescendam et promerendam eternam vitam, exemplum posteris reliquerunt.

Cumque Sanctus Kentegernus ibidem aliquantisper commoraretur, fama de illo fulgurans per ora plurimorum et aures discurrebat, ipsumque in multorum non solum pauperum, mediocrium, optimatum terre illius, verum etiam in ipsius Regis Cathwallain,³ in illa regione principantis, noticiam, familiaritatem, et amicitiam, perducebat. Rex autem⁴ sciens virum sanctum et justum, libenter illum audiebat, et audito eo multa que ad salutem anime spectabant faciebat. Cumque Regi aliquotiens sciscitanti causas discessionis a patria propria exposuisset, et velle sibi adjacere diceret monasterium construendi, quo populum Deo acceptabilem sectatorem bonorum operum, coadunare⁵ potuisset: respondit Rex, "Terra mea in conspectu tuo est, ubicumque animo tuo sederit, et bonum videatur⁶ oculis tuis, mansionis tue construe habitaculum, edifica monasterium. At tamen, ut mihi videtur, ad hoc opus locum omnibus aptiorem vocabulo Nautcharvan⁷ tibi designo, quia isdem situs⁸ omnibus habundat necessariis proposito tuo." Vir Domini Regi gratias multiplices egit, et locum illum antea etiam⁹ sibi divino oraculo¹⁰ designatum, ad edificandum et¹¹ inhabitandum delegit. Benedicens igitur Regem discessit, deinde valem faciens Sancto Dewi benedictione mutuo data, cum turba discipulorum copiosa, qui ad eum confluerant malentium cum eo¹² in terra aliena vitam pauperem ducere, quam sine illo¹³ in propria deliciis affluere, ad locum prenomiatum tetendit.

[Cap. xxib.]—Quo modo¹⁴ Sanctus Kentegernus, aprum prebium sequens, locum pdoneum inhenit.

SANCTISSIMUS itaque Kentegernus, a Sancto Dewi corporali presentia sequestratus, sed a dilectione et interioris hominis visione, et visitatione, nullatenus absentatus, non dedit oculis suis sompnum¹⁵ liberum, nec palpebris suis quietam dormitationem, donec inveniret locum aptum ad edificandum tabernaculum Domino Deo Jacob. Circuivit terram ergo¹⁶

¹ B. M. salutare.

⁴ B. M. namque.

⁷ B. M. Nautharum.

¹⁰ *On margin*, oraculum .i. divinum responsum.

¹¹ B. M. omits et.

¹⁴ B. M. Quomodo.

² B. M. propensionem.

⁵ B. M. qua adunare.

⁸ B. M. inserts loci.

¹² B. M. illi.

¹⁵ B. M. sompnum oculis suis.

¹⁶ B. M. ergo terram.

³ B. M. Cathwallani.

⁶ B. M. inserts in.

⁹ B. M. et.

¹³ B. M. illia.

et perambulavit eam. Et¹ turba discipulorum multa cum illo, explorans situs locorum, qualitates aeris, glebe² ubertatem, pratorum et pascuorum³ ac silvarum sufficientiam, et cetera que spectant⁴ ad monasterii edificandi commoditatem. Cumque simul pergerent et per abrupta montium, et⁵ per concava vallium, et⁶ per defossa terrarum, per condensa veprium, et per opaca nemorum, per planities saltuum, incedentes, sermocinarentur que ad presens spectabant negotium; ecce singularis ferus aper, videlicet de silva candidus per totum, obviam processit; et⁷ ad pedes Sancti accedens capud agitans, aliquantulum progrediens, et iterum gradum figens et retrospiciebat, gestu quo potuit Sancto, et sociis ejus, ut illum sequerentur innuit.⁸ Quo viso ammirantes glorificaverunt in creaturis suis mira et inscrutabilia operantem Deum,⁹ et e vestigio sequerentur ductorem suum preambulum¹⁰ aprum.

Cum autem pervenissent ad locum, quem eis Dominus predestinaverat, aper substitit; et¹¹ terram crebro pede percuciens, et dente protenso cespitem cujusdam colliculi inibi constituti eviscerare gestiens, capud iterum atque iterum concuciendo, et ore grunniendo, illum esse locum illis a Deo preparatum et designatum, cunctis liquido ostendit. Est autem locus super ripam fluminis constitutus quod Elgu vocatur, a quo hodie ut dicitur pagus nomen sortitur. Tunc Sanctus flexis genibus gratias agens omnipotentem Dominum adoravit, surgensque ab oratione in nomine Domini locum, et circumjacentia, benedixit: ac deinde in testimonium et signum salutis, et auspicium future religionis, ibidem crucem erigens tentoria fixit. Aper vero¹² videns que fiebant accessit crebris¹³ grunnitibus, a pontifice quasi aliquid postulaturus. Sanctus vero capud fere conficans, os et dentes contrectans, dixit, "Deus omnipotens, in cujus potestate sunt omnes fere silvarum, jumenta in montibus, et boves, volucres etiam celi, et pisces maris, sicut novit et quod expedit tibi, retribuat mercedem pro conductu tuo." Aper autem, quasi bene remuneratus, capud sacerdoti Domini inclinans, abcessit, et nota nemora repetiit.

Sequenti nocte, cum vir Dei celestibus inhians¹⁴ extolleret¹⁵ manus suas in sancta, et benediceret Dominum, revelatum est ei celitus ut locum illum incoleret; et construeret¹⁶ monasterium, in quo filii Dei¹⁷ qui dispersi erant¹⁸ in unum et venientes ab oriente et occidente, ab aquilone et meridie, mererentur recum-

¹ B. M. que.³ B. M. prata et pascuarum.⁶ B. M. omits et.⁹ B. M. omits Deum.¹² B. M. omits vero.¹⁴ On margin, hio .i. os aperire.¹⁶ B. M. inserts ibi.² On margin, gleba .i. durus cespes terre.⁴ B. M. expectant.⁷ B. M. que.¹⁰ B. M. perambulantem.¹³ B. M. inserts propriis.¹⁷ B. M. omits Dei.¹⁸ B. M. inserts congregarentur.⁵ B. M. omits et.⁸ B. M. annuit.¹¹ B. M. que.¹⁵ B. M. extollerat.

bere cum Abraham, Ysaac, et Jacob, in regno celorum: et quod ipse Deus foret provisor et protector loci et in illo habitantium. Que profecto revelatio quanta veritate subnixa fuerit, rei exitus effectu evidenti edocuit. Mane autem facto oraculum¹ sibi divinitus ostensum ceteris exposuit; et ad edificandum animas audientium animavit. More namque apum melificantium² nullo ocio stertebant, sed omnes laborando operi insudabant. Alii locum purgabant, et complanabant; alii complanato aggere fundamenta preparabant. Quidam etiam ligna cedentes, quidam gestantes, quidam compaginantes,³ more Britonum ecclesiam, et ceteras officinas,⁴ de lignis levigatis sicut pater metiendo disposuerat edificare jam inchoabant; quum de lapide construere nondum⁵ poterant, nec usum habebant.

Cum autem operi instarent, et⁶ opus cresceret in manibus eorum, supervenit gentilis quidam regulus⁷ nomine Melconde Galganu,⁸ cum militibus suis, et turba multa cum illis. Homo truculentus et Dei ignarus, et in indignatione ire sue quesivit qui, vel unde essent? Aut quomodo tale quid in terra sua presumere auderent? Sanctus vero humiliter ad interrogata respondens, "Christianos se esse de Aquilonalibus partibus Britannie; ad serviendum⁹ Deo vivo et vero illuc advenisse. Licentiam, immo benivolentiam, regis Cathwalain,¹⁰ domini ipsius, mansionem ibi inchoasse asserebat, ad cujus ditionem locum illum pertinere credebat." Ille¹¹ furibundus et fremens omnes a loco expelli; et¹² quicquid edificatum fuerat evelli et dissipari; precepit: et sic ad propriam mansionem remeare cepit. Abiit itaque homo spirans minarum in famulos Christi: et ecce manus Domini flagellans tetigit eum, et repentina cecitate percussit eum.¹³ Sed tamen, ut in fine claruit, non ad insipientiam sibi hoc ei contigit. Sediti namque in tenebris exterioribus verus lucifer cordi illius illuxit; et lux exterior ad tempus adempta de tenebrosis, et umbra mortis, illum educens in lucem veritatis induxit. Interius igitur illustratus, et penitentia ductus, fecit se a suis ad virum Dei deportari, et ut cecitatem ejus precibus suis abstergeret, et fontem salutis ipsum ablueret, cepit devota deprecari.

Sanctus vero,¹⁴ non vinci a malo, sed in bono malum studuit vincere, voluit homini bonum pro malo reddere.¹⁵ Oratione namque premissa, cecato manum medicam in nomine Domini

¹ On margin, oraculum .i. divinum responsum.

² B. M. maleficientium.

³ On margin, officina .i. locu ubi officium agitur.

⁴ B. M. nondum construere.

⁵ B. M. Anglus.

⁶ B. M. Melcoinde Galganii.

⁷ B. M. Cathwallani.

⁸ B. M. illum.

⁹ B. M. inserto vero.

¹⁰ B. M. inserto qui.

¹¹ B. M. complaginantes.

¹² B. M. officia.

¹³ B. M. que.

¹⁴ B. M. servendum.

¹⁵ B. M. que.

¹⁶ B. M. retribuere.

imposuit; salutarem imprimendo crucem, et noctem ejus vertit in diem, et rursum post tenebras speratam et suspiratam infudit lucem. Sic sic Dominus percussit ut sanaret; et de vetere Saulo novum Paulum faciens excecavit, ut illuminaret. Recepto ergo visu continuo est a Sancto pontifice unda salutaris lotus; et deinceps in omnibus suis agendis effectus ei acclinis et cooperator devotus. Omnia sua predia census potestati Sancti Kentegerni munificentia regali, ad exstructionem monasterii contulit, cujus suffultus amminiculo¹ citius opus inceptum ad unguem perduxit. Sedem Cathedralem pontificatus in ecclesia monasterii illius constituit, cujus diocesis² circumjacentis patrie pars plurima fuit, quam ipse predicando Domino adquisivit. Innumeros vero aut Christiane fidei ignaros, vel a fide aversos seu profana doctrina depravatos, sive iniquis operibus pessundatos, ad viam salutis reduxit; et de vasis ire vasa misericordie, de vasis contumelie vasa glorie Deo³ opitulando fecit. Exhibat namque a monasterio suo ad exercendum pontificale officium, peragrans diocesim suam prout tempus expetebat. Sed quia non inveniebat ubi pes desiderii sui diu requiesceret, quasi columba a facie mundani diluvii ad archam, monasterii videlicet dilectam quietem redibat. Ramum vero olive foliis virentibus secum ferebat, quia pacis et misericordie quam aliis predicaverat, fructum recipiebat.

[Cap. xxb.]—Quanto numero fratrum monasterium illud floruerit; et quomodo Sanctus puer Asaph ignem⁴ sine combustione aliqua, tulit.⁵

CONFLUEBANT ad monasterium viri⁶ senes cum junioribus, divites et tenues, ad tollendum super se suave jugum Domini, et onus ejus leve. Magnates et mediocres⁷ soboles, Domino nutriendas, Sancto obtulerunt. Augebatur de die in diem, numero et merito, multitudo seculo abrenunciantium; ita ut usque ad nongentos sexaginta quinque numerus extenderetur Deo militantium; actu et habitu regularem vitam, secundum institutionem viri sancti, profitentium. Hanc autem collectam cateravam, divino obsequio mancipatam, tripharia divisione in religionis⁸ observantia ita distinxit. Trecentos vero⁹ qui erant illiterati, agriculture et pecorum custodie, et aliis exercitiis necessariis extra monasterium, deputavit. Alios trecentos operibus intra¹⁰ monasterii septa,¹¹ exercendis, et cibariis parandis, et

¹ B. M. anniculo.

⁴ B. M. *inserta* in veste sua.

⁷ B. M. *inserta* suas.

¹⁰ B. M. *infra*.

² B. M. diocesi.

⁵ B. M. portavit.

⁸ B. M. religione.

³ B. M. *omits* Deo.

⁶ B. M. viri Dei.

⁹ B. M. enim.

¹¹ *On margin, septum dicitur locus circumquaque clausus.*

officinis¹ construendis, assignavit. Reliquos vero trecentos sexaginta² qui litterati fuerant, divinis officiis in ecclesia die noctuque celebrandis attitulavit, nec facile quemquam illorum foras de sanctis egredi, sed jugiter intus, tamquam in sanctuario Domini, commorari constituit. Quos vero sanctitate et sapientia provectiones, et ad alios erudiendos ydoneos agnoverat, secum adducere consuevit; quando necessitate urgente, vel ratione exposcente, ad agendum episcopale officium egredi illum oportuit. Illos vero quos operi divino mancipaverat, per turmas et conventus dividens, constituit ut uno conventu servitium Dei in ecclesia terminante, continuo alter intrans illud inchoaret. Illoque illud³ consummante, alius consequenter celebraturus introiret. Sane sacris conventibus convenienter et discrete dispositis, et vicissim subintranantibus, dum opus Dei jugiter celebraret, regulariter⁴ oratio sine intermissione ab ecclesia illa ad Deum fiebat; et benedicendo Dominum in omni tempore semper laus Dei in ore eorum resonabat. Vere gloriosa dicta sunt in ista, et de ista, civitate Dei, quia sicut letantium omnium habitatio fuit in ea, ut satis congruenter illud vaticinium Balaam dici possit de ea, Quam pulcra tabernacula tua Jacob! tentoria tua Israel! ut valles nemorose, ut cedri propter aquas.

Floruerunt in illo glorioso monasterio viri sancti, atque perfecti, econtra diabolum, contra mundum, contra peccatum, instar Jacob, luctatoris egregii. Fide, dilectione, contemplatione, visioni Dei inhiantes intenti, quasi Israelite veri in bonis actibus uberes, et in oculis propriis humiles, et ideo ut nemorose⁵ valles sacra opinione odoriferi, et scripturarum fluentis imbuti; et imo,⁶ velud juxta aquas cedri, et in hiis omnibus multis virtutibus et signis gloriosi. Inter quos erat unus, Asaph nomine, genere et specie clarus, ab ipso primevo⁷ pubertatis flore virtutibus et miraculis fulgens. Vitam et doctrinam magistri sui sequi satagens, sicut plenius scire potest de vita ejus libellum⁸ conscriptum legens. De quo unum miraculum huic operi inserere dignum duxi, quia perfectio discipuli gloria est magistri. Quadam namque vice cum Sanctus Kentegernus hyemali tempore bruma circum circa cuncta contrahente et congelante, juxta morem in frigidissimis aquis nudus persolvisset psalterium, et resumptis indumentis processisset ad publicum, cepit vehementer vi alboris deprimi, et quodammodo totus obriescere, ut patenter daretur intelligi quid posset ex se, et quid ex

¹ B. M. officiis.² B. M. intrans illoque inchoare illud.⁴ B. M. celebraretur realiter.⁶ B. M. ideo.⁷ B. M. primeve.³ B. M. inserts quinque.⁵ B. M. nemorosa.⁸ B. M. libellum de vita ejus.

virtute dignationis divine. Quia enim nudus in aquis tanto spatio glaciale rigorem non frigescens pertulit, in fragili vasculo humani corporis intelligitur operata virtus divina; et quod pellibus et ceteris vestibus indutus frigore obriguit, agnoscitur fragilitas humana. Jussit ergo pater sanctus Asaph puero ignem sibi afferre, quo se posset calefacere. Tyrunculus¹ autem Domini ad clibanum cucurrit, et carbones sibi dari petivit. Et cum non haberet in quo prunas portaret, minister seu joco, sive serio,² dicebat "Si vis tollere prunas, extende³ vestimentum tuum, quia in quo feras⁴ non habeo ad manum." Puer sanctus fide fervens, et de magistri sanctitate confidens, nil cunctatus, veste in gremio collecta, et expansa,⁵ carbones vivos suscepit, et ad senem eos deferens in conspectu ejus de sinu projecit, sed nullum signum ustulationis aut corruptionis in veste apparuit. Cunctos igitur qui aderant ammiratio maxima percussit, quod ignis veste portatus materiam combustibilem minime combussit. Amica autem altercatio inter patrem et sanctum⁶ discipulum, super signo hoc⁷ versabatur; nec pars alterutra allegationibus ad invicem tam juste objectis optinere videbatur. Presul pueri Sancti innocentie et obedientie signi per precationem⁸ ascribebat; puer pontificis meritis et sanctitate illud gestum esse asserebat, cujus jussioni obtemperans, et de cujus sanctitate presumens, illud attemptare audebat. Sane ego absque prejudicio sanius sapientis utriusque meritis miraculum hoc arbitrator ascribendum; ut quia videlicet uterque membra corporis sui, que sunt vestimenta anime, ab ineunte etate in virginea castimonia semper candida custodivit, et a capite eorum oleum caritatis Dei nunquam defecit; jure ad utriusque integritatem exprimendam vestis discipuli ignis injuriam aut lesuram non sensit. Si enim ignis venereus in sinu eorum absconderetur, juxta Salomonis sententiam, vestimenta eorum comburerentur. Et si vestimentum eorum mixtum esset sanguine, id est membra corporis inquinata fetore libidinis prurientis, ex voluptate⁹ carnis et sanguinis, esset proculdubio, secundum Ysaye, presagium in combustionem et cibus ignis. Sanctus ergo Kentegernus, qui venerandum puerum Asaph huc usque carum et dilectum habuit, ab illo die et¹⁰ deinceps ut omnium carissimum et specialissimum dilexit. Et quam cito convenienter potuit ad sacros ordines provexit. Tempore autem oportuno curam monasterii ei delegavit; et successorem sibi in episcopatu, sicut postmodum narrabimus, effecit.

¹ *On margin.* Tirunculus .i. novus noviter electus rudis ignarus. B. M. Tironum clericus.

² *On margin.* serio adverbium studiose utiliter.

³ B. M. expande.

⁴ B. M. ferias.

⁵ B. M. expansa.

⁶ B. M. patrem sanctum et.

⁷ B. M. hoc signo.

⁸ B. M. perprecationem.

⁹ B. M. voluntate.

¹⁰ B. M. in.

[Cap. xxvi.]—Quo modo Sanctum David in celestibus a Domino coronatum viderit. Et quid de Britannia prädixerit.

TEMPORE quodam, dum vir Dei attentius et prolixius orationi instaret facies ejus quasi ignea videbatur; ita ut stupore et extasi circumstantes replerentur. Intuebantur vultum ejus, tamquam vultum angeli stantis inter eos,¹ videntesque faciem ejus velud alterius Moysi clarificatam, ammirationis stupor nimirum circumdedit universos. Completa oratione secedens in pertem resedit, et se in gravissimis lamentis dedit. Discipuli sui luctum ejus, non absque magna causa, intelligentes fieri, cum metu et tremore ad eum accesserunt, et causam tante lamentationis si liceret, et ipsius paternitati non displiceret, sibi denudari humiliter poposcerunt. Sanctus paulisper conticuit, sed ipsis perseveranter pulsantibus ad aures piissimi patris, tandem in hec verba resolutus respondit. "Noveritis, filii karissimi, Sanctissimum Dewi, decus Britannie, patrem patrie, preciosissimum presulum carbunculum, carnis carcerem modo egressum, meritisque locupletem introductum in splendoribus sanctorum, et penetrantem in sancta sanctorum. Dico vobis, credite mihi, quia non solum luciflua angelorum sanctorum² multitudo, cum cælica ymnodia intrantem illum in gaudium Domini³ sui deduxit, sed ipse Dominus Ihesus Christus, mitis et humilis corde, ei obviam procedens ad portas paradisi, gloria et honore eum coronavit, me vidente. Ecce singularis lucerna generationis sue, stella clarissimi que verbo et exemplo lucebat, in custodia sua vocanti affuit; ut cum jocunditate luceat ei qui fecit illam cunctisque assit patrocinia postulantibus, presidium illius frequentantibusque memoriam ejus⁴ sacrosanctam. Et vere, karissimi, oporteret me tanti patris, qui nos specialiter dilexit, glorie congaudere; sed non a fletibus me permittit pii amoris ardens affectus abstinere. Scitote quod Britannicus orbis, tanto lumine orbatus,⁵ tam⁶ pii patroni, tamque potentis coram Deo et omni populo, absentiam sentiet, qui gladio Domini super regionem illam, propter malitiam inhabitantium eam, semievaginato, ne penitus extractus percuteret usque ad interitionem,⁷ semet ipsum opponebat. Tradens tradet Dominus Britanniam exteris nationibus, Deum⁸ ignorantibus, secta pagana; et evacuabitur insula ab indigenis; christianeque legis religio in ea usque ad prefinitum tempus⁹ dissipabitur; sed

¹ B. M. illos.

² B. M. solum et sanctorum luciflua angelorum.

³ B. M. inserti Dei.

⁴ B. M. ejus memoriam.

⁵ *On margin*, orbatus .i. viduatus privatus.

⁶ B. M. ea.

⁷ *On margin*, interitio .i. mora.

⁸ B. M. Domini.

⁹ B. M. ipsius.

iterum in pristinum statum, immo meliorem, miserante mediatore¹ omnium Deo Christianismus reparabitur." Hec dixit Sanctus et siluit: omnesque audientes timor invasit; lacrimarum imber irrigavit. Illi vero certiorari cupientes super verbo isto, concito nuntium destinaverunt ad ecclesiam, cui Sanctus Dewi jure pontificali prefuit; et invenerunt sanctum Dei eadem hora migrasse de seculo, qua vir Domini eis indicaverat divino edoctus oraculo. Qua in re pensandum est cujus meriti coram Deo vir iste fuerit, qui tantam² gloriam, sine oculis carnis seu cordis obtutibus,³ videre promeruit; et de Britannis et Anglis tam verum vaticinium protulit, quod tota Anglia oculata fide probare poterit.

[Cap. xxvii].—*Quod Sanctus Kentegernus septies Romam adierit; et⁴ beatum Gregorium de statu suo consulerit.*

BEATUS Kentegernus, sciens Britanniam multis plagis a gentibus percussam, et ad ydolatriæ ecclesiam Dei in ea constitutam a fide Christi multociens discissam, atque divisam; insuper et ab hereticis frequenter impugnata, multaque sane doctrine adversantia, et a fide sancte catholice matris ecclesie integritate dissidentia, comperit: et qualiter omnibus hiis medelam congruam adhibere posset, apud se diutius deliberavit. Sedit denique animo ejus sedem Sancti Petri in petra fundatam adire; et ne forte zizania in medio tritici crescerent, sana Sancte Romane Ecclesie eruditione, et articulis fidei cognitis, omnem scrupulum ambiguitatis ab animo satagebat abigere, ut certa indagine ad lucem veritatis posset pervenire, Britannia namque principante sanctissimo rege Lucio, sub Eleutherio Papa, predicantibus optimis doctoribus Fagano et Diviano,⁵ et aliis quos Gildas sapiens, Britonum hystoriographus, commemorat, fidem Christi suscepit; et Christianismum susceptum, usque ad tempora Diocletiani imperatoris, integrum illibatumque conservavit. Tunc luna conversa est in sanguinem, et flamma persecutionis ergo Christianos incanduit, per universum orbem. Tunc flagellum illud inundans Britanniam vehementer oppressit, et manus pagana primitias metens manipulorum illius insule, videlicet Albanum, albo Regis Eterni inserendum, de medio tulit; et alios postmodum innumeros volens etiam nesciens et⁶ celo optulit.

Ab illo tempore ydolorum cultura adolescere⁷ in insula cepit,

¹ B. M. moderatore.

² B. M. totam.

³ B. M. obtutibus.

⁴ B. M. que.

⁵ B. M. Duviano.

⁶ B. M. omits et.

⁷ B. M. *insertis* et invalescere.

et divine legis abjectionem¹ et oblivionem induxit. Christianitas tamen post ea qualicunque modo iterum rediviva re-floruit. Sed successu temporis prius Pelagiana pullulans heresis, postmodum Arriana obrepens, Catholice fidei faciem fedavit. Que profecto per Sanctum Germanum, Autidiorensem² episcopum, virum videlicet apostolicum signis preclaris multiplicatis, desectis³ et ejectis heresibus renovata reviguit et reviruit;⁴ sed e vicino infestatio Pictorum atque Scottorum, ab agnitione nominis Christi alienorum, a finibus aquilonalibus Britannie, fidem et fideles funditus fugavit.

Postremo ab Anglis, adhuc paganis, Britannia est expugnata, a quibus Anglia est agnominata: abjectis⁵ indigenis, ydolis et ydolatriis fuit subjecta. Indigene vero insule in minorem Britanniam ultra mare, aut in Walliam fugerunt; et licet a terra propria fugati, non tamen fidem omnes omnino⁶ abjecerunt. Picti vero prius per Sanctum Ninianum ex magna parte; postea per Sanctos Kentegernum et Columbam fidem susceperunt; et dein in apostasiam lapsi, iterum per predicationem Sancti Kentegerni, non solum Picti, sed⁷ Scotti, et populi innumeri in diversis finibus Britannie constituti, ad fidem sicut jam diximus, et adhuc plenius dicemus, conversi vel in fide confirmati sunt.

Sanctus autem Augustinus actu et habitu monachali insignis, et famuli Dei alii⁸ religiosi, a summo pontifice beato Gregorio destinati in Angliam venerunt; et⁹ sancte predicationis imbribus¹⁰ affluentes, et miraculorum fulgure coruscantes, tum per se, tum per discipulos eorum, totam insulam ad Christum convertentes, regulis fidei, et sanctorum patrum institutis, plene informantes, totam¹¹ Angliam Christi bono odore repleverunt.

Quia igitur Britannia tot plagis attrita, et Christianitas in ea tociens fuerat obnubilata, vel etiam deleta,¹² diversis temporibus diversi ritus in ea emeruerant, contra formam sancte Romane ecclesie, et sanctorum patrum decreta. Ut igitur hiis omnibus occurrere, atque succurrere, sciret et posset beatus Kentegernus, de monasterio suo supradicto exiens, Romam adiit septies,¹³ et que correctionis egebat Britannia Rome discens, domi reportavit. Septima autem vice repatrians¹⁴ gravissimam egritudinem incurrit, et cum summa difficultate ad sua repedavit.

Quadam tamen vice Romam adivit, cum sedi Apostolice presideret beatus Gregorius, vir officio, auctoritate, doctrina, vita,¹⁵

¹ B. M. objectionem.

² B. M. Autizioderensim.

³ B. M. defectia. ⁴ B. M. reviruit, et reviguit.

⁵ B. M. ejectis.

⁶ B. M. omnino omnes.

⁷ B. M. inserti et.

⁸ B. M. alii famuli Dei.

⁹ B. M. que.

¹⁰ B. M. virtutibus.

¹¹ B. M. terram.

¹² B. M. deleta.

¹³ B. M. septies petiit.

¹⁴ B. M. tamen vice reparatus.

¹⁵ B. M. vita, doctrina.

apostolicus; et specialis Angliæ apostolus, nam Angligene signa sunt apostolatus ejus. Quasi vas auri solidum, ornatum omni lapide precioso, os aureum cognominatur jure,¹ quippe qui multas scripturas exponendo, claro et nitidissimo dilucidavit stilo. Memoria ejus quasi opus pigmentarii in compositione unguenti, et quasi musica² in convivio vini.³ Quia profecto Sanctam Ecclesiam per orbem diffusam, suis mellifluis scriptis, et canticis secundum musicam compositis, dulcoravit, et canonicis institutis suffulsit domum Dei, et decoravit. Huic sanctissimo Summo Pontifici totam vitam suam denudavit, electionem ejus in pontificatum, et consecrationem, et omnes casus qui ei acciderant seriatim ei enodavit.⁴ Sanctus vero Papa, spiritu concilii et discretionis pollens, utpote Spiritu Sancto repletus, intelligens illum virum Dei, et Spiritus Sancti gratia plenum, electionem et consecrationem ejus, quia utrumque a Deo noverat pervenisse, confirmavit; ipsoque multociens petente, et vix impetrante, que deerant consecrationi ejus supplens, in opus ministerii a Spiritu Sancto illi injuncti destinavit. Sanctus pontifex Kentegernus apostolica absolutione, et benedictione, percepta, codices canonum, et alios quamplures sacre scripture libros, necnon et privilegia, et multa sanctorum pignora, et ecclesie ornamenta, et cetera que ad decorem Domus Domini⁵ pertinent, secum portans domi remeavit. Et suos suo adventu, et sanctis exeniis et eulogiis, letificavit. Deguit ibi aliquanto tempore in quiete magna et conversatione; et tam episcopatum quam monasterium, sancte et strenue rexit, cum multa sollicitudine.

[Cap. xxviii.]—*Quid de duobis clericis spiritu rebelante cognoverit;⁶ et quid eis ipso predicente evenit.⁷*

ACCIDIT ut Sanctus presul sacros gradus, clerum ordinando, deberet distribuere, et ad sacerdotale officium quosdam promoveret. Inter ceteros oblatum est ei quidam clericus, elegantis forme, magne eloquentie, multe litterature, ad sacerdotium promovendus, natione quidem Britannus, sed in Galliis educatus. Hunc cum vidisset Sanctus, accito archidiacono eum jussit⁸ statim amoveri, et a clero sequestrari. Videbatur enim oculis Sancti quasi sulphurea flamma de sinu illius clerici procedere, et intolerabilem fetorem naribus ejus ingerere. Ex qua visione Spiritu revelante, intellexit quo vicio laboraret in corpore. Erat enim, sicut tunc soli viro Dei et postmodum cunctis

¹ B. M. vere cognominatur.

⁴ B. M. inenodavit.

⁷ B. M. evenierit.

² B. M. mirifica.

⁵ B. M. Dei.

⁸ B. M. jussit eum.

³ B. M. viri.

⁶ B. M. regnaverit.

claruit, assuefactus illi fetidissimo flagitio, pro quo filios diffidentie in Pentapoli igne et sulphure subvertit, atque delevit divina ultio. Et ait Sanctus circumstantibus, "Si sacri canones mulieres ob infirmitatem sexus, que nullatenus est in vicio, ad sacerdotalem gradum promoveri prohibent;¹ multo magis viros sui sexus² perversores, nature abusores, qui in contemptum conditoris, in contumeliam sui, in totius creature injuriam, quod creati sunt, et nati, exuunt, et feminas induunt, a tam sacro gradu et officio arceri debent. Nusquam legimus graviorem vindictam excercuisse censuram, quam in illud monstruosum genus hominum, in quibus illud execrabile flagitium primordialium sumpsit materiam. Non solum civitates illas, cum habitatoribus suis, in³ igne propter ardorem libidinis, et sulphure ob illius abhominabilis vicii fetorem, subvertit; verum etiam in locum horridum visu, sulphure et bitumine et intollerabili fetore plenum, nichil in se vivum⁴ recipientem, habentem quidem in ripis suis arbores proferentes poma exterius quasi integra, sed interiori fumo et cineribus plena, et quandam infernalis supplicii ymaginem preferentem, convertit. Et hoc quidem quam sit horridum,⁵ quamque cunctis hominibus devitandum, in hac vita ludibrium tam⁶ nepharium, et in futuro quibus tormentis sit multandum, subtiliter satis ostendunt: dum ignis libidinis ardorem, sulphur flagitii fetorem, bitumen vitii obligationem, fumus cordis cecitatem, in hoc seculo,⁷ in futuro ignem inextinguibilem, fetorem intolerabilem, vincula indissolubilia, tenebrarum horrorem, mortem interminabilem, exprimunt." Post hec clericus prefatus in⁸ viam suam abiit, et ut fama resperserat repentina morte occupatus⁹ interiit.

Cum autem peracto officio, domi reverteretur vir sanctus, occurrit ei inter ceteros clericus quidam peregrinus eloquentissimus. Hunc vir Dei intuens, urenti oculo perstrinxit; et quis esset, et unde, et ad quid in partes illas venisset, inquisivit. At ille predicatorem veritatis, et viam Dei in veritate docentem, se esse respondit, et¹⁰ pro salvatione animarum ad partes istas advenisse asseruit. Sed cum Sanctus colloquium conseruisset cum eo, convicit eum Pelagiane pestis inebriatum veneno. Volens igitur eum potius redire, quam perire, ut perniciosae sectae abrenuntiaret, sedulo commonuit, et convenit; sed pectus ejus saxeum ad convertendum invenit. Tunc Sanctus a sua diocesi illum expelli precepit; et quod filius mortis, et mors utriusque hominis¹¹ in januis esset, denuntiavit. Memoravit.

¹ B. M. *inserts* etiam.² B. M. *vivum* in se.³ B. M. *inserts* et.⁴ B. M. que.⁵ B. M. viri sexus sui.⁶ B. M. horrendum.⁷ B. M. per.⁸ B. M. *inserts* ei.⁹ B. M. ut.¹⁰ B. M. tamen.¹¹ B. M. preoccupatus.

etiam illud Apostoli, Hereticum hominem post secundam ammonitionem devota, sciens quam subversus est hujusmodi. Iadem filius gehenne a finibus illis expulsus recessit; et quoddam flumen transsire temptans aquis suffocatus ad tartara descendit. Et Sanctissimi viri vaticinium veridicum, argumento tam evidenti, fide dignissimum ostendit.

[Cap. xxix.]—Qualiter divina ultio adversarios Sancti Kentegerni percussit; et patriotas apostatas effectos oppressos.¹

KUC usque quid Sanctus Kentegernus discedens a patria sua, et quid commoratus in terra aliena egerit, diligentiori relatu quo potuimus enarravimus. Amodo ad insinuandum quid adversarii ejus passi sunt, aut qualiter ad Cambrinam Regionem redierit, vel quid in ea egerit² articulum reflectamus. Postquam vir Domini, malitie cedens locum dedit, super discessione ejus non diu gaudere permisi sunt inimici ejus. Visitavit Dominus enim eos³ in manu gravi, in⁴ brachio duro, in⁵ furore effuso extendens super eos virgam vigilantem in malum, et non in bonum, percutiens eos plaga inimici, castigatione crudeli usque ad interemptionem.⁶ Quosdam namque eorum operuerunt tenebre⁷ cecitatis caligo persequens; quosdam paralysis dissolverat,⁸ omne robur eorum enervans, et omnis virtutis corporee effectus effectos efficiens. Alios apprehendit furor insanabilis, usque ad tumultum perseverans; alios exesit vel excussit lepra tabefaciens, et in semivivis cadaveribus spirantes mortuis putrescentibus assimilans. Plures eorum epileptici effecti⁹ horribile spectaculum de se intuentibus prebuerunt. Alii atque alii, vario genere morborum incurabilium consumpti, expiraverunt. Tanta namque indignatio ire Domini tam subito delevit eos, ut omnes qui noverant illorum prius potentiam¹⁰ et multitudinem sibilarent super eos dicentes, Quare fecit Dominus sic huic populo? Quum ecce subito defecerunt, perierunt propter iniquitatem suam, quam exercuerunt adversum Sanctum Domini auferre molientes de terra ejus vitam et memoriam.

Patriote etiam cito deseruerunt viam Domini, quam pastor bonus, doctor verax, ostenderat eis; et tanquam canes reversi ad vomitum, prolapsi sunt ad ydolatrie ritum. Sed non impune. Celum enim et terra, mare, et omnia que in eis sunt, subtraxerunt eis¹¹ obsequium, usum, et assuetum¹² adjutorium suum;

¹ B. M. oppresserit.

² B. M. fecerit.

³ B. M. nam eos Dominus.

⁴ B. M. et.

⁵ B. M. et.

⁶ B. M. internitionem.

⁷ B. M. *insertis* et.

⁸ B. M. dissolvat.

⁹ B. M. epileptici effectus.

¹⁰ B. M. prius noverat illorum penitentiam.

¹¹ B. M. *omits* eis.

¹² B. M. consuetum.

ut juxta scripturam, contra insensatos pugnare videretur orbis terrarum; et tanti viri a terra illa absentati elementa putarentur equanimitè non ferre abcessionem.¹ Nam juxta illud propheticum, Viror² omnis recessit, pecus omne interiit, celum desuper eneam, et terra ferrea fuit, devorans³ habitatores suos; famesque consumptoria, super omnem terram multo tempore prevaluit.

Quando autem venit tempus miserendi, ut ammoveret Dominus ab eis virgam indignationis sue, et ut converterentur ad Dominum et sanaret eos, suscitavit super regnum Cambrinum in regem Rederech nomine; qui a discipulis Sancti Patrici in Yberniam⁴ baptizatus fuerat fide Christianissimum; qui, et in toto corde quereretur Dominum, et reparare studeret Christianissimum. Et vere magnum divine pietatis est indicium, quando Dominus in regimine Sancte ecclesie, et in principatum terre, constituit rectores et reges, qui juste decernant, sancte vivant; qui bona populo suo querant, qui judicium et justiciam in terra faciant. Sic prorsus, e contrario, evidens experimentum indignationis Dei est quando regnare facit ypocritam propter peccata populi, quando dicit regi apostata et vocat duces impios sicut in Job scriptum est⁵ et juxta prophetam, quando dat reges in furore suo, et principes in ira sua.

[Cap. xxx.]—*Quomodo sanctus Rederech Sanctum Kentegernum, ut ad suam sedem in Glasgu rediret, nunciis et litteris inbitaberit; et Sanctus presul divino edoctus oraculo petitioni Regis adqueherit.*

REX igitur Rederech, videns Christianam religionem in regno suo pene deletam, magnam operam adhibuit quomodo repararet eam. Et diu apud se tractans, et cum aliis Christianis qui erant ei a secretis, non invenit salubrius consilium, quo id posset perducere ad effectum, quam si destinaret nuncios ad Sanctum Kentegernum, ob illum ad priorem cathedram revocandum. Fama de Sancto evolans pulsavit aures et animum Regis, quia⁶ lux non potuit⁷ abscondi, licet luceret in partibus remotioris regionis. Direxit ergo nuncios Rex⁸ ad beatum presulem, cum litteris suis deprecatoriis, et commonitoriis, obsecrans, exhortans, et obtestans, per nomen Domini ne pastor oves pascue sue diu desolatas, et custodia deputatas,⁹ ulterius

¹ B. M. abecessum.

⁴ B. M. Hibernia.

⁶ B. M. que.

² B. M. virorum.

⁵ B. M. omits quando regnare . . . scriptum est.

⁷ B. M. inserto ille.

⁹ B. M. destitutas.

³ B. M. devoris.

⁸ B. M. Rex nuncios.

deserendo, curam eis sui subtrahat; ne lupi infernalis de hyatibus¹ rapiendas eas exponat et dilacerandas,² sed potius antequam omnino a faucibus leonis rugientis, preparati ad escam, transvorentur,³ occurrat. Dum non sit homo ad presens nisi ipse qui eruat, aut justius eruere debeat. Indignum esse asseruit ut sponsus sponsam, pastor ovile, presul ecclesiam suam, derelinquet; pro cuius amore animam suam ponere debet, ne mercenarius fiat. Indicavit etiam vindice Deo defunctos esse qui querebant animam ejus; juravitque se in omnibus, velud patri filium, obtemperaturum voluntati, doctrine, et preceptis ejus.

Hiis acceptis pater sanctus siluit; nec illo die illis aliquod verbum fixum super hiis respondit. Proposuit enim canos suos fovere usque ad vesperum dierum suorum et diem ultimum suum⁴ claudere in illo glorioso monasterio, quod cum diutino et summo sudore extruxerat,⁵ in pace in id ipsum dormire, et requiescere in conspectu filiorum suorum, quos per evangelium genuerat, in Christo parturierat.⁶ Sed quia non querebat que sua sunt, sed que Jhesu Christi; nec venit voluntatem suam facere sed ejus qui se misit, sicut foret voluntas in celo de se, et in se,⁷ erga se, fieri volens, semetipsum ex toto divine dispositioni submisit. Nocte autem sequente in oratione procumbenti,⁸ et super hoc negotio Dominum consulenti, angelus Domini astitit; et lumen refulsit in habitaculo oratorii, percussoque latere ejus ut surgeret imperavit ei. Quo erecto ait illi nuntius celicus, "Revertere in Glasgu, ad ecclesiam tuam, ibique eris in gentem magnam, et crescere te faciet Dominus in plebem suam. Gentem sanctam, et innumerabilem populum acquisitionis, adquires Domino Deo tuo, coronam perpetuam percepturus ab eo. Ibi enim in senectute bona dies tuos consummabis, et ex hoc mundo transibis ad patrem tuum qui est in celis. Caro tua ibi requiescet in spe, cum gloria et honore funerata, valdeque honoranda crebra populorum frequentatione, et miraculorum exhibitione, donec in novissimo die geminam⁹ stolam accipiendo de manu Domini, duplicia possideas in generali resurrectione." Hiis dictis angelica visio et allocutio disparuit. Ipse vero ubertim plorans, gratias Domino exhibuit, crebro ingeminans, "Paratum cor meum, Deus; paratum cor meum, ad quodcunque tibi placuerit."

¹ B. M. dentibus.

² B. M. transvortitus.

³ B. M. pertulerat.

⁴ B. M. rapiendas et delacerandas eas exponat.

⁵ B. M. diem suum ultimum.

⁶ B. M. *inserta et.*

⁷ B. M. *inserta et.*

⁸ B. M. percumbenti.

⁹ B. M. gemma.

[Cap. xxxi.]—Quomodo Sanctus discipulos suos¹ de reditu suo alloquens, Sanctum Asaph sibi successorem in regimine substituerit.²

QUAMQUE dies illucesceret, convocatis discipulis suis in unum dixit, "Humanum dico vobis, karissimi, volui propter infirmitatem carnis mee diu deliberans, et desiderans, oculos istos seniles a vobis claudi, ossaque mea sub oculis omnium vestrum in ventrem matris omnium recondi. Sed quia non est³ hominis via in potestate ejus, injunctum⁴ est mihi a Domino ad ecclesiam meam de Glasgu redire; nec debemus, aut audemus, vel volumus, contradicere sermonibus sancti sicut Job dicit, sive in aliquo contraire; sed potius in omnibus voluntati ejus, et jussioni, usque ad vite exitum obedire. Vos ergo, karissimi, state in fide; viriliter agite, et confortamini; semperque satagite ut omnia vestra in caritate fiant." Hec et hiis similia multa coram illis dixit; elevataque manu omnibus benedixit. Deinde, unanimi omnium assensu, Sanctum Asaph, superius memoratum, in regimen monasterii, et plebis petitione et cleri canonica electione, pontificatus successorem sibi subrogavit; et iterum de fide, et spe, et caritate, de misericordia et justitia, de humilitate et obedientia, de sancta pace mutua et⁵ patientia, de vitiis cavendis de⁶ virtutibus acquirendis; de institutis Sanctæ Romane Ecclesie observandis⁷; de regularibus disciplinis et exercitiis, que ipse instituerat custodiendis omni annisu⁸; et ad ultimum de omnium bonorum constantia et perseverantia, sermonem prolixum et profundum protelavit.⁹

Finito sermone in cathedralem sedem Sanctum Asaph inthronizavit; et iterum omnibus benedicens¹⁰ et valesfaciens, per Aquilonalem janua ecclesie, eo quod esset adversus Aquilonalem hostem pugnaturus, exivit. Exeunte autem illo clausa est janua illa; omnesque qui viderunt vel audierunt illius egressum vel¹¹ discessum, planxerunt planctu magno super illius absentia. Unde mos inolevit in ecclesia illa ut janua illa non aperiatur, nisi semel in anno, scilicet in sollempnitate Sancti Asaph, hoc est kal. Maii, duplici de causa. Prima; quia¹² deferunt sanctitati ejus qui exierat. Secunda; quia innuitur ingens planctus eorum, qui ejus discessum planxerant. Ideo in die Sancti Asaph janua illa aperitur, quia dum Sanctus ille

B. M. omis suos.

B. M. invinctum.

⁷ B. M. conservandia.⁹ B. M. procelavit.¹¹ B. M. et.³ B. M. sustinuerit.⁶ B. M. que.⁸ B. M. omni annisu custodiens.¹⁰ B. M. benedicens omnibus.¹² B. M. que.⁵ B. M. omis est.⁶ B. M. et.

beato Kentegerno in regimine successit, tristitia eorum¹ in gaudium convertebatur. Ex illo monasterio perplurima² pars fratrum, nullatenus valens aut volens, quamdiu viveret, sine illo vivere, usque ad sexcentos sexaginta quinque cum illo abierunt. Trecenti tantum cum Sancto Asaph remanserunt. Cum talibus turmis, quasi militia celestis curie vallatus, revertebatur hostem antiquum expugnaturus; et de finibus Aquilonis, in quibus ipse apostata angelus sedem suam posuerat, expulsurus. Et merito tales tali numero computati eum comitabantur, qui per senarium bonorum operum exercitium, decalogum legis implendo, multiplicantes ad centenariam virtutum perfectionem pervenerunt, et quinarium sensualis discipline custodiam pro posse³ suo conservaverunt.

Cum audisset Rex Rederech, et populus ejus, quod Kentegernus advenisset de Wallia ad Cambriam, de exilio ad propriam patriam, Rex cum ingenti leticia, et plurima multitudo letibunda et laudans processerunt ei obviam. Sonat⁴ in ore omnium, ob adventum ejus gratiarum actio vox laudis et jocunditatis; resonat econtra in ore Sancti presulis, Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis.

[Cap. xxxii.]—*De demoniis mirabiliter fugatis; et de loco in quo ad predicandum stetit, et terre fecunditate secuta.*

BEATUS Kentegernus videns maxime multitudinis ad se festinantis concursus et occursum, exultavit in spiritu; et Deo⁵ gratias agens in oratione genua fixit. Completaque oratione surgens, in nomine Sancte Trinitatis collectam multitudinem benedixit. Deinde signo sancte crucis circumstantes muniens quasi sententiam protulit dicens: "Quicumque saluti hominum invident, et verbo Dei adversantur, in virtute ejusdem verbi Dei precipio, ut protinus discedant, ne credituris aliquod impedimentum ingerant." Quo dicto sub nimia celeritate ingens larvatorum multitudo, statura et visu horribilis, a cetu illo exiens⁶, omnibus videntibus aufugit; ex quorum visione timor magnus super eos irruit. Sanctus antistes confortans eos, corroboransque, in quales crediderant denudavit; et ad credendum Deo viventi corda omnium astantium excitavit. Evidenti namque ratione ostendit ydola muta, figmenta hominum vana, igni potius quam numini esse aptiora. Elementa etiam quibus inesse credebant numina, creaturas esse docuit ex Conditoris dispositione ad usum hominum, et ministerium, et adjutoria,

¹ B. M. illorum.

⁴ B. M. sonet.

² B. M. plurima.

⁶ B. M. ideo.

³ B. M. preposse.

⁶ B. M. exigens.

esse plasmata. Woden vero quem principalem deum crediderant, et precipue Angli de quo originem duxerant, cui et quartam feriam consecraverant, probabiliter affirmavit hominem fuisse mortalem, et regem Saxonum, secta paganum, a quo ipsi et plures nationes genus duxerant. Hujus inquit corpus multis annis transactis resolutum fuit in pulverem; et anima sepulta in inferno eternum sustinet ignem.

Hiis et similibus ydolorum culturam a cordibus eorum ejiciens, trinum et unum Deum omnipotentem, ex ipsa visibilis creature specie omnium creatorem demonstravit; et postmodum fidem que est in Christo Jhesu, et fidei sacramenta, eis evangelizans, non esse aliud nomen sub celo, in quo credentes oportet salvos fieri, nisi nomen Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, veracissimis et luculentissimis assertionibus comprobavit. Cumque multa in hunc modum, que ad Christianam fidem spectant, in planicie campi, vocabulo Holdelm, spiritu docente et dictante, predicasset, terra in qua sedit, in oculis omnium crevit in monticulum altum, et manet ibi usque in diem hodiernum. Igitur qui convenerant cernentes tam subito tam grande miraculum, verbo fidei medullitus obedientes, Jhesum Christum Deum esse firmiter fideliterque¹ crediderunt, qui se illis revelaverat per famulum suum Kentegernum. Certatim omnes ergo² viri cum mulieribus, senes cum junioribus, simul in unum dives et pauper, ad virum Dei concurrentes fidei regulis imbuuntur; catezizati abrenuntiant sathane, et omnibus pompis et operibus ejus, ac in nomine Sancte Trinitatis lavacro salutari abluuntur; sicque crismate sacro et oleo liniti, corpori ecclesie associati, membra Christi efficiuntur.

Gavisus est ergo antistes gaudio magno, quia³ salus magna facta est; et ingens leticia aucta in populo illo; nec minus gaudium fuit coram angelis Dei in celo, cum ad Deum conversa fuerat tanta multitudo. Congrue sane tali signo in⁴ initio predicationis sue, montis videlicet elevatione, voluit Dominus mirificare Sanctum suum. Qui in ipsum montem coagulatum et pinguem, in quo beneplacitum est Deo habitare, in eo predicando omnes efficaciter induxit ad credendum. Qui prius lapis sine manibus precisus⁵ de monte, crevit in montem magnum,⁶ et implevit faciem orbis terre; quia profecto absque complexu virili de virgine procreatus Deus omnipotens manifeste claruit in mundi hujus⁷ latitudine. Iste est⁸ inquam mons elevatus in vertice montium Christus nimirum Dominus transcendens

¹ B. M. fideliter firmiterque.

⁴ B. M. *omits* in.

⁷ B. M. hujus mundi.

² B. M. ergo omnes.

⁵ B. M. abecisua.

⁸ B. M. *omits* est.

³ B. M. que.

⁶ B. M. altum.

omnem virtutem et celsitudinem omnium sanctorum : in cujus viis, et semitis, et lumine, Kentegerno docente, multo devotius et constancius iste gentes ambulaverunt, quam domus illa carnalis Jacob, que magis tenebras quam lucem diligentes, et a viis veritatis retro abeuntes, lumine summe lucis illustrari contempserunt.

Postquam vero habitatores Cambrie ad Deum conversi, saluari lavacro abluti sunt, omnia elementa que ob divine ultionem injurie, in eorum videbantur conjurasse perniciem, jam novam faciem induerant erga eos, in utriusque hominis salutem. Sicut enim Dominus ab apostatis aversus, et eos adversans prohibitis etiam stillis roris, mandavit nubibus suis ne pluerent super terram vocavitque famem devastatoriam super eam ; sic ad se reversis conversus, jussit, ut celum daret pluviam, et terra germinaret herbam virentem, fructumque suum afferret habitantibus super eam. Sic sic¹ illuminante Domino vultum suum super eos, senciebatur sol solito serenior, celi camera clarior, aer salubrior, tellus fecundior, pontus secundior, omnium rerum abundantia copiosior, pax firmior, rerum omnium facies jocundior, et ideo circa divini cultus obsequium cunctorum devotio extitit profusior.

[Cap. xxxiii.]—*Quod Rex Rederech ei dominium super se, et posteros suos, concesserit.*

REX itaque Rederech, cernens² manum Domini³ bonam secum, et pro voto operantem, gaudio multo replebatur. Quantaque devotione interius ferverit foras ostendere non cunctabatur. Vestibus namque regiis se exuens, genibus flexis, et manibus junctis,⁴ cum consensu et consilio magnatum suorum, hominum suum Sancto Kentegerno optulit ; eique dominium et principatum super universum regnum suum tradidit, illumque regem se patrie rectorem sub ipso nominari voluit, sicut magnum quondam Constantinum imperatorem sancto Silvestro fecisse cognovit. Unde mos inolevit ut per multorum annorum curricula, quamdiu regnum Cambrinum in suo statu perduravit, semper princeps episcopo subditus fuerat.⁵ Crebro a Rege verbum hoc inculcabatur, quod non frustra a Sancto Servano, Kentegernus vocaretur, sed potius⁶ de causa, eo quod Domino disponente fieri deberet omnium eorum dominus capitaneus ; nam Ken, capud Latine ; tyern Albanice, dominus Latine, interpretatur.

¹ B. M. solo.

⁴ B. M. incutiens.

² B. M. certiens.

⁵ B. M. fieret.

³ B. M. Dei.

⁶ B. M. *inscribis certa*.

Sanctus Kentegernus, quasi novus Melchizedech effectus, suscipere non renuit quod ad honorem Dei, ei tam devote Rex optulit; quia et hoc expedire ecclesie Dei in posterum previdit. Habebat etiam privilegium a summo pontifice sibi missum, ut nulli episcopo esset subjectus; sed potius vocaretur et esset Domini Pape vicarius, et¹ capellanus. Rex vero, qui² gloria et honore sanctum pontificem sublimavit, gratiam pro gratia, et majores honores et opes a Domino recepit. Regina etiam Langueth³ nomine, diutine sterilitatis obprobrio depressa, benedictione et intercessionem sancti episcopi, concepit, et peperit filium; ad totius parentele consolationem et gaudium. Quem Sanctus baptizans vocavit Constantinum, ob memoriam facti paterni, quod sibi exhibuerat, instar Romani imperatoris Constantini, quod jam sicut diximus sancto Silvestro fecerat. Crevit itaque puer egregie indolis, etate et gratia, dilectus Deo et hominibus effectus, qui jure hereditario, postquam pater in fata concessit, ei in regnum successit; episcopo autem, sicut et pater, semper subjectus. Et quia Dominus erat cum eo, omnes barbaras nationes vicinas genti sui, sine sanguinis effusione compressit. Omnesque regis qui ante se in regno Cambrie principabantur, divitiis et gloria, dignitate, et quod prestantius est sanctitate, antecessit. Unde et meritis preclarus, consumens⁴ in bonum dies suos de seculo triumphari, et in celo gloria⁵ et honore meruit coronari, Sanctusque Constantinus usque ad⁶ presens solet a pluribus appellari. Hec diximus quasi per anticipationem, quia de Constantino, precibus Sancti Kentegerni genito, et ab eo baptizato et educato, fecimus mentionem. Sanctus presul Kentegernus in Holdelmo ecclesias construens, presbiterum⁷ et clerum ordinans, sedem episcopalem aliquanto tempore, certa de causa, ibi constituit. Postea divina revelatione commonitus, illam ad civitatem suam Glasgu, equitate exigente transtulit.

[Cap. xxxib.]—Quantas nationes Sanctus, tum⁸ per se tum⁹ per discipulos suos, et¹⁰ spurcicia ydolatrie purgaverit. Et quod multis miraculis claruerit.

BEATUS Kentegernus, quasi¹¹ facula ardens in diebus suis, radiantibus virtutum flammis, verbo Domini ignito et lucido, satagebat corda errore ignorantie secata illuminare; frigida ad

¹ B. M. que.² B. M. quia.³ B. M. Languoreth.⁴ B. M. perclarus consummans.⁵ B. M. omnia gloria.⁶ B. M. in.⁷ B. M. presbyteros.⁸ B. M. tamen.⁹ B. M. tamen.¹⁰ B. M. ab omni.¹¹ B. M. quali.

Dei amorem accendere; spinas peccatorum, et tribulos vitiorum, que ex antiquo maledicto faciem terre silvescendo operuerant, succendere. Nec fuit qui se facile a calore ejus posset abscondere. Diocesim enim suam visitans visitavit, omnesque deos alienos de medio eorum auferens, cultus peregrini¹ cunctas ceremonias eliminavit. Sicque parans viam Domino, et rectas faciens semitas Dei nostri, in meliorem statum totam Christianitatem, quam unquam antea ibi fuerat, reparavit.

Deinde Dei miles, igne Sancti Spiritus succensus, sicut² qui comburit silvam, et sicut flamma comburens montes; postquam vicina sibi diocesim suam videlicet³ correxerat; ad ulteriora progrediens, Pictorum patriam, que modo Galwiethia dicitur, et circumjacentia ejus, ab ydolatrie spurcicia, et heretice doctrine contagione, purgavit: et miraculis choruscantibus quicquid Christiane fidei et sane doctrine contrarium invenerat.⁴ In omnibus hiis non est fervor devotionis ejus aversus, sed adhuc manus ejus extenta ad opera forcia, et ad gloriam et honorem nomini altissimi acquirendam, calciatis in preparatione evangelii pacis pedibus ejus.

Petiit namque Albaniam; ibique, cum sudore nimio et quodam modo intollerabili, multociens barbarorum insidiis morti expositus, sed in fide stans inperterritus, ab ydolorum cultura et prophanis ritibus ydolatrie, pene equipollentibus, Domino co-operante et dante virtutem voci predicationis ejus, ad fidei lineas, et ecclesiasticas consuetudines, et canonica instituta convertit patriam. Illic enim multas ecclesias erexit; erectas dedicavit; presbiteros et clerum ordinans: et plures⁵ de discipulis suis in episcopos consecravit. Multa etiam in partibus illis monasteria fundavit; et ex discipulis quos instituerat⁶ illis patres preposuit.

In omnibus hiis non adhuc requievit spiritus ejus, in plurimorum salvationem hanelus, quin bellaret bella Domini utpote dominici exercitus signifer insignis, et athleta animi invicti. Destinavit itaque ex suis, quos in fide fortes, ferventes, in caritate,⁷ doctrina insignes, religione sublimes, noverat, ad insulas que procul sunt, versus Orchades, Noruuagiam, Ysalandam ad annuncianum in⁸ eis nomen Domini, et fidem Jhesu Christi; eo quod illis in locis esset messis quidem multa, operarii nulli. Et quum jam silicernus erat, nec per se illos adire potuit, hoc opus per discipulos suos adimpleri voluit.

¹ B. M. peregrini cultus.

² B. *insertis* ignis.

³ B. M. videlicet suam.

⁴ B. M. *addit* ad regulam veritatis deducens pro posse suo emendavit.

⁵ B. M. populos.

⁶ B. M. instruerat.

⁷ B. M. *insertis* Dei.

⁸ B. M. *omittit* in.

Hiis rite peractis, ad propriam sedem in Glasgu revertitur, ubi multis et magnis miraculis, sicut et alibi immo et¹ ubique, claruisse dinoscitur. Nam fere ubicunque labia ejus salutarem disseminaverunt scientiam, divina virtus in servo suo operans multiplicium exhibebat signorum efficaciam. Cecis namque visum, surdis auditum, claudis gressum, mutis loquelam, furiosis sensum, reddebat. Febres fugabat, demonia ab² obsessis corporibus ejiciebat, paraliticos exigebat,³ lunaticos sanabat, leprosos mundabat, omnimodos languores curabat. Sed in hujusmodi exercitiis erat ei cotidianum opus, lusus assuetus, usus assiduus, que ex tam crebra exhibitione quodam modo viluerunt, et ne copia congesta pareret fastidium, calamo minime mandata sunt. Multociens etiam multi egroti ex tactis fimbriis vestimentorum ejus, crebro ex particulis cibi aut potus ejus datis, et sumptis, sospitatem assequabantur aliquociens etiam in umbra corporis ejus pertransseuntis, ut alius Petrus putaretur, portati in grabato curabantur.

[Cap. xxxb.]—*Quomodo Dominus vestimenta Sancti ab omni stillicidio pluvie, nivis, et grandinis, intacta custodierit.*

IACET multa miracula, ceteris sanctis inusitata, manus Domini per beatum Kentegernum operaretur, unum tamen opus operatus est in eo unde omnes ammirantur. Sicut enim omnes testimonium perhibebant, qui virum noverunt, similiter et qui cum eo conversati sunt, nunquam in vita sua vestimenta sua⁴ pluvie inundantis,⁵ vel nivis vel⁶ grandinis stillicidiis, stillantibus super terram, maduerunt. Nam sepe numero sub divo constitutus, dum aeris inclementia ingruente, imber inundans, tamquam sentina, diffunderet; et spiritus procelle in circuitu ejus deseviret; immobilis stetit aliquando, aut ivit quo voluit, et a cujuslibet aure⁷ stillula et injuria illesus, et intactus semper extitit. Nec solum ipsi soli istud prodigium quod a Domino factum est et est mirabile in oculis omnium, conferre Dominus dignatus est, sed in⁸ ipsius discipulorum turba cum illo gradiens, ad ipsum ipsius meritis, quamvis non ut ipse semper, sepiissime tamen⁹ in se, et erga se experta est. Sanctitas namque Sancti doctoris Kentegerni, divina perfusi gratia, erat sequacibus ejus in umbraculum diei et estus, et in abscon-
sionem a turbine et a pluvia.

¹ B. M. omits et.⁴ B. M. ejus.⁷ B. M. horum.² B. M. ex.⁵ B. M. innudatis.⁸ B. M. et.³ B. M. erigebat.⁶ B. M. aut.⁹ B. M. tam

Nullus itaque discredere debet Dominum descripti miraculi beneficium suo prestitisse devotissimo famulo, ad laudem sui nominis, et ob commendandam sanctitatem illius; cum juxta aliquam similitudinem tale quid, immo multo majus aliquid, conferre dignatus sit in deserto, universo Ebreorum populo, ad insinuandam¹ gratiam quam invenerant in oculis ipsius. Illius populi, sicut legimus, non sunt attrita vestimenta nec inveterata: hujus solius indumenta nulla gutta aëria sunt perfusa. Nulli ergo hoc videatur incredibile, cum Domino dicente, omnia possibilia sint² credenti, et apud Deum nichil est impossibile. Similiter et illud signum quod in percussione Egypti, quodam loco de filiis Israel scriptum invenimus, frequenter in beato Kentegerno iteratum novimus. Quando enim tenebre opererunt totam terram Egypti, et caligo ejus populos, sicut scriptum est, ubi filii Israel habitabant illuc et lux erat; sic sepe cum nebula totam terram obtegeret,³ tenebras plerumque palpabiles inducens, ubi Sanctus predicabat; ipsum et locum, et omnes habitantes in eo, lumen circumfulserat. Merito ergo ut credimus vestimenta hujus Sancti⁴ nullo stillicidio sunt aliquociens madefacta, cujus membra corporis ab omni inquinamento carnis, et sanguinis, omni annisu conservare studuit illibata et intacta. Jure etiam in loco predicationis ejus, dum populum doceret, circumfusus⁵ in circuitu ejus tenebris lux emicuit; in cujus corde sol justicie, lux vera que nescit occasum, jugiter resplenduit; et ipse in medio nationis prave atque perverse, sicut luminare in caliginoso loco, juxta Apostoli Petri vocem illuxit.

[Cap. xxxvi.]—Quomodo Sanctus anulum⁶ a regina indecenter datum, et ab ipso Rege in flumine Elud projectum, mirabiliter regine restituit.⁷

SANCTUS itaque Kentegernus, ad propria ut dictum est regressus, secum habitare in solitudine mentis, a conturbatione hominum, disponens; non facile foras apparere aut egredi, nisi magna⁸ causa urgente, voluit; sed tamen⁹ foras clarescentibus signis licet invitus coruscare non destitit. Regina Langueth superius memorata, divitiis et deliciis affluens, regio thalamo et maritali thoro, non ut debuit aut sicut eam decuit fidem ser-

¹ B. M. insinuandum.² B. M. sunt.³ B. M. obtegeret terram.⁴ B. M. Sancti hujus.⁵ B. M. circumcisis.⁶ B. M. insertis regnum.⁷ B. M. mirabiliter recuperavit.⁸ B. M. insertis et certa.⁹ B. M. tam.

vavit; quia¹ gazarum copia, et deliciarum exuberantia et potestatis elevatio, voluptati carnis incentivum et fomentum ministrare consuevit. In quendam² militem ephebum, qui juxta putrabilem³ putride carnis pulchritudinem,⁴ ei videbatur vernans venusto aspectu, decoraque facie, speciosus forma pre multis consortibus suis incuria, oculos iniecit. Et ut ille qui per se ad tale obsequium, sine stimulo alterius, satis fuit promptus et acclinis,⁵ secum dormiret facile effecit.

Cumque in orbem transissent dies, et voluptas illicita sepius repetita utrique plus placuisset, eo quod panis absconditus suavior, et aque furtive, juxta Salomonem, dulciores sibi videbantur; sicut actu temerario, sic amore corripiuntur ceco. Anulumque regium aureum, preciosam gemmam habentem inclusam, quem ei ipse legitimus maritus, in speciale signum conjugalitatis amoris commendaverat, imprudenter et impudenter suo dedit medio. Ille vero imprudentius⁶ anulum acceptum suo imposuit digito, suspitionis januam complexum connitientibus⁷ aperuit tali indicio. Comperiens quispiam Regis fidelis regine et militis secretum,⁸ Regis auribus hoc instillare curabat. Sed Rex suum dedecus, et⁹ deferenti ignominiam conjugis, non facile aures, aut animum, accomodabat. Vetus et verum proverbium est "Curcubitam,¹⁰ conjugis dilecte delictum detegenti, difficile fidem adhibere; et consuetus solet in accusatorem quam in accusatam odium suum retorquere." Sed delator adulterii, in argumentum rei, anulum in digito militis ostendit; et ad credendum sibi probabiliter persuadens zelotipie spiritum in Rege acrius accendit.

Rex itaque de re secreta cercioratus, iram animi sui erga reginam et militem, serenitate vultus sui palliavit, seque illis solito hylariorem et familiariorem exhibuit. Cum autem dies seniorior illuxisset Rex venatum ivit, et militem secum adducens et¹¹ accersiens, cum multitudine venatorum et canum saltus et silvas petivit. Discopulatis canibus, et sociis per loca diversa dispersis, solus cum solo, Rex cum milite, ad ripam fluminis Clud devenit,¹² in loco umbroso, et cespite herboso, paulatim soporem haurire uterque¹³ gratum duxit. Miles vero fatigatus, nichilque adversi suspicatus, capite reclinato, brachio protenso, manu oppansa, ilico obdormivit. Sed Regem sompnum simulantem zelotipie spiritus concitans, dormire vel dormitare non

¹ B. M. que.² B. M. *insertis* namque.³ B. M. putribilem.⁴ B. M. pulchritudinem carnis.⁵ B. M. declinua.⁶ B. M. *insertis* et impudentius.⁷ B. M. concientibus.⁸ B. M. secretum regine et militis.⁹ B. M. *insertis* dilecte.¹⁰ B. M. cucurbitam.¹¹ B. M. *omissis* adducens et.¹² B. M. *insertis* ibique.¹³ B. M. utrique.

permisit. Conspecto itaque anulo in dormientis digito, turbatus¹ pre furore oculus ejus; vixque continuit manus a gladio, et ab effusione sanguinis ejus. Refrenato tamen impetu² ire sue, de digito dormientis anulum extrahens in flumen vicinum projecit; excitansque illum ut ad socios iret, et domum³ reverterentur precepit. Miles sompno expergefactus de anulo nichil cogitans, Regis jussioni⁴ obedivit; et donec domum intrasset quod amiserat non animadvertit.

Regem vero domum regressum quum regina, procedens de thalamo suo, solito more⁵ salutasset, ex ore salutati contumelias et terrores et impropria impropertantis accepit,⁶ eamque oculis igneis, vultu minaci, ubi anulus suus ad custodiam ei commendatus esset requisivit. Illa autem in scrinio illum⁷ repositum se habere respondit. Quem Rex sub omni celeritate, in conspectu aulicorum⁸ suorum, sibi presentari precepit. Ipsa adhuc in spe constituta ingreditur secretiora thalami, quasi ut anulum quereretur, sed continuo ad militem dirigit nuntium, moti Regis super anulo postulationem intimans, mandavit ut sibi celeriter anulum mitteret. Miles quoque se anulum amisisse, ac locum ubi illum perdiderat ignorare, regine remandavit; necnon⁹ a facie Regis veritus latibuli beneficio se muniens ab aula se absentavit. Interim dum illa diverticula quereretur, et tardaret in medium proferre, quod nimirum non valebat invenire, supervacue nichil¹⁰ inane querens; Rex furore succensus illam¹¹ adulteram crebro nominans, prorupit in juramentum dicens. "Hec faciat mihi Deus, et hec addat, si non secundum legem adulterarum judicavero te, et si non morte turpissima dampnavero¹² te. Tu adolescenti adultero adherens, Regem sponsum postposuisti me, cum consortem thori et regni dominam fecissem te. Tu fecisti in occulto, et ego faciam palam, et¹³ conspectu solis hujus ignominiam tuam propalabo, et verecundiora tua in facie tua revelabo."

Cumque in hunc modum multa diceret, omnibus aulicis inducias petentibus, vix ei triduanas concessit, custodie tamen illam mancipari jussit. Incarcerata jam ymaginabatur mortem, que quasi jam sibi iminebat; sed non¹⁴ minus illam rea conscientia torquebat. O grave nimis et intollerabile supplicium, ree conscientie dampnatorium testimonium! Licet in facibus quis constitutus, pacem in circuitu suo extrinsecus habeat,

¹ B. M. *inserto* est.

⁴ B. M. *jussioni* Regia.

⁷ B. M. *illum* in scrinio.

¹⁰ B. M. *inserto* et.

¹³ B. M. *inserto* in.

² B. M. in porta.

⁵ B. M. *omits* more.

⁸ B. M. *aulicorum*.

¹¹ B. M. *inserto* fedam.

¹⁴ B. M. *inserto* et.

³ B. M. *domi*.

⁶ B. M. *recepit*.

⁹ B. M. *veram*.

¹² B. M. *condempnavero*.

miser tamen et in perturbatione versari agnoscitur, quem conscientia corrodens sine intermissione persequitur. Mulieris igitur male¹ sibi in se spiritus anxiebatur; et corde contrito, et humiliato, lacrimosis precibus, Deum deprecabatur, ut non intraret in iudicium cum ancilla sua; sed secundum suam magnam misericordiam, sicut dudum mulieri in adulterio deprense,² et coram se constitute misertus est, sic sui in eodem casu misereri dignaretur. Inspirante ergo Domino mulier in arto posita, salubre invenit consilium: et nuncium fidissimum ad Sanctum Kentegernum mittens, totum exposuit infortunium,³ et ab illo unico propiciatorio efflagitavit remedium. Petebat etiam ut saltem sui copiam Regi pro ea postulaturus exhiberet; quia non esset tam grande, quod ei denegare vellet, vel valeret, aut deberet.

Sanctus pontifex per Spiritum Sanctum,⁴ et virtutem ex alto eruditus, rem totam seriatim ante nuncii adventum agnoscens, precepit nuntio cum hamo ad ripam prefati fluminis Clud pergere, et⁵ hamum gurgiti injicere, et primum piscem qui inescatus fuisset, ex aquis extractum continuo ad se reportare. Quod Sanctus dixit nuncius explevit, ysitiumque,⁶ qui vulgo salmo dicitur, captum presentie viri Dei exhibuit. Qui piscem incidi et exenterari iubens coram se, prefatum in eo invenit anulum, illumque regine statim misit per eundem nuncium.⁷ Quo viso et recepto repletur cor ejus jubilo, os exultatione, et gratiarum actione; luctus vertitur in gaudium, mortis expectatio in exaltationis et salutis⁸ tripudium. Prorupit ergo regina in medium, et requisitum Regi restituit anulum in oculis omnium.

Contristatus est ergo Rex,⁹ et omnis curia ejus cum illo, pro injuriis regine irrogatis; et coram illa humiliatus petivit sibi indulgeri genibus flexis, juravitque gravissimam ultionem aut mortem sibi¹⁰ juberet, sive exilium, se illaturum delatoribus suis. At illa sapienter intelligens misericordiam, potius quam iudicii censuram circa se accitari, misereri voluit, sicut et oportuit servi immo conservi sui. "Absit," inquit, "domine mi, Rex, ut quispiam tale quid patiatur ob causam mei; sed si vis ut ex corde indulgeam tibi, quid in me deliquisti, volo ut omnem animi tui motum cordetenus remittas, sicut et ego meo accusatori." Quo audito ammirati sunt universi et congratulati. Sicque Rex et regina, et delator, cum utroque in gratiam pacis et mutue dilectionis sunt revocati. Regina quam competen-

¹ B. M. *inerte* conscie.² B. M. *deprehense*.³ B. M. *infortaminum*.⁴ B. M. Sanctum Spiritum.⁵ B. M. *que*.⁶ B. M. *et yficium*.⁷ B. M. *bajulum*.⁸ B. M. *salutis et exaltationis*.⁹ B. M. *Rex ergo*.¹⁰ B. M. *si*.

tius¹ potuit ad virum Dei perrexit, eique reatum suum confessa, ad arbitrium ejus satisfaciens vitam suam de reliquo studiose correxuit; nam pedes suos a lapsu tali continuit. Signum tamen quo magnificavit Dominus misericordiam suam cum illa, vivente marito, nemini, post decessum ejus cunctis scire volentibus aperuit.

Ecce Dominus² per Sanctum suum³ Kentegernum iteravit, in celo sedens, quod carne vestitus operari dignatus est in terra degens. Ad jussum ejus Petrus hamum in mare mittens, primum piscem captum extraxit, in cujus ore didragma invenit, quod pro Domino et pro se solveret. Sic jubente Sancto Kentegerno, in nomine ejusdem Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, nuncius regine misso hamo in fluvium⁴ piscem cepit, captum Sancto optulit, in ablato et secto anulum reperit, quo reginam a dupplici morte eriperet. In utroque, ut mihi videtur, facto reddita sunt que sunt Cesaris Cesari,⁵ que sunt Dei Deo. In didragmate enim reddita est Cesari ejus ymago,⁶ in anulo reddito caro liberatur ab exicio,⁷ anima ad ymaginem Dei factam, abluta a peccato et restituta Deo.

[Cap. xxxvii.]—Quo modo⁸ jocolator quidam dona regis⁹ respuens, discum plenum moris recentibus, post natalem Domini postulabit; et per Sanctum Kentegernum acceperit.

REX Rederech¹⁰ magnificatus est a Domino, eo quod adheerit ei fide et bonis operibus serviendo, et Sancti Kentegerni voluntati¹¹ obediendo. Gloria enim et divitie in domo ejus, liberalitas in corde, urbanitas in ore, munificentia in manu ejus, eo quod benedixisset Dominus operibus manuum ejus. Unde non solum in fines circumjacentes terre ejus, sed etiam ultra mare in Hyberniam exivit fama largitatis.¹² Qua de causa a quodam rege Ibernæ jocolator, officii sui peritus et expeditus, mittitur Cambriam ad predicti Regis curiam, ut videret si veritas fame tam longe lateque diffuse responderet. Admissus aule jocolator manu psallebat in tympano, et cithara; et letificabat Regem et palatinos ejus, omnibus diebus festivis nativitatis dominicæ. Expleta solempnitate sancte¹³ epiphaniæ Domini, proferri jussit Rex munera, et dari jocolatori sicut regiam munificentiam¹⁴ decebat. Que omnia hystrio respuens,

¹ B. M. compotencius.

⁴ B. M. flumen.

⁷ B. M. exicio.

¹⁰ B. M. *inserts* valde.

¹³ B. M. sacrosancte.

² B. M. *inserts* signum.

⁵ B. M. *inserts* et.

⁸ B. M. quomodo.

¹¹ B. M. volumptati.

¹⁴ magnificentiæ.

³ B. M. *omits* suum.

⁶ B. M. *inserts* est.

⁹ B. M. regia.

¹² B. M. *adds* ejus.

talia in propria patria se satis habere posse asserebat. Requisitus a Rege quid vellet accipere, respondit se auro vel argento, vestibus aut equis, quibus Ybernia abundaret, minime indigere. "Sed si vis," inquit, "ut recedam a te bene¹ remuneratus, detur mihi discus moris recentibus plenus." Audientes autem verbum istud ex ore viri prolatum, in risum resoluti sunt, quia ore ludibundo illum² jocantem hoc protulisse putaverunt. Tanto enim hujusmodi minister in oculis audientium acceptior esse consuevit, quanto eos in cachinnos, et verba risum moventia, amplius concitaverit. Ille autem non joco sed serio postulasse se mora,³ cum juramento affirmat; nec precibus, aut promissis, seu amplissimis muneribus oblatis, ab hujusmodi sententia flecti nullatenus poterat; surgensque e medio recedere se velle, et Regis honorem, ut vulgo dici solet, asportare⁴ denuntiat. Rex autem hoc satis moleste accepit, et ne exhonoreretur⁵ quid ei super hoc conducibile esset a suis inquisivit. Hyems enim erat, nec morum ullum⁶ uspiam repperiri potuit. Consilio ergo sororum commonitus ad Sanctum Kentegernum ivit, et ut orando quod postulabatur a Deo impetraret, humiliter petivit. Vir Dei, quamvis orationem suam in talibus neniis non arbitraretur gratum expendere, quia noverat Regem magnam devotionem erga Deum et sanctam Ecclesiam habere, videntibus oculis ejus imperfectum illius in hac parte, sedit animo sancti presulis petitioni ejus condescendere; quum tali occasione sperabat eum in melius posse proficere. Deliberans ergo parumper secum, et breviter orans, ait ad Regem, "Reminisceris in quo loco, estive tempore, projecisti indumentum quo amiciebaris, pre nimio caumate cum venatum ires ut expeditius canes sequereris: et oblitus aut parvipendens ad tollendum illud, quo te exoneraveras non revertebaris?" Respondit Rex, "Novi," inquit,⁷ "domine mi rex, et⁸ episcopo, tempus et locum." "Vade," inquit Sanctus, "cito ad locum, et⁹ vestimentum illud adhuc integrum,¹⁰ super dumum veprium expassum,¹¹ invenies, et subtus mora matura satis, adhuc recentia et ad sumendum ydonea. Tolles ea, et jocularis postulationi satisfacies; et omnimodis satage ut Deum qui honorem tuum mutilari aut diminui non sinit in tam levi causa, magis ac magis honores." Fecit Rex ut pontifex jussit, et invenit omnia sicut predixit. Tollens ergo discum, et moris implens,¹² dedit hystioni dicens, "En quod postulasti accipe; quia manu Domini nobiscum operante, non poteris famam largitatis mee in aliquo

¹ B. M. omits bene.² B. M. omits illum.³ B. M. moros.⁴ B. M. expectare.⁵ B. M. exhortaretur.⁶ B. M. vero morum nullum.⁷ B. M. inquiens.⁸ B. M. que.⁹ B. M. que.¹⁰ B. M. inserta et.¹¹ B. M. expansum.¹² B. M. adimplens.

ledere. Et ne avarior tibi quam ceteris appaream, quamdiu tibi placuerit nobiscum commorare." Videns histrio parap-sidem plenam moris, contra morem temporis, miratus expavit; et cum rei geste ordinem cognovisset exclamavit et dixit, "Vere non est similis tui in regibus terre, munificus in largitate, et non est similis Kentegerno magnificus sanctitate, laudabilis et faciens mirabilia, qui operatur in conspectu meo contra spem talia. Amodo non recedam a domo tua, et a servitio tuo; sed ero tibi servus sempiternus, quamdiu vixero." Mansit ergo histrio in aulo regis; et arte¹ jocularia servivit ei diebus plurimis. Postea statuens semetipsum contra faciem suam divini timoris stimulo, histrionis renunciavit² officio, et melioris vite vias ingrediens se divino mancipavit obsequio.

[Cap. xxxviii.]—*De duobus basis lacte plenis, fabro cuidam, a Sancto Kentegerno missis. Qualiter lac in flumine³ effusum in caseum formatum est.*

ERAT quidam, in fabili peritus artificio, qui cudendo⁴ et fabricando, operibus viri Dei et monasterii usibus inserviebat; et stipendia sibi necessaria a Sancto recipiebat. Sanctus autem lacte in cibo et potu uti consueverat, quia ut superius diximus, ab omni liquore quo homo possit inebriari more solito abstiniebat. De lacte ergo proprio recenter emulso vascula plena fabro suo jussit afferri; quia noverat artifices et mercennarios de proprio cibo domini et patrisfamilias gratancius vesci. Cum autem bajulus per flumen Clud pertranssiret, vasorum opercula fortuito casu reserantur,⁵ lac totum in aquam effunditur. Sed, res mira et valde inusitata! lac effusum nullatenus aqua immiscetur, aut a sapore vel colore demutatur, sed sub inopinata celeritate totum insimul coagulatum, sed⁶ in caseum formatur. Nec inconvenientius caseus iste consolidatur tunsione fluctuum, quam alius quilibet confici solet compressione manuum. Portitor vero formellum casei ex aquis eripit, et fabro cui Sanctus miserat rem ex integro enarrans porrigit. Hoc signum insigne perplures conspexerunt, et qualiter fluidum in fluido elementum non sit conversum, aut liquefactum ammirantes obstupuerunt. Ipse vero faber, et alii multi de caseo illo⁷ gustaverunt, et de eodem frustatim fragmina comminuta,⁸ pro reliquiis custodienda pluribus destribuerunt. Sumpte autem hujusmodi reliquie multis in locis, temporibus multis, conservate sunt; et merita Sancti

¹ B. M. arce.

² B. M. renunciaret.

³ B. M. flumen.

⁴ B. M. artificio cudiendo.

⁵ B. M. reserarentur.

⁶ B. M. omittit sed.

⁷ B. M. ipso caseo.

⁸ B. M. communita.

Kentegerni cara et clara,¹ cariora et clariora,² efficientes, in hoc facto declaraverunt. Sed licet hoc signum in superficie sua plurimum ammirationis habeat, subtiliter tamen intuentibus et ex corporeis spiritualia, ex visibilibus invisibilia colligentibus, plurimum eruditionis prestat. Per lac lapsum in aquis, sed in eis non immixtum aut in aquam versum, vel sub aquis mersum, habemus exemplum custodiendi innocentiam et equitatem, que sunt reliquie homini pacifico, inter eos qui superbia intumescunt,³ qui sibi adversa multimoda inserunt,⁴ et exemplis et pravis persuasionibus nos submergere satagunt qui voluptatibus diffiunt.⁵ Quod autem lac in gurgite coagulatur in caseum, constancie in pressuris tribulationis, et angustie, habende nobis dat documentum. Justus enim et innocens quasi lac in caseum, inter fluctus durescit; dum propter verba labiorum Dei vias duras custodit, et per multas tribulationes introire in regnum Dei satagit. Et si minas, obprobria, dampna, lesiones, a pravis atque perversis sustineat, ea quasi non sentit; sed in patientia possidens animam suam in bono perseverare contendit, sciens profecto quia qui perseveraverit usque in finem hic salvus erit.

[Cap. xxxix.]—*Quomodo Sanctus Columba beatum Kentegernum visitaverit; et coronam capiti ejus celitus lapsam, et lucem celicam circumfulgentem eum conspexerit.*

IN illo tempore quo beatus Kentegernus, in candelabro Domini positus, utpote lucerna ardens celestibus desideriis, et lucens verbis salutiferis, virtutum exemplis, atque virtutibus⁶ miraculis, omnibus que in domo Dei erant lucebat; Sanctus Columba abbas, quem Angli vocant Columkillum, doctrina et virtutibus mirabilis, futurorum presagiis preclarus, utpote prophetico⁷ spiritu plenus, in illo glorioso cenobio quod est⁸ insula Yi construxerat degens, in lumine Sancti Kentegerni non ad horam, sed assidue exultare volebat. Ex multo enim tempore audiens famam sancte opinionis ejus, cupiebat ad illum venire, visitare, videre, familiaritatem ejus sibi arcius ascicere; et de hiis que cordi ipsius adjacebant sacrarium sacrati pectoris consulere. Cum autem tempus accepisset oportuno pater Sanctus Columba egrediebatur; et multa discipulorum turba et aliorum, faciem

¹ B. M. clara et cara.

² B. M. clariora et cariora.

³ B. M. *insertis* voluptatibus diffunderet.

⁴ B. M. *inferunt*.

⁵ B. M. *omits* here qui voluptatibus diffiunt.

⁶ B. M. *omits* virtutibus.

⁷ B. M. propheto.

⁸ B. M. *omits* est.

virī spectabilis visere et videre desiderantium, illum comitabatur. Et cum appropinquasset loco vocabulo Mellindenor,¹ ubi tunc temporis Sanctus manebat, in tres turmas omnes suos divisit, et nuncium qui Sancto presuli ejus et suorum indicaret adventum ante se premisit.

Sanctus pontifex letatus in hiis que dicta sunt ei de illis, adjunctis sibi cleris et aliis similiter tripharie distinctis, cum canticis spiritualibus, processit obviam illis. In prima processionis fronte locabantur juniores tempore, in secunda etate proveciores, in tertia cum illo gradiebantur inveterati dierum bonorum canis nivei, vultu, gestu, habitu, et ipsa canitiæ venerandi. Omnesque caneant, In viis Domini quam magna est gloria Domini! Et iterum subjunxerunt, Via justorum recta facta est, et iter sanctorum preparatum est. Ex parte Sancti Columbe dulcisona voce modulabantur,² Ibunt sancti de virtute in virtutem; videbitur Deus deorum in Syon, cum alleluia. Interim quidam qui cum Sancto Columba venerant interrogantes eum dicebant, "Numquid in primo choro canentium venit Sanctus Kentegernus?" Respondit Sanctus, "Neque in primo, neque in secundo, sed in tertio venit pontifex almus." Illis autem percunctantibus qualiter hoc ei constaret, ait, "Video columnam igneam, in modum corone auree, stelliferis gemmis intexte, de celo super caput ejus descendentem, et instar cujusdam velaminis lucem claritatis ettheree circumfusim circumfulgentem, et contegentem eum, iterum³ etthera⁴ repetentem. Quocirca illum a Deo electum, et sanctificatum, sicut Aaron evidenti inditio daret;⁵ qui amictus lumine sicut vestimento, et super caput ejus corona aurea expressa, signo sanctitatis mihi apparet." Convenientes ergo hii duo Deifici viri in mutuos amplexus, et sancta oscula ruunt; et divinorum eloquiorum prius spiritualibus epulis faginati, postmodum corporeo alimento sese reficiunt. Quanta vero fuit dulcedo divine contemplationis, in eorum sacrosanctis pectoribus, non est meum denotare;⁶ nec mihi, vel mei similibus, datum est indagare manna absconditum, et nisi gustantibus, reor,⁷ omnino incognitum.

¹ B. M. Mellindonor.

⁴ B. M. etherea.

² B. M. modulabant voce.

⁵ B. M. claret.

⁷ B. M. ut retor.

³ B. M. iterumque.

⁶ B. M. enotare.

[Cap. xl.]—*De capite arietis Sancti Kentegerni amputato :
quomodo in lapidem fuerit mutatum.*

¶ **Q**UM autem isti duo viri, superius memorati, mutuo jungerentur quasi due columpne in atrio templi¹ Domini, fide et dilectione firmiter fundati, et in eo corroborati; quorum imitatione et eruditione multi populi, tribus, et lingue, intraverunt, et adhuc intrans in templum celeste, gaudium videlicet Domini sui; qui venerant cum Sancto Columba, filii alieni, mala consuetudine inveterati sunt, et claudicaverunt a semitis viri Dei. Quomodo enim non potest Etthiops mutare pellem suam, sic assuetus ad furtum vel² rapinam difficile mutat malitiam suam. Venerunt igitur quidam cum beato Columba, columbine innocentie expertes, pedum incessu, non devotionis affectu, nec morum progressu. Qui dum iter agerent, gregem unum Sancti pontificis pascentem eminus, conspexerunt; et relinquentes iter³ ambulantes per vias tenebrosas, sicut in Proverbiis de talibus dicitur, illuc divertunt; vervecem pinguissimum, renitente et reclamante pastore diripiunt. Opilio vero in nomine Sancte Trinitatis, et auctoritate Sancti Kentegerni, prohibuit ne talem rapinam, immo sacrilegium in gregem sancti presulis committerent, ammonens eos ut si petere vellent arietem a Sancto, procul dubio acciperent. At unus illorum pastorem injuriis affectum, mortem etiam ei minitans,⁴ repulit, arietemque abstulit, alter arrepto ferro capud ejus amputavit. Deliberaverant apud se cadaver secum asportare, et tempore et loco suo sceleri competenti, illud excoiare; ac suis usibus sicut velle se noverant accuratius parare.

Sed sane mirum dictu, sed multo mirabilius apparuit visu. Vervex capite absciso ad gregem suum sub inestimabili festinatione recurrit, ibique corrui; capud vero in lapidem mutatum, manibus tenentis et ferientis, quasi aliquo indissolubili glutino compactum firmiter adhesit. Qui vero vivum et integrum vervecem⁵ valuerunt precurrere,⁶ capere, tenere, capud abscidere, jam truncatum subsequendo, aut concurrando nequiverunt comprehendere; nec⁷ capud, immo jam lapidem, licet omnium⁸ annisu conarentur, de manibus projicere. Dirriguerunt ergo viri, et emortuum est cor eorum, quasi lapis, lapidem gestantium, initoque tandem salubri consilio ad Sanctos⁹ accesserunt, et prostrati ante pedes Sancti Kentegerni, penitentes et

¹ B. M. in ad templum.

² B. M. et.

³ B. M. insertis rectum et.

⁴ B. M. minans.

⁵ B. M. veretem.

⁶ B. M. percurrere.

⁷ B. M. vero.

⁸ B. M. omni.

⁹ B. M. Sanctum.

confusi cum lacrimis sibi indulgeri petierunt. Sanctus autem presul, benigna eos increpatione redarguens, et ne ulterius fraudem, furtum, rapinam, et quod detestabilius est sacrilegium, perpetrare presumerent commonens, a dupplici vinculo, peccato scilicet et detentione lapidis, eos absolvit, corpus occisi arietis illis dari jussit, et abire permisit. Capud tamen in saxum conversum manet ibi, usque in diem hodiernum, ad signi testimonium, et meritum Sancti Kentegerni predicat etiam mutum.

Plane hoc miraculum, ut mihi videtur, ex magna parte ab illo non degenerat quod liber Genesis in uxore Loth gestum memorat. Postquam ultrix divine injurie flamma celestis, scelestos naturalis usus humane procreationis subversores delere¹ jussa jam immineret, Loth angelico edoctus oraculo, et eductus amminiculo,² subverse, et submerse Sodome declinavit incendium. Uxor vero ejus, contra preceptum celitus datum, retrospectiensi mutata est in caudem, conversa in salis effigiem, ut esset brutorum condimentum animalium. Hic transmutatur capud vervecinum in lapidem, ad confutandam duriciam et crudelitatem aliena rapientium. In effigie uxoris Loth, docente Domino, convenitur et conmonetur quilibet fidelis, ne a sancto proposito semel arrepto desipiendo recedat.³ In capite mutato in lapidem edocetur omnis Christianus ne in⁴ furtum, five fraudem, seu rapinam, vel violentiam ullam, in res ecclesiasticas, et substantiam servorum Dei ullatenus committat. In illo loco ubi istud miraculum per Sanctum Kentegernum factum, in conspectu Sancti Columbe, et aliorum multorum, innotuit; alter alterius baculum, in pignus quoddam et testimonium mutue dilectionis in Christo suscepit. Baculus vero quem Sanctus Columba dederat Sancto pontifici Kentegerno, in ecclesia Sancti Wlfridi⁵ episcopi et confessoris apud Ripun,⁶ multo tempore conservabatur; et propter utriusque sanctitatem, dantis videlicet et accipientis, magne reverentie habebatur. Aliquantis igitur diebus Sancti isti simul degentes, de hiis que Dei sunt, et ad animarum salutem spectant, ad invicem contulerunt: postea sibimet valedificantes, non sese ulterius visuri, in caritate⁷ utrumque data, ad propria digressi sunt.

[Cap. xli.]—*Quod pluribus in locis vir Domini cruces erexit, per quas usque in presens miracula sunt facta.*⁸

VENERABILIS pater Kentegernus antistes habebat in consuetudine, ut in locis quibus predicando populum acquisitionis

¹ B. M. dolore.

² B. M. ammiraculo.

³ B. M. recedet.

⁴ B. M. omits in.

⁵ B. M. Wlfridi.

⁶ B. M. Ripum.

⁷ B. M. inserta benedictione.

⁸ B. M. omits facta.

nomini Christi subdiderat, et fide¹ crucis Christi illos imbuerat, aut ubi aliquantisper deguerat, triumphale vexillum sancte crucis erigeret, quatinus cunctis daretur intelligi quod in cruce Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, quam in fronte portabat minime erubesceret. Sed² ut mihi videtur, Sancti viri consuetudo sanctissima viva ratione multipliciter subnixa est.³ Ideo namque Sanctus hoc vitale et sanctum et terribile⁴ signum erigere consueverat, ut sicut fluit cera a facie ignis, sic inimici humani generis, potestates tenebrarum harum, a conspectu signi hujus⁵ liquescentes defluerent, territi atque fugati procul aufugerent. Congruum est etiam⁶ ut milites regis eterni, sui imperatoris invincible vexillum intuendo agnoscentes, ad illud, tamquam turrin fortitudinis, a facie inimici, et a facie impiorum, qui eos affligunt, confugiant; et quod⁷ adorent, et in quo glorientur pre oculis habeant. Et quia contra aerias potestates in celestibus, et contra ignita jacula diaboli secundum apostolum jugis eos manet colluctatio, dignum est et salubre⁸ ut hoc signo se signando muniant, atque protegant; et passionem Christi imitando,⁹ et stigmata vulnerum Christi in suis corporibus, cum apostolo circumferendo, pro¹⁰ amore crucifixi carnes suas cum viciis et concupiscentiis, et se ipsos mundo, et mundum sibi met, crucifigant.

Inter plures igitur cruces quas pluribus in locis vir Domini erexit,¹¹ duas usque in presens miraculorum efficacitas extruxit. Unam vero in civitatem suam Glasgu fecit a latomis¹² de lapidicino mire magnitudinis secari, que coadunatis pluribus hominibus, et machinis confectis, in cimiterio ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis in qua episcopalis collocatur cathedra precepit elevari. Set omnis labor eorum in cassum consumitur; omnis machina nichil effecit, nullatenus industria humana valuit, aut virtute erigi, licet multum diuque desudatum sit. At ubi ingenium humanum, et¹³ auxilium defecit, Sanctus ad divinum confugit. Nocte namque sequenti que dominica habebatur, dum pro hac re famulus Jhesu Christi Domino preces profunderet,¹⁴ angelus Domini descendit de celo, et accedens revolvit lapideam crucem illam, et erexit in loco in quo hodie subsistit; eamque benedicens crucis signo signavit, sanctificavit, et recessit. Populus vero mane ad ecclesiam conveniens, et quod gestum est agnoscens, obstupuit, et Deum in sancto suo

¹ B. M. et de.⁴ B. M. interribli.⁷ B. M. confugiat quod.¹⁰ B. M. per.¹³ B. M. autem.² B. M. inserti et.⁵ B. M. hujus signi.⁸ B. M. salutare.¹¹ B. M. extruxit.¹⁴ B. M. profundet.³ B. M. est subnixa.⁶ B. M. etiam est.⁹ B. M. mutando.¹² B. M. latonis.

glorificavit. Erat quippe magna valde; nec ab ullo¹ tempore magna caruit virtute. Multi enim arrepticii, et a spiritibus immundis² vexati,³ nocte dominica solent ad crucem illam alligari; et in crastinum inveniuntur mentis compotes, liberati et muniti, sive aliquociens mortui aut cita morte defuncturi.

Aliam⁴ crucem incredibilem dictu, nisi posset explorari visu et tactu, in Lothwerwerd,⁵ juste et religiose de resurrectione cogitans, de sola arena maris construxit. In quo loco ipse viii⁶ annorum spatio mansit. Quis enim ambigere debet quod Dominus non resuscitet mortalia corpora nostra, licet resoluta in pulverem, quandoquidem hoc ipse ore suo benedicto promisit, cum in ejus nomine iste Sanctus, similis nobis passibilis, de arena maris orans ad Dominum crucem extruxit? Sane credendum est omnino quod, Domino volente, congregabuntur ossa mortuorum ad ossa, juxta Ezechielis vaticinium, et quod Dominus dabit super eos numeros⁷ et succrescere faciet super eos carnes, et super extendet in eis cutem, et dabit in eis spiritum, et in eternum vivent; quando ad precem mortalis adhuc hominis de minutissime harene, et ut ita dicam athomis, in solidam et integram materiam moles extenditur, harene massa condensatur, et in crucem effigiatur, quam nec sol urens per diem, nec gelu per noctem, nec aeris aliqua inclementia dissolvere valet. Ad argumentum ergo fidei nostre crux ista figitur, preostendens quod corruptibile nostrum induet incorruptionem; et quod multitudo filiorum Israel, si fuerint velud arena maris reliquie salvabuntur in fide crucis Christi; et quod amici Dei super arenam multiplicabuntur, per Eum qui stellas celi, et arenam maris, et pluvie guttas,⁸ et dies seculi dinumerat. Ad hanc etiam crucem plures variis languoribus gravati, et maxime furiosi, et a demonio vexati, ad vesperum vinciuntur; et mane multociens sani, et incolumes inventi ad sua libere revertuntur. Multa sunt et alia loca in quibus degebat et maxime quadragesima, nobis incognita, que Sanctus sancte sua⁹ commorationis presentia sanctificavit.¹⁰ Plerique tamen connitiunt plura ex illis, que certis indiciis sanctitatem illius adhuc redolet, et¹¹ meritis ejus infirmis multa beneficia prebent, et efficaciam signorum habent.

¹ B. M. illo.

² B. M. in mundis.

³ R. M. *inserts* et.

⁴ B. M. *inserts* quoque.

⁵ B. M. Lothwerwerd.

⁶ B. M. octo.

⁷ B. M. nervis.

⁸ B. M. *omits* guttas.

⁹ B. M. sua sancte.

¹⁰ B. M. sanctificavit presencia.

¹¹ B. M. que.

[Cap. xlii.]—*Quomodo quodam subligari mentum sustentaverit; et ad exitum anime se preparaverit.*

BEATUS Kentegernus, nimio¹ senio confectus, crebris ruinis² domus sue terrestribus ruinam senciens imminere; sed consolabatur animam ejus fundamentum fidei in petra collocatum. Qua, post dissolutionem terreni habitaculi, confidebat se domum non manu factam in celis præparatam habere. Et quia tum pro³ nimia senectute, tum quia tactus erat infirmitate, compago numerorum⁴ in toto corpore ejus pene tota emarcuit, et dissoluta fuit, quodam subligari lineo, per medium capitis et de submento circumducto, nec nimum laxo vel stricto, mentum et maxillas sustentavit. Quod ideo vir honestissimus fecit, ne mento decidente, ex hiato oris aliquid indecens in ipso appareret. Et ut tale fulciammentum ad proferendum que posset, et vellet expeditiorem redderet.

Sciens denique dilectus Deo et hominibus, quia appropinquabat hora ut transsiret ex hoc mundo, ad patrem luminum, sacra unctione remissionis effectiva, et vivificis sacramentis⁵ dominici corporis et sanguinis, se munivit; ut serpens antiquus calcaneo ejus insidiens dentem venenosum infigere, et letale vulnus infigere nequiret; sed contrito capite confusus abiret. Sic sic nimirum conterente Domino sathanam sub pedibus ejus, velociter ne confunderetur sancta ipsius anima, cum in exitu de⁶ Egipto loqueretur inimicis suis in porta; expectans expectavit ut hinc⁷ tamquam optimus proreta Dominum, qui salvum eum fecit a tempestate hujus seculi. Etiam⁸ vicinus litori in portu cujusdam interne quietis placida navigatione appulsus post tot marina⁹ discrimina pericula,¹⁰ finibus¹¹ desideriorum suorum, spei anchoram alligatam in solido ac tuto jactaverat, incendientem¹² nimirum usque ad interiora velaminis, quo precursor pro se introivit Dominus Jhesus. Et huic¹³ solum egressum de tabernaculis Cedar,¹⁴ et ingressum in terram¹⁵ viventium, prestolabatur ut, tamquam optimus athleta, in illa civitate virtutum, videlicet Jerusalem celesti, de manu regis superni percipiet¹⁶ coronam glorie, et diadema regni quod non corrumpetur. Suos ergo discipulos, coram se adunatos, in quantum¹⁷ ei vires suppetabant, commonuit de observantia sancte religionis, de conser-

¹ B. M. jejunio.

⁴ B. M. et pago nervorum.

⁷ B. M. expectabat exhinc.

¹⁰ B. M. omits pericula.

¹³ B. M. Ex hinc.

¹⁵ B. M. internum in terra.

² B. M. rimis.

⁵ B. M. sacratia.

⁸ B. M. Et jam.

¹¹ B. M. funibus.

¹⁴ B. M. solum de tabernaculis Cedar egressum.

¹⁶ B. M. perciperet.

³ B. M. per.

⁶ B. M. et.

⁹ B. M. in arnia.

¹² B. M. incendientem.

¹⁷ B. M. quantia.

vatione mutue caritatis et pacis, de hospitalitatis gratia, de orationis et sancte lectionis instancia. Sed et ante omnia ab omni specie mala symoniace pravitatis cavenda, et omni hereticorum et scismaticorum communione ac societate fugienda; de sanctorum patrum decretis, et maxime sancte¹ ecclesie matris omnium institutis, et consuetudinibus, firmiter custodiendis, licet compendiosa forcia tamen dedit eis et dereliquit precepta. Deinde singulis, sicut decebat, genibus flexis coram se humiliatis, osculum pacis porrexit; et elevata manu prout potuit benedixit, ac ultimum vale faciens eis, tutelæ Sancte Trinitatis et protectioni sancte Dei genetricis² omnes committens, in lectulo suo illo nobili lapideo se collegit. Tunc vox una plangentium passim sonuit; tunc luctus lamentabilis quasi quidem³ horror confusionis omnium ora induit.

[Cap. xliii.]—*De discipulis ejus, commeatum ad celum petentibus; et de calido labacro ejus.*

QUIDAM autem eorum, qui Sanctum Dei arcus dilexerunt, cum lacrimis ante illum prostrati dixerunt, "Scimus, domine episcopo, quia cupis dissolvi et esse cum Christo. Senectus enim vestra venerabilis, et valde diuturna, ac multorum annorum numero computata,⁴ necnon et vita tua,⁵ immaculata id expectant; sed nostrum queas semper⁶ miserere, quos in Christo parturisti. Quicquid enim humana fragilitate deliquimus, semper in conspectu tuo confitentes, ad arbitrium discretionis tue satisfaciendes emendavimus. Quia ergo non est nobis facultas te nobiscum ulterius retinendi, pete a Domino dari nobis posse ex hac valle lacrimarum, ad gaudium Domini tui tecum commigrandi. Credimus propter quod, et loquimur, quia quicquid pecieris concedet tibi divinitas propitia, quum voluntas ejus directa est in manu tua ab olescentia.⁷ Indecens nobis videtur⁸ ut pontifex sine clero, pastor absque aliquo de grege suo, pater sine filiis intret ad tam festiva, tam sublimia loca, immo quanto festiviora et celebriora, tanto illum comitari debet celebrior secum suorum frequentia." Cumque in hunc modum multa cum lacrimis promerent, vir Dei pietatis visceribus affluens, collecto flatu⁹ ut valuit, dixit, "Voluntas Domini de nobis omnibus fiat; ut¹⁰ sicut melius novit, et ei placuerit, de nobis disponat."

¹ On margin Romane. B. M. also inserts Romane.

² B. M. inserts Maria.

³ B. M. quidam.

⁴ B. M. computati.

⁵ B. M. vestra.

⁶ B. M. quesimus.

⁷ B. M. adolescentia.

⁸ B. M. videretur.

⁹ B. M. flatu.

¹⁰ B. M. et.

Post hec Sanctus siluit; et animo celo anelans prestolabatur de corpore anime exitum: discipulique ejus vigilantes custodiebant eum tanquam morti proximum. Et ecce dum lucifer matutinus, aurore bajulus, lucis diurne prenuncius, nocturne caliginis pallia dirumpens, radiis flammigeris rutilaret, angelus Domini cum ineffabili fulgore¹ apparuit, et claritas Dei circumfulsit illum. Pre timore autem ejus exterriti sunt custodes sancti episcopi et attoniti valde in vasis fragilibus, non² ferentes tante claritatis pondus facti sunt velud mortui. Sanctus autem senex ex visione, et visitatione angelica, confortatus, et quasi etatis et infirmitatis oblitus, robustiorque effectus, jam instantis beatudinis quasdam primitias pregustabat; et cum angelo tamquam amicissimo et familiarissimo mutua colloquia conserebat.

Nuncius autem ethereus hec ei locutus est, "Kentegerne electe, et dilecte Dei! exulta, et letare, magnificetque anima tua Dominum, quum³ magnificavit misericordiam suam tecum. Exaudita est deprecatio tua, et preparationem cordis tui audivit auris divina. Fiet enim tibi super discipulis, commeatum tecum petentibus, sicut vis. Constantes ergo estote: videbitis auxilium Domini super vos. Cras egrediemini de corpore mortis hujus ad vitam indeficientem, et Dominus erit vobiscum et vos eritis cum Eo in perpetuum. Et quia tota vita tua in hoc mundo jure fuit martyrium, placuit Domino, ut mitiorem ceteris hominibus habeas mortis exitum. Fac ergo tibi in crastinum parari calidum lavacrum, ingrediensque in eo,⁴ absque angustia gravi obdormies in Domino, et requiesces in pace in id ipsum. Postquam autem nature in eo debitum solveris, statim antequam tepuerit aqua, dum adhuc caluerit⁵ ex te, lavacrum istud fratres illi post te ingrediantur, et continuo mortis vinculis absoluti tecum commigrabunt comites itineris tui, et introducti in splendoribus sanctorum, tecum intrabunt in gaudium Domini tui."

Hiis dictis angelica visio et allocutio disparuit; sed fragrantia miri et indicibilis quodam modo odoris locum illum, et omnes habitantes in eo, respersit. Sanctus autem, convocatis ad se discipulis, angelicum misterium eis seriatim resestavit: et sicut Dominus ei per angelum mandavit suum balneum fieri inperavit. Fratres autem supra memorati immensas gratias Deo omnipotenti, et sancto patri suo Kentegerno rettulerunt. Et certi de⁶ oraculo modis omnibus quibus poterant, divinis muniti sacramentis, ad talem articulum sese preparaverunt.

¹ B. M. *incerto* ei.² B. M. *eum*.³ B. M. *neo*.⁴ B. M. *calescit*.⁵ B. M. *quia*.⁶ B. M. *Dei*.

[Cap. xlib.]—*Qualiter ex hac vita migraverit: et quod multis miraculis post decessum ejus effulserit.*

CUMQUE illucesceret dies Dominice apparitionis octavus, in quo singulis annis sacro baptismo consuevit¹ abluere multitudinem populi, ipse pontifex almus; dies plane Kentegerno optabilis, et spiritibus filiorum adoptionis ejus; ingreditur sanctus, manibus eorum² gestatus, in vasculum aqua calida plenum, ab eo prius signo salutare sanctificatum: reique exitum expectat circumstans corona fratrum. Cumque modicam³ moram in eo sanctus complexisset,⁴ elevatis in celum, manibus et oculis⁵ quasi in placidum resolutus sompnum, inclinato capite tradidit spiritum. Tam enim videbatur a dolore mortis liber, quam a corruptione carnis, et illecebris hujus seculi, extitit⁶ immunis et integer.

Discipuli videntes que fiebant, elevantes sanctum corpus de lavacro illo, certatem in illud sese inmerserunt. Sicque singuli, antequam aqua frigesceret,⁷ in magna quiete obdormientes in Domino, gustata morte cum patre suo sancto antistite, ad ethereas mansiones commigraverunt. Postquam autem⁸ aqua refriguit, non solum mortis apprehensio verum etiam totius incommodi scintillula cessavit.

Conferendum censeo hoc lavacrum illi probatice piscine in qua post descensionem⁹ angeli, et motionem aque, sanabatur a quacunque detinebatur infirmitate unus. Sed iterum moriturus. In ista vero lavatura plurimus sanctorum cetus ab omni egitudine sanabatur,¹⁰ in eternum cum Christo victurus. Aqua illius lavacri diversis in locis diversis personis distribuitur; et multis infirmis salus multimoda ejus potatione seu aspersione confertur.

Exuunt fratres Sanctum communibus vestibus, et pro reliquiis preciosis partim eas reservant, partim disperciunt et sacris vestimentis que talem decebant pontificem illum induunt. Deinde in chorum, cum canticis et psalmis, a fratribus deferunt: et salutaris victima Deo a pluribus pro eo offertur. Diligenter et devotissime, ut illius ecclesie tunc¹¹ temporis mos exigebat, celebratis exequiis, in latere dextro altaris illud virtutum domicilium, illum lapidem preciosum, multum decentius quo poterant sub lapide recondunt. Per cujus meritum vel tempus colligendi lapides ad celestis templi edificium affuit, et multi

¹ B. M. consueverat.

² B. M. suorum.

³ B. M. modicam.

⁴ B. M. expleasset.

⁵ B. M. elevans manibus et oculis in celum.

⁶ B. M. exivit.

⁷ B. M. frigeret.

⁸ B. M. vero.

⁹ B. M. decensionem.

¹⁰ B. M. sasiatur.

¹¹ B. M. cum.

electi et lapides vivi, cum ista margarita, in thesauros summi regis assumpti¹ repositi sunt. Horum omnium fratrum sacre glebe decenter, et disposite, eo ordine in cimiterio sepulture tradite sunt, quo de hoc seculo post sanctum presulem transierunt.

Beatus itaque Kentegernus plenus dierum, cum esset centum octoginta quinque annorum, meritis maturus, signis et prodigiis et presagiis preclarus, tali modo transiit ex hoc mundo ad patrem: de fide ad speciem; de labore ad requiem; de exilio ad patriam; de stadio ad bravii coronam; de presenti miseria ad gloriam eternam. Beatus inquam homo cui celi patent, qui penetravit in sancta, qui intravit in potencias Domini, cetibus angelicis exceptus, patriarcharum, et prophetarum,² cuneis acceptus, apostolorum choris consortus; martyrum inmixtus agminibus rosei sanguinis purpura laureatis; et consociatus confessoribus Domini sacratis; concoronatus niveis virginum choreis. Nec mirum. Ipse namque angelus fuit³ Domini, officio et merito, qui pacem et salutem hiis qui procul et prope fuerunt, in sanguine Ihesu Christi nuntiabat;⁴ cujus labia scientiam veram custodiebant; de cujus ore legem Dei plurimi requirebant et reperiebant. Ipse namque⁵ etiam propheta altissimi fuit, qui multa absentia cognovit; futura multa previdit et predixit. Ipse enim jure dicitur, et est, Cambrine regionis apostolus; cum ipsius incole, et alie gentes per plures, signa sint⁶ apostolatus ejus. Ipse merito martyr nominatur, qui assiduo et continuo martirio semetipsum pro Christo mortificans, ad quodlibet genus mortis, si se occasio ingessisset, cor paratum⁷ habuisse comprobatur. Pro Christi enim nomine, et defensione veritatis et justicie, sepe numero persecutioni, proscriptioni, insidiis, et gladiis inimicorum crucis Christi se opposuit; ac de carne, de mundo, de diabolo, et ejus satellitio, fortiter et feliciter triumphavit. Ipse antonomasice⁸ dicitur Christi confessor, qui coram gentibus et regibus nomen Christi confitendo, confidenter predicabat; et omnes ad professionem nominis Christi, et confessionem Christiane fidei, et laudis Dei, et⁹ peccati proprii provocabat.

Ipse nichilominus speciali quadam prerogativa virgineum¹⁰ decus et decorem optinet, qui de mirica expressit opobalsamum,¹¹ de urtica¹² lilium¹³; dum in fragilis et labilis corporis vasculo numquam perturbaverit ut aiunt vel nec aspectu angelicum

¹ B. M. *inserti et.*

³ B. M. fuit angelus.

⁶ B. M. sunt.

⁹ B. M. in.

¹² B. M. *utica.*

² B. M. et patriarcharum prophetarum.

⁴ B. M. annuntiabat.

⁷ B. M. paritum.

¹⁰ B. M. virginum.

¹³ B. M. *inserti et.*

⁵ B. M. *omits* namque.

⁸ B. M. *athonomasice.*

¹¹ B. M. *opibalsamum.*

celibatum, et in vase fictili castimonie celicum conservavit thesaurum. Ideo sane de virgineo corpore ad virgineum¹ collegium convolvavit candidatum, ut sine macula assistat ante Dei et Agni thronum. Ipsumque sequens quocunque ierit cunctis indicibile, exceptis illis qui non inquinaverunt vestimenta sua, novum cantet canticum. Merito ergo sanctus iste omnium² sanctorum consors, concivis, particeps existit; qui cum omnibus sanctis in vita sua participationem habuit, et Sancto sanctorum, Sanctificatori omnium, placere, obsequi, adherere, spiritu uniri, semper studuit: et nunc et in eternum cum Eo, illis conjunctus, gloriatur et vivit.

Translato ad regna sydereas spiritu Sancti Kentegerni, quod mater omnium terra dedit in ventrem suum recollegit. Sed tamen signorum virtus, in ipso vivente³ viguit, non cespitem terrea obrui, aut mole saxea operiri valuit, sed extrinsecus erupit. Ab illo namque die sepulture ejus, usque in presens, sacra illius ossa creberrimis miraculis noscuntur de loco suo pullulare; et quod in memoria eterna sit justus iste in celo et in terra, multigenis infirmitatibus beneficia prestita,⁴ non cessant declarare. Ad ejus tumulum cecis visus, surdis auditus, claudis gressus, mutis loquela, leprosis cutis munditia, paraliticis membrorum validudo, furiosis sensus, restituuntur. Impii, sacrilegi, perjuri, et pacis ecclesie ejus violatores, et sancti loci inquinatores, condigna pena plectuntur.

Aliquociens etiam quidam de Glasgu vaccam furto abduxerit nocte;⁵ que mane ad pedem latronis extincti viva repperitur, et ligata; stuporemque querenti cum leticia incusserat. Perplures etiam perpetrato contagio carnalis flagicii, dum pollutis gressibus locum sanctum temerare non verebantur, aliquando repentina morte multabantur, multociens mutilabantur, membris quandoque⁶ incurabili morbo aliquociens diuturno puniebantur. Hoc et effractores pacis illius sepe paciebantur. Multi etiam qui diem sollempnitatis ejus, in qua ad ecclesiam in Glasgu, ubi sanctissimum⁷ corpus ejus requiescit, confluere consuescit multitudo de diversis partibus, ad deposcenda sancti suffragia, et videndi⁸ miracula, que ibi fieri solent, aliquo servili opere temerare presumpserunt, scelere vindictam sepiissime in se⁹ ipsais senserunt.

¹ B. M. virginum.

² B. M. communi.

³ B. M. que in vivente.

⁴ B. M. prestata.

⁵ B. M. nocte abduxerat.

⁶ B. M. membris multociens

⁷ B. M. sacratissimum.

⁸ B. M. videnda.

⁹ B. M. omits se.

[Cap. xlb.]—*De prophetia cujusdam : et sepultura Sanctorum in Glasgu.*

EODEM anno quo Sanctus Kentegernus rebus exemptus humanis ad celos migravit, Rex Rederech, sepe nominatus, in villa regia quæ Pertnech¹ nuncupatur, diutius solito commoratus est. In curia ejus quidam homo fatuus, vocabulo Laloecan² degebat, qui³ victualium et vestitus necessaria, ex Regis munificentia, percipiebat.⁴ Solent enim optimates terre, filii regni, vanitati dediti, homines hujusmodi secum retinere ; qui et ipsos dominos, et familiam, verbis et gestibus fatuis possunt⁵ in jocos et cachinnos commovere. Hic homo post depositionem Sancti Kentegerni gravissimis lamentis se afficiebat ; nec aliquam consolationem ab aliquo accipere valebat.⁶

Qui cum perquireretur cur tam inconsolabiliter lugeret, respondit Regem Rederech dominum suum, et quemdam de primoribus terre nomine Morthec, non posse post mortem Sancti episcopi diutius in hac vita morari, sed illo anno presenti in fata concessuros.⁷ Quod dictum fatui quum non fatue, sed potius prophetice, prolatum fuerit, mors prefatorum eodem anno subsequuta⁸ evidenter comprobavit. Nec multum mirandum, si per os fatui quod a Domino diffinitum fuerat⁹ omnium Opifex predici voluerit, cum et Balan¹⁰ ariolus, ipso inspirante, multa et magna mente presaga providens predixerit ;¹¹ et Cayphas populorum redemptionem morte Christi proventuram prophetaverit : et per os asine prophete insipientiam corripuerit ; ut Jerosolymorum excidium per os cujusdam furiosi prenunciaverit,¹² ut Josephus scribit. Eodem ergo anno quo pontifex sanctus decessit Kentegernus, et Rex, ac princeps, predicti obierunt ; et in Glasgu sepulti sunt.

In hujus civitatis ecclesie cimiterio, ut incole loci, et patriote asserunt, sexcenti et¹³ sexaginta quinque, sancti requiescunt. Et omnes magnates regionis illic, multis temporibus, funerari consueverunt. O quam metuendus est locus ille, et quante reverentie habendus ! quem tot pignora Sanctorum, velud suum reconditorium venustant ; quem tam preciosus confessor suis sacris exuviis condecorat, tam crebris miraculis illustrat, ut si omnia scripto mandarentur volumina magna implere viderentur ! Non solum in loco illo,¹⁴ ubi corporaliter requiescit,

¹ B. M. Pertinet.² B. M. Laloicen.³ B. M. *insens* in.⁴ B. M. percipiebat.⁵ B. M. possint.⁶ B. M. volebat.⁷ B. M. concessuros.⁸ B. M. secuta.⁹ B. M. fuerit.¹⁰ B. M. Balan.¹¹ B. M. predixit.¹² B. M. pernunciavit.¹³ B. M. *omnis* et.¹⁴ B. M. Nec solum illo in loco.

licet ibi frequentius, et maxime in natalicio¹ ipsius, signis radiare consuescit; sed et in omnibus fere locis, in quibus ejus habetur memoria,² in ecclesiis, seu capellis, sive altaribus, adest validissimus adjutor, in opportunitatibus, in tribulatione positis, diligentibus se, confidentibus in se, clamantibus ad se. Et ubi fides vel certa ratio exposcit miraculis choruscare non desinit, ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Jhesu Christi; cui est gloria, laus, decus, et imperium, per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit vita Sanctissimi Pentegerni, Episcopi et Confessoris, qui et Mungu³ nominatur.

¹ B. M. natalicia.

² B. M. memoria habetur.

³ quique in Glaaghu.

III.

VITA KENTEGERNI IMPERFECTA,

AUCTORE IGNOTO.

PROLOGUS.

MULTAS quidem perlustravi regiones, earundem mores et cleri plebisque devociones diligenter perscrutans: omnem patriam Sanctos suos provinciales propriis et alternis laudum preconiiis venerantem inveni. Cum autem ad regnum Scottorum demum pervenerim, illud Sanctorum reliquiis valde optimum (*qu. opimum*), clericis prefulgidum, principibus gloriosum repperi: nichilominus ad ceterorum instar regnorum quasi negligencie torpens ignavia in Sanctorum suorum reverencia adhuc pigritabatur. Enim vero cum in spaciosis Sanctorum honorificencie raritatem animadverterem, sumpto calamo, ad honorem sanctissimi confessoris atque pontificis Kentegerni qui juxta ceteros velut Lucifer inter astra rutilat, quemadmodum Symeon monachus olim Dunelmensis de Sancto suo Cuthberto historiam contexuit ita et ego qualemcunque, clericus Sancti Kentegerni, de materia in virtutum ejus codicello reperta et vivâ voce fidelium

michi relata, intimante venerando Glasguensi episcopo Herberto prout potui devote composui.

Sanctissimi confessoris atque pontificis Kentegerni vitam et miracula Christo juvante descripturus, in primis lecturos decenter ammoneo ut fidem dictis adhibeant et res magis quam verba perpendant: que etiam si forte illis rustice videantur esse composita, hoc recolant proverbium beati Jeronimi dicentis, Multo melius est vera rustice quam diserte falsa proferre. Reminiscentur insuper regnum Dei non in eloquentie exuberancia, sed in fidei constare florulencia: Et nec ob aliqua onomata inculta aut audientibus dicta obscura locorumque vocabula, quorum barbaries ut estimo extere gentis linguas rudificant, utilium et non sine divina opitulacione gestarum despiciant rerum pronunciacionem. Hoc autem omnes communiter sciant, quod de beate memorie viro plura studio brevitatis memoria digna ad scribendum pretermittens, quasi pauca de plurimis ob evitandum lectorum fastidium stili apicibus propalabo. Et hoc fideliter poterit quisque annotare qui ejus miraculis adhuc per Cambriam apparentibus diligentiam voluerit adhibere. Ad horum etiam paucorum compositionem que nunc breviter contexere glisco, sic Deo annuente ordiri dispono.

[Cap. i.]—*De causa conceptionis Sancti Kentegerni.
De matris ejus constantia in tribulatione.*

QUONIAM Deus, in Sanctis suis semper mirabilis, per se ipsum et per illos quecunque disponit mirabiliter facit, quedam illorum que per beatum Kentegernum pontificem operatus, ut audivimus, scimus et intelligimus, fideliter fidelibus propalabimus. Rex igitur Leudonus, vir semipaganus, a quo provincia quam regebat Leudonia nomen sortita in Britannia septentrionali, filiam habuit novercatam que Thaney vocabatur. Hec quippe puella, fide tamen Christiana postquam apostolice sonus doctrine in auribus ejus ventilabatur, Christianis se ritibus quos discere potuit devotissime mancipavit. De virginali etiam honore et de materna beatitudine sanctissime Virginis Marie, matris Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, iugiter meditabatur, et in corde suo revolvens simpliciter dicebat: O quam gloriosum nomen hujus virginis generose, et quam gloriose celebratur ab omni populo per *iii*^j climata mundi constituta! Utinam in virginitate et in partu, ad honorem et salutem gentis mee in partibus saltem aquilonalibus, illi possem assimilari. Illa utique hec cotidie promulgando ab omni voluptate libidinis animum et mentem compecebat: Et propter honestam devocionem concipere meruit sed aliter quam voluit, quoniam volebat sicut fieri non potuit. Ob mentis autem imposte presumptionem, vaneque glorie petulantiam, tormenta dira et magna sustinuit. Erat namque procus ejus juvenis quidam elegantissimus, Ewen videlicet filius Erwengende, nobilissima Brittonum prosapia ortus. Sed verbis neque donis amoris satis congruis animum virginis ad suum connubium nullatenus potuit promovere. (In gestis historiarum vocatur Ewen filius regis Ulien.) Et quanto illa plus renitebatur, tanto ardencius iste in ejus amorem accendebatur. Cum autem Rex pater puelle, post multa verba dulcia et sermones blandos, quibus animum ejus juvenis amoris putabat posse converti, se incassum laborasse conspiceret, illi procaciter intulit: Aut cure subulci traderis aut adolescentis hujus connubio perfoveris: ex his igitur binis decretis nunc elige quod vis. Hoc quippe rex dixit, estimans animum puelle in juvenis amorem quoquomodo provocare. Puelle vero, optione data, legit abjecta esse in domo pauperis famula et virgo inviolata, magis quam habitare in tabernaculis regalibus prepotens domina et femina corrupta. Illa itaque subulcanum eligendo ministerium indignacionem regis et iram incurrit maximam. Subulcus vero suscepta puelle quantum potuit honorem contulit, quia et ipse castus erat, et occulte Christianus: qui nempe, in campis et domi, que a Chris-

tianis doctoribus didicerat, illam cotidie diligenter edocebat. Susceperat etiam in Scocia a beato Servano, doctore sacro fidei, Christiane legis doctrinam. Iste quoque Servanus in primitiis Scottorum ecclesia fuit discipulus venerandi Palladii primi Scottorum episcopi, qui etenim anno dominice incarnationis cccc.xxx. a Celestino papa primus Scottis credentibus mittebatur episcopus. Hic invenit beatum Servanum in Albania ante illum, virum Christianum: quem ab ipso postmodum ecclesiastica doctrina sufficienter imbutum ejus fecit suffraganeum, quos non posset ad docendum. Ewen autem virginis proci, videns quod spreta esset a patre suo amoris ejus causa veneranda puella, condoluit nimis in corde suo, quia illam valde amabat. Furtivo itaque inito consilio, misit quampiam ad illam latenter mulierem, si forte animum ejus, in miseriis constitute, in ipsius amorem aliquibus sermonibus adulatoriis seu assiduus exhortationibus attrahere posset, quod, illa in deliciis dudum manente, ipse nequibat. Veniens sic quidem sepiissime ad puellam hec mulier dixit: Heu tam illustrem regiam prolem tam velle subire ministerium vile! Cum autem his verbis hisque similibus animum puelle nullatenus potuit in amoris ejus amorem excitare, inquit ad juvenem: Facilius possunt saxa in ligna et ligna in lapides converti, quam hujus virginis animus ab incepta stulticia revocari.

[Cap. ii.]—*Quomodo conceptus sit Sanctus Bentegegnus.*

HOC juvenis audito naturalis amoris igne inflammatus in corde suo cum anxiiis dixit suspiriis: Si fortuitu hujus puelle nodum virginitatis tangere valerem, forsitan mihi postea consenciet. Erat quidem adolescens imberbis, et cum muliebri cultu indutus, ac si esset alicujus famula patrisfamilias operatione agresti occupata, venit sepius ad puellam per rura porcorum greges pascentem. Quadam igitur die, de latebris prorumpens, invenit puellam absque comite solam sedentem secus torrentem cujusdam fonticuli prope cilium alicujus silve decurrentis, ubi frequenter pôtatum manusque ablutum ipsa rite venire solebat. Hanc adolescens dulciter convenit et verbis allicit, dicens: Salve virgo, proles regia, puellarum pulcherrima: veni mecum obsecro, soror carissima, quoniam de lignis sarcinam siccis composui, nec habeo hominem qui humeris meis illam imponat. Surge igitur in adjutorium michi, ut Deus omnium retributor bonorum in cunctis executionibus tuis te reddat felicior. Credo quoque, si mecum venire non pigriteris, quod usque in sempiternum felicior eris. Hoc autem dixit juvenis, estimans illam per castum coitum de ara suili attrahere ad regale pala-

cium, et de custode suum dominam facere militum. Mitis igitur puella orationis effectum quam ab ore juvenis audivit nimis potiri desiderans, quoniam innocens credit omni verbo, mox juvenem feliciter subdolum simpliciter quo voluit sequebatur. Cumque pervenissent ad locum juvenis voluntati competentem, arripuit repente juvenis puellam quasi ludendo, et velut in eccho resultu ab ictu fecundavit vi oppressam totis nisibus reluctantem. Puer autem statim consurgens, quam putavit fuisse virginem, estimavit subulci esse concubinam. Tepescente igitur juvenis amore, dixit ad puellam pro lacrimis singultivis loqui non valentem, Noli flere, soror mea, quoniam non novi te ut homo virginem nosse solet. Nonne mulier sum ego sicut et tu? Improbitalis est ergo pro ludo lugere: vade in pace, et in tuo sit arbitrio vel flere vel tacere.

[Cap. iii.]—*De simplicitate matris ejus.*

RECEDENTE itaque juvene, virgo squalidissima et mesta remansit, hesitans utrum esset libata vel non: quoniam a juvene, quem mulierem esse rebatur, se non tangi audierat quemadmodum virgo tangitur a viro, et precipue quia sexus femineus, sicut in omni muliere tempore prolis conceptionis, in ipsa tunc florere incipiebat: signum agnoscere non potuit certum corruptionis, licet dolorem passa sit carnis. Omni namque tempore menstruo, dissolutis naturaliter membrorum compagibus tam in virginis quam in femine janua, patulus patet semper introitus. Et quia hic latuit juvenem, adeo seductus abibat, ut vicem despectionis quam dudum a virgine passus est, in illa retortam letus reliquit. Quod ergo factum pro nichilo deputatum illi, donec per sanctum Kentegernum filium suum tempore longo elapso ad memoriam revocasset, ut in sequentibus scriptum est. Virgo autem, in pristina voluntate perseverans, nolebat cuiquam rei eventum propalare. Crescente itaque in utero prole et matre nihilominus hoc silente, omnibus domum innotuit quia pregnantis est. Quam cum pregnantem ac Christi nomen invocantem Rex pater ejus agnovisset, secundum patrie legem, quasi filiam fornicariam legisque paterne prevaricatricem lapidibus obrui jussit. Legis enim decretum eorum tempore illo jubebat ut omnis mulier, ex nobilibus orta natalibus, si deprehensa fuisset in fornicatione, lapidum ictibus obrueretur: ancilla vero, signo nequicie in facie sua expresso, in obprobrium omnibus haberetur.

[Cap. iv.]—*Quomodo liberata sit a morte in montis cimix.*

TRADITA ergo spiculatoribus pregnante juvencula, contentio orta est inter eos, quis primum in illam jaceret lapillum. Sed

quia nullus exactorum in regiam prolem lapidem mittere presumebat, et decretum iudicium si licet in dictum vocari nequaquam audebant pretermittere, ducta est in supercilio montis qui Kepdus vocatur, ut in biga posita ab ipsius cacumine precipitata dire neci commendaretur, et sic exactores quasi innoxii mortis ejus viderentur. Cumque in mortis periculo jam esset constituta, ejus causam infortunii divino agnoscens spiramine, directis oculis et manibus in celum clamavit et dixit: O sanctissima virgo Maria, quia quod nullatenus potest fieri hoc insipienter desideravi, tibi videlicet comparari, "que nec primam similem visa es habere nec sequentem," hoc mihi reor periculum merito esse predestinatum. Nunc ergo lacrimosis te flagito suspiriis, ora filium tuum dominum meum ut saltem ob infantem quem incorrupta mente, licet fragilitate carnis fallente, circumventa concepi, de mortis angustia in hac instanti me ruina misericorditer salvet. Credo namque sanctorum sanctissima domina mea, non solum mea sed et omnium excellentissima regina, quaquodcumque poposceris a domino meo filio tuo, cunctorum rege, protinus erit impetratum sine mora. Signo itaque vivifice crucis confidenter munita, sicut nullam voluntatem in compendio libidini prebuit, quamquam a viro depressa conceperit, ita de montis ardui cacumine in plaustrum retroverso violenter depulsa ad pedem montis illesa descendit.

[Cap. b.]—*De miraculis in rupe apparentibus.*

PREGNANS vero juvencula simplex et casta, a tanto periculo indempnis habita, estimans se utpote preoptaverat ab angelo Domini fecundari, gratias agit Deo, dicens: A finibus terre ad te clamavi, Domine, dum anxiaretur cor meum in periculo, et exaudisti me de monte sancto tuo. Non ergo timebo millia populi circumdantis me, quoniam tu quidem adjuvasti me et consolatus es me. Ex hoc igitur in tanta fidei constantia affigebatur cor ejus, et in operibus virtutum probabatur, quod sane potest ad illam referri quod scriptum est oraculum: Mulierem fortem quis inveniet, et cetera. In supradicta miranda ruina altera ad laudem Dei contigit fieri miracula. Quoniam, cum a manibus speculatorum plaustrum a monte retroversum (cum) muliere fecunda impingeretur, mox conversum ruendo de montibus vergens rostrum confixum est in terra. Quo extracto, statim cepit fons liquidissimus scaturire, qui usque in hodiernum diem manare non desinit: tracti etiam in silice sulci duro rotarum miraculum adhuc grande cernentibus prebent. O res stupenda et valde miranda, quia lignum tenerrium saxum durissimum ut ceram calidam cauare potuit!

Astantes autem, viso miraculo, dixerunt pregnantem vita potius et reverentia esse dignissimam quam mortis subire sententiam.

[Cap. bi.]—*Quomodo sit sola in mari relictæ.*

REX autem rursus in illam incitatus a legis sue magistratibus, hoc miraculum artis malefice prestigium tunc dicentibus, ne videretur regni ejus justicie pietatem filie preponere, dixit: si vita sit digna, neptuno tradatur, et liberet eam a mortis periculo deus ejus si vult. Ductam itaque ad fretum quod distat a monte Kepduf quasi tria millia passuum, in ostium scilicet fluminis quod Aberlessic vocatur, id est ostium fetoris, quoniam tanta piscium capture copia et fertilitas tempore illo abundabat, ut piscium multitudo de cimbis in sabulo projecta tedium auferri hominibus prebebat: et tanta ex piscibus in ostio littoris relictis putredo irrupit, arena sanie conglutinata, quod fetor infeste fetulentie multos illuc advenientes inde citius repellere suevit. Comitantibus autem illam usque ad mare viris multis ac mulieribus amare flentibus, dixerunt quidam: O quam judicium horrendum a patre nate illatum! Quid promeruit regis filia ut tot mala subeat letalia? Crudelitas est magna bis in eodem exercere vindictam. Pereat igitur judex indiscretus, omnis crudelia. Illa vero equori tradita, vox omnium lamentantium communiter facta est, dicens: Dominus qui te de morte liberavit in terris, ipse de periculo te liberet in aquis. Audiens autem voces moerentium insons mulier morti addicta cepit clamare ad Dominum, dicens; Judica Domine nocentes me, expungna impugnantes me, apprehende arma et scutum et exurge in adjutorium michi.

[Cap. bii.]—*Quomodo pater ejus ultione divina sit interemptus.*

INTEREA pro nichilo deputata est Regi nex filie, nisi subulcus simili clade periret. Persecutus est igitur illum, citatis anfractibus fugientem. Cumque vidisset se Regem nequaquam posse aufugere, declinavit se a via paulisper in loca palustria, vite presidium petiturus. Cum autem nec ibi salubre refugium habere valeret, arrepto jaculo per amentum post regis jaculando ut transfixit. Amici vero Regis, in loco ubi occubuit, erexerunt in signum regale lapidem grandem, imposito illi desuper saxo minore arte cauatoria, qui adhuc ibi permanet distans a monte Dumpelder, in parte austrina, quasi uno miliario. O quam justi judicis arbitrium cunctis predicandum! quia quod indiscussa rei veritate pretermissa insontibus rex indiscretus irrogare prepropere deliberaverat, in se reflexum recepit. Mater

interim prolis beate adhuc in utero matrem divinitus gubernantis, missa est in laubo, videlicet scapha ex corio confecta, reducta ultra insulam May in maris profundum. Verum cum ab ostio litoris prefati pregnans juvencula duceret, omnes pisces ejusdem labri marini cum sua processione illam velut dominam comitabantur. Et post diem discessionis ejus captura piscium ibi cessavit. Ostium autem prefate fertilitatis, quia suscepit infantem injuste condemnatum, permanet sterile usque in hodiernum diem. Pisces quoque qui secuti sunt mulierem, ubi ipsa dimittebatur et ipsi remanebant. Ab illo quippe tempore in hunc diem, tanta piscium fertilitas ibi abundat ut, de omni littore maris, Anglici, Scottici, etiam a Belgie et Gallie littoribus, veniunt gratia predicandi (*piscandi* ?) piscatores plurimi, quos omnes insula May in suis rite suscipit portibus. Mater vero prolis beate in medio mari sola relicta. Deo qui fecit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt, qui veritatem custodit, et facit judicium injuriis patientibus, conscientiam puram quam habebat devotissime commendabat. Mane autem facto, super arena maris prope Collenros, qui secundum marinariorum computationem xxx. milliaria distat ab insula May in Scotia, salubriter applicata, sed partus torminibus dolorisque tortionibus graviter vexabatur.

[Cap. biii.]—Statibitatis b. Bentegegni.

VELLA nimirum jugi dolore affecta, et lacrymis redimim^r (*sic*) genas perfusa, oravit dicens: Domine Jesu, pater omnipotens, cujus manus mare et aridam fundaverunt, et in cujus nutu elementa cuncta consistunt, qui me, etiam in terra et in mari morti addictam, hic applicari indemnem fecisti, non me permittas nunc perire. Scio enim, scio certissime quam brevi impunitas vicia fovet, audaciam peccandi ministrat, et delicti correptio nutrit virtutes, vias justicie demonstrat. Quapropter imploro, pater pie, ut castigatio in me jam bis exerta sit peccatorum meorum omnium remissio: et si quid restat in me puniendum unde vindictam sumere disponis, parce saltem proli insoniti quam in utero meo plasmare voluisti, ut in extremis terre, quemadmodum desideravi priusquam conciperetur, salus tua per illam crescat uberrime. Ego enim sum qui peccavi: illa quippe nichil mali gessit. Ipsa itaque humi prostrata obnixè orante, ecce subito a borea flante cinerum quedam congeries, que pridie a pastoribus secus maris littus aggerabatur, torrenter percussa, quas intus absconsas tenebat scintillas sparsim effudit. Comperto igitur igne, pregnans juvencula ad locum sibi a Deo significatum, prout potuit, mox accessit. Et

sicut necessitas instans augebatur, de lignulis, que pridie ibi ad focum parandum a supradictis colligebatur pastoribus, struellam exignam cum anxiis fecit gemitibus. Et accenso igne, peperit filium, duro tam ejus nativitatis quam conceptionis thalamo existente, quia locus non fuit illi in diversorio. O pauperiem in rege laudabilem, que suum iterata ditavit militem! Postquam ibi puerum esset enixa, et calamitas nimis instabat prolixa, contigit ut gregarii supervenirent. Cum autem viderent adolescentulam puerum habentem, et in suspiriis lacrimosis singultim erumpentem, mox pietate commoti quidam focum parabant; quidam cibum quem secum attulerant illi ministrabant; quidam vero ad beatum Servanum, qui eodem tempore legem clericos docebat Christianam, perrexerunt pari voce, dicentes, domine, sic et sic invenimus. Dixit autem Servanus, *A dia cur fir sin*, quod sonat Latine, O utinam sic esset! Et responderunt pueri dicentes, Utique, pater, veritatis est relatio et non fabula quam proferimus. Quapropter rogamus, domine, veni et vide, ut desiderium tuum citius consequatur effectum. Ipse quoque, ut rei geste seriem cognovisset, gavisus est gaudio magno: dixitque Deo gratias, hic enim erit carus meus. Quoniam puero nascente cum esset in oratorio solus orans post laudes matutinas, audierat in sublimi Gloria in excelsis solempniter cantare. Recordatus est igitur gaudii angelorum et visitationis pastorum apud Bethleem in Christo puero et Maria matre ejus, videns quodammodo Domini natali servi nativitatem assimilari, in angelorum videlicet solempnitate, in pastorum visitatione, in loco solitudo. Cum clericis ovanter hos ymnos laudifluos, Te deum laudamus, et Gloria in excelsis, voce sublimi decantavit. Eya ergo fratres karissimi, quoniam cogitationes humane conditioni nesciunt subiacere, quia tam ea que displicent quam illa que placent sepius invadunt, omnium reor opinione fidelium esse hortandum, ne quis presumat opinari hujus beati pueri conceptionem fornicationis maculam contraxisse. Videtur namque mihi patris ejus matrisque conventio sanctitate legitimum excellere matrimonium: porro quoniam patris erat intentio ut virginis animum in suum alliceret conjugium, matris vero erat devotio ut virginitatem servando ab omni se excluderet virili consortio: ex utriusque quippe consensu persone aliorum procedit desponsatio; in istorum connubio legitimus amor floruit; et virginalis non defertur devotio, licet et mater in concipiendo passa sit carnis corruptionem, cum virginali non perdidit devotionem. Ibi quippe non deest virginitas ubi sancte devotionis permanet integritas. In lege etiam quasi corrupta non repudiatur que assensum corruptori non prebuit, sed ut virgo suscipitur. Cum ergo

quolibet Christi virgo violentiam patitur carnis, non amittit virginitatis lucrum, sed deputatur illi ad premium, dicente Lucia ad Paschasium, Si invitam me feceris violare, castitas mihi duplicabitur ad coronam. Et quoniam absque sexu virili virginis hujus nequibat explicari petitio, hujusmodi gratia indiciter contigit fieri beati Kentegerni conceptio. Hec itaque sancta credenda est conceptio, quam divina precanti contulit adoptio. Fornicationi igitur non deputatur coitus quem predestinavit fieri Dominus: justum quippe fuit quod etiam in partus serie Dominus manifestaret, in quantum virginis votum in adoptando filium dilexit. Laus igitur soli polique regenti patriam qui tanto patrono inter ceteros ditavit Britanniam.

NOTES.

NOTES TO THE LIFE OF S. NINIAN.

NOTE A.

IN the Prologue it is stated "that a barbarous language obscured the life of the most holy Ninian," and the first chapter speaks of "a book of his life and miracles written in a barbarous style." S. Ailred "brings it forth into the light of Latin expression." The manuscript in the British Museum has at the commencement of the Life a rubric, which runs as follows:—

"Incipit vita Sancti Niniani epi et confessoris ab Aelredo Rieuallense abbate de Anglico in Latinū tñslata."

The Bollandist editor, alluding to S. Ailred's description of the ancient book, merely remarks:—

"Susplicari licet usum fuisse libro de miraculis S. Niniani conscripto, qui ad nos non pervenit, solumque innotuit ex breviario manuscripto ecclesiæ Aberdonensis, ubi in officio S. Niniani, lectione vii, dicitur laudatus liber *barbaricè* scriptus: quam conjecturam meam firmat conformitas fere omnimoda eorum, quæ in dicto officio recitantur et in edita S. Niniani vita memorantur."¹

It is not to be supposed that a British or Cambrian book should have outlived all the troubles in Galloway, and first the establishment and then the destruction of the Saxon hierarchy at Candida Casa. Gildas² speaks of the writings and records of his own country, "which (if ever there were any of them) have been consumed in the fires of the enemy or gone into foreign lands."

It was the fashion of the day to modernize, or to pretend to modernize, older biographies and annals. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his epistle-dedicatory to Robert, Earl of Gloucester of his History of the Britons, published before 1147, states, that Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, had bestowed on him "Britannici sermonis librum vetustissimum," giving an account of the kings of Britain from Brutus to Cadwaladyr. He speaks elsewhere of the "librum Britannici sermonis."³ Joceline, in

¹ Acta Sanctorum, Sept., t. v. p. 323.

² Hist. sec. 4.

³ Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, vol. i. p. 22.

his Life of S. Kentigern, with more probability, refers to an earlier book, "quem vestra frequentat ecclesia," and to "codiculum alium stilo Scotico dictatum."¹

NOTE B.

THE saint's name occurs under different forms. Bæda² has "prædicante eis verbum Nynia episcopo reverentissimo." William of Malmesbury³ has "ubi beatus confessor Ninia requiescit." He gives also the accusative "sanctum hunc Niniam."

Alchine or Alcuin in his epistle has in the genitive "patris vestri Nynia;" and again, "Direxi ad sancti patris Nyniga corpus suum holosericum;" finally, "sanctissimi patris Niniaë."⁴

In Ireland he is Monenn,⁵ Maoineann,⁶ and Monein,⁷ in which the name occurs with the honorific prefix *mo*.

After the time of S. Ailred he becomes Ninianus. In vulgar Scotch he was S. Ringan or S. Ringen. In the north of England a further debasement of the name occurs, in the forms S. Trinyon and S. Triman. Bellenden has Niniane: "Amang us were in thay dayis Sanct Niniane, the first bischop of Galloway, quhair he biggit ane kirk in honour of Sant Martene, his eime."⁸

The occurrence, during the Irish occupation of Whithern, of the names Nennio and Monennus, seems to suggest the notion of an ecclesiastical eponymus.

NOTE C.

THE Prologue, now printed for the first time, bears internal evidence of having been addressed to the Bishop of Candida Casa. He was, at the time of S. Ailred's visit to Galloway, Christianus, who, on the 19th of December 1154, being the day of the coronation of King Henry, was consecrated at Bermondsey by the Archbishop of Rouen acting for him of York.⁹ He witnesses a charter at Dunfermline in the Parliament of the same year:¹⁰ at the same time he declared that he was under the jurisdiction of Roger, Archbishop of York (*pertinere ad legatiam*), who had consecrated him according to the ancient

¹ Prologus ad vitam S. Kentigerni.

² Hist. Eccles. iii. 14.

³ Gest. Pontif. Ang. lib. iii. p. 256, ed. 1870.

⁴ Duffus Hardy's Descriptive Catalogue, vol. i. p. 45.

⁵ Mart. Tallacht.

⁶ Mart. Donegal.

⁷ Drummond Missal.

Bellenden's Boece, vol. i. p. 255; Edin. reprint, 1821.

⁹ Chron. Sanctæ Crucis in annum.

¹⁰ Acts of Parl. vol. i. p. 52.

custom of the predecessors of both.¹ As has been already stated, he was suspended from his episcopal office for refusing to come to the Council of Edinburgh summoned by the Legate Vivian in 1177. He must have been a man of consideration, for he was witness to the arbitration of Henry II. between the Kings Alfonso of Castile and Sancho of Navarre in the same year. He died at Holm Cultram, Oct. 7, 1186.²

NOTE D.

"His verbis manifeste insinuat auctor Vitæ natum esse Sanctum nostrum in antiquo Cumbriorum regno, quod propriis regibus paruisse usque ad annum 946 constat ex Anglorum annalibus ut ab Ussherio p. 664 et Camdeno p. 648 in Cumbria. . . . At Balæus aliique eum Venodotum faciunt. Est autem Venodotia pars Walliæ borealis in Angliâ. Utri de loco natali S. Niniani non inquirō, cum solum hoc ex Bedâ certum sit, eum fuisse de natione Britonum."³

The place where S. Ninian is supposed to have been born is indicated as being "in eâ, ut putatur (observe the hesitation) regione, quæ in occiduis ipsius insulæ (Britanniæ) partibus (ubi oceanus quasi brachium porrigens et ex utrâque parte, quasi duos angulos faciens, Scotorum nunc et Anglorum regna dividit) constituta, usque novissima ad Anglorum tempora proprium habuisse regem, non solum hystoriarum fide, sed et quorundam quoque memoria comprobatur." This evidently points at a country lying on the coast of the Solway Firth, and included in what was almost till Ailred's time the kingdom of Cumbria. Christianity existed there, for S. Ninian was born of a religious father. "This arm of the sea," says the author of the *Life of S. Ninian in the Lives of the Saints*, "is evidently the Solway, which on the cession of Cumberland to Henry II. in 1153, became the boundary of the two kingdoms; and it was upon the western shore of the island, and in a district which had kings of its own, 'usque ad novissima Anglorum tempora;' that is, to the end of the Saxon times. The Cumbrian Britons had kings of their own till the year 946, when the last of their princes, Dunmail, fell in defence of their narrow territories, and Edmund gave the country to the Scottish kings. The British inhabitants continued as a separate race in the

¹ Benedict. Abbas in an. 1177.

² Chron. Mailros cit. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. ii. p. 45.

³ *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. t. v. p. 323.

time of S. Ailred, and took a conspicuous part in the Battle of the Standard."¹

Whether the saint's birthplace was in Cumberland or in Galloway we cannot say with certainty. In some sense it is undoubted that the land of his birth was the scene of his first labours. Ailred says, "*Relictâ patriâ domoque patris, didicit in terrâ alienâ quod post doceret AD PROPRIA.*"

At 946 the *Annales Cambriæ*² have "*Et Strat Clut vastata est a Saxonibus.*" The Saxon Chronicle, anticipating a year, has an. 945. "This year King Edmund ravaged all Cumberland, and granted it to Malcolm, king of the Scots, on the condition that he should be his fellow-worker as well by sea as by land."³

In 974 Dunwallawn, king of Strathclyde, went on a pilgrimage to Rome.⁴ One cannot accept what is said in the Tract on the English Claims, that he slew Staterius, king of Scotland, conquered his country, and handed it on to his sons Belinus and Brennius.⁵ This has been forged. On the other hand, it is quite in accordance with the spirit of his age and country that, after leaving his kingdom, Dunwallawn should betake himself to religion, and go on pilgrimage.

NOTE E.

As to the royal birth of Ninian, the Bollandists neither impugn nor assert it, quoting the words of Alford, "When you hear of Ninian being a king's son, consider that it is the language of legendaries, who are very liberal in bestowing that title. By it they understood the princes and petty chiefs of the provinces, of whom Britain in every century had plenty." Porphyry speaks of Britannia as "*fertilis provincia tyrannorum.*"⁶

Camerarius, who makes S. Ninian live with the Culdees before he went to Rome, softens it into "*Natus est parentibus juxta seculi dignitatem nobilibus.*"⁷

NOTE F.

THERE is a remarkable illustration of the devotion to S. Peter at Whithern, preserved in a sculptured stone, evidently from

¹ *Lives of English Saints*, S. Ailred, pp. 15, 16.

² P. 18.

³ *Saxon Chron.* p. 379, ed. Bohn; London, 1847.

⁴ *Skene's Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 124.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 223.

⁶ *Porph. ap. Hieronym. ad Otesiph. adv. Pelag.* xliii. See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. i. p. 12.

⁷ *Camerarius de Fortitudine Scotorum*, p. 173; Paris, 1631.

its form and inscription very ancient. "On the upper part of one of the faces is a cross within a circle, with the following inscription curiously arranged, in letters obviously of early date, and resembling the inscriptions on the ancient Welsh stones—*LOCI T I PETRI APUSTOLI*. The monogram is added to the upper limb of the cross on the right hand, which may be regarded as another evidence of the early date of the monument."¹ Dr. Stuart has called attention to the distinction from the Pictish and Scoto-Irish sculptured stones which marks those in the localities connected with S. Ninian, such as Kirkmadrine and Kirkmaiden. They have a classical type, and may have been erected in the time of the Provincia.

NOTE G.

ALFORD believes that S. Ninian went to Rome in the year 370, when Damasus was Pope. The law of Valentinian was the cause of many going to Rome, and as it was given from Treves it was soon known in Britain. Alford puts his consecration at 394, in the Popedom of S. Siricius, thus giving him twenty-four years' residence in Rome; but the Bollandists, knowing that this is mere conjecture, think that it may have been shorter, and are rather inclined to abbreviate the stay of the saint in Rome, though it is impossible to determine the year of the conversion of the Picts or the acceptance of the apostolic gift by S. Ninian.² Spottiswoode maintains that our saint had lived with S. Martin before his journey to Rome, on which he seems to cast a doubt,³ and the Bollandists think it would give more time for a respect for S. Ninian to grow up among the people; but after all the matter must rest on the primary authority of Bæda, and of the Life.

S. Ninian is stated to have found his way into Italy "per Gallicanas Alpes." In the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus,⁴ there is a graphic description of the passage. "In his Alpibus Cottiiis, quarum initium a Segusione (Susa) est oppido, præcelsum erigitur jugum, nulli fere sine discrimine penetrabile. Est enim e Galliis venientibus prona humilitate devexum, penditum saxorum altrinsecus visu terribile, præsertim verno tempore: cum liquente gelu, nivibusque solutis flatu calidiore ventorum, per diruptas utrimque angustias, et lacunas pruinarum

¹ Stuart's *Sculptured Stones*, vol. ii. p. 53.

² Act. SS. Sept. t. v. p. 324.

³ Hist. Ch. of Scotland, p. 12, ed. 1847.

⁴ Lib. xv. ch. 10, t. i., p. 68, ed. Lipsius. 1808.

congerie latebrosas, descendentes cunctantibus plantis homines et jumenta procidunt et carpenta: idque remedium ad arcendum exitium repertum est solum, quod pleraque vehicula vastis funibus illigata, pone cohibente virorum vel boum nisu valido, vix gressu reptante paullo tutius devolvuntur. Et hæc, ut diximus, anni verno contingunt. Hieme vero humus crustata frigoribus, et tamquam levigata, ideoque labilis, incessum præcipitantem impellit, et patulæ valles per spatia plana glacie perfidæ vorant nonnumquam transeuntes. Ob quæ locorum callidi, eminentes ligneos stilos per cautiora loca defigunt, ut eorum series viatorem ducat innoxium: qui si nivibus operi latuerint, montanis defluentibus rivis eversi, agrestibus præviis difficile pervaduntur. A summitate autem hujus Italici clivi, planities adusque stationem nomine Martis (Oulx), per septem extenditur millia: et hinc alia celsitudo erectior, ægreque superabilis, ad Matronæ porrigitur verticem (Mont Genève), cujus vocabulum casus feminae nobilis dedit. Unde declive quidem iter, sed expeditius adusque castellum Virgantium (Briançon) patet."

Varro, whose statement is transmitted to us by Servius in his commentary on the *Æneid*, mentions five routes into Italy, "Alpes quinque viis Varro dicit transiri posse: una quæ est juxta mare, per Ligures (the Corniche): altera quâ Hannibal transiit (Mont Cenis): tertia quâ Pompeius ad Hispaniense bellum profectus est (Mont Genève): quarta quâ Hasdrubal de Galliâ in Italiam venit (Great S. Bernard): quinta quæ quondam a Græcis possessa est, quæ exinde Alpes Graiæ adpellantur (Little S. Bernard)."

NOTE H.

THE schools of Rome bore a high character at this time. S. Augustine in his *Confessions*¹ says, "Thou didst deal with me, that I should be persuaded to go to Rome, and to teach there rather what I was teaching at Carthage. And how I was persuaded to this I will not neglect to confess unto Thee; because, herein also, the deepest recesses of Thy wisdom, and Thy most present mercy to us, must be considered and confessed. I did not wish therefore to go to Rome, because higher gains and higher dignities were warranted me by my friends, who persuaded me to this (though even these things had at that time an influence over my mind), but my chief and almost only

¹ Book v. c. viii. p. 74; Oxf. translation.

reason was, that I heard that young men studied there more peacefully, and were kept quiet under a restraint of more regular discipline: so that they did not, at their pleasure, petulantly rush into the schools of one whose pupils they were not, nor were even admitted without his permission." It is true that he afterwards found that, "to avoid paying their master's stipend, a number of youths plot together and remove to another—breakers of faith, who for love of money hold justice cheap."¹

At Rome theological studies were pursued with assiduity. Valentinian² thus wrote to Olybrius the prefect—"Quicumque ad urbem discendi cupiditate veniunt, primitus ad Magistrum census, provincialium judicium, a quibus copia est danda veniendi, ejusmodi litteras proferant." "Anglorum scholæ" are alluded to by Bede, lib. v. c. 7. They were burnt down in 807, and again in 847.³

NOTE I.

THE date assigned to S. Ailred is given by Cave at 1150.⁴ In fact, he died in 1166. Twenty-six years before this, in 1140, Gratian, a Benedictine monk of Bologna, after the labours of twenty-four years, published the "*Concordantia discordantium Canonum*," the great work which superseded every other compilation, and became the sole authentic collection of ecclesiastical law under the name of the *Decretum Gratiani*.⁵ "In this work the Isidorian forgeries were combined with those of the Gregorian writers, Deusdedit, Anselm, Gregory of Pavia, and with Gratian's own additions. No book has ever come near it in its influence on the Church, although there is scarcely another so chokeful of gross errors, both intentional and unintentional. It may be shown by certain examples going deep into the development of the new Church system, how Gratian the Italian forwarded by his own interpolation the grand national scheme of making the whole Christian world, in a certain sense, the domain of the Italian clergy through the papacy. The earlier Gregorians had not laid down so clearly as Gratian that, in his unlimited superiority to all law, the Pope stands on an equality with the Son of God. Gratian says that,

¹ Book v. c. xii. p. 81; Oxf. translation.

² Lib. xiv. de Stud. Lib. urb. Rom. Co. Theodos., p. 197; ed. Lug. 1665.

³ Alford, *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 66.

⁴ *Historia Litteraria*, p. 672.

⁵ *Influence of Canon Law*, by J. E. Phillimore, *Oxford Essays*, 1858, p. 224.

as Christ submitted to the law on earth, though in truth He was its Lord, so the Pope is high above all the laws of the Church, and can dispose of them as he will, since they derive all their force from him alone.”¹

Now it might be expected that the enormous impulse given to the Roman system by the *Decretum* should make itself felt in all the ecclesiastical literature of the day, especially in that of the Cistercian order, whose great ornament S. Bernard (+ 1153) had been the intimate friend of Pope Eugenius III. In the most perfect faith, without a suspicion of forgery or interpolation, the religious authors naturally adopted the opinions of the times in which they lived, and embellished them with all the graces of the sincere piety and childlike simplicity which were the distinctive Cistercian ideas. They who, bent on developing the more spiritual part of their being by a life of seclusion and rigorous discipline, became the regenerating principle of the world's civilisation, could not but contribute also to the literature of the times by means of pious biographies, and it is only natural that they should view past events in the light of present ideas. It is very difficult, nay, the result of the highest culture, to abstain from doing so. The author cannot be accused of bad faith in exhibiting the course of thought which he believed must of necessity have passed through the mind of S. Ninian. It is not likely that the “*liber barbaro scriptus*” contained these reasonings, but in all probability it, in accordance with the practice of the times, did relate a visit to Rome, a fact of which from another source we are made aware—the veracious testimony of Bæda.

But this only represents a part of the truth. No student of early mediæval history can fail to observe that from the earliest times there was a constant reference to Rome, and that the saints of the most distant lands in Europe went thither on pilgrimage, not merely on devotional grounds, to kiss the thresholds of the apostles, but to bring themselves into closer relation with the rest of Europe, by assimilating their own practice, and also that of their flocks, to the liturgy and other usages which at the time prevailed at Rome. Abundant traces of this may be found in Bæda, Eddius, Alcuin, Boniface, and many others who wrote long before the period of Gratian.

So in the letter of S. Boniface to Archbishop Cuthbert about the year 741, he says, “*Decrevimus autem in nostro synodali conventu, et confessi sumus fidem catholicam et unitatem et subjectionem Romanæ Ecclesiæ sine tenus vitæ nostræ velle*

¹ The Pope and the Council, by Janus, pp. 142-149.

servare: Sancto Petro et vicario ejus velle subjici . . . et per omnia præcepta Petri canonice sequi desiderare, ut inter oves sibi commendatas numeremur. Et isti confessioni universi consensimus et subscripsimus, et ad corpus S. Petri principis apostolorum direximus: quod gratulans clerus et Pontifex Romanus suscepit."¹

Even in the very ancient works of Gildas Sapiens, we find allusion to pilgrimages thither: "Despising the commandments of Christ, and being careful with their hearts to fulfil their own lustful desires, some of them usurping with unclean feet the seat of the Apostle Peter."²

As to the testimony of Bæda, not to speak of the prominence he gives to the conversion of England by S. Austin by the help of Pope S. Gregory, we find constant reference to communications with Rome. S. Laurence of Canterbury and his Bishops admonish the Irish (Scoti) to the Roman keeping of Easter.³ Mellitus goes to Rome to confer with Pope Boniface about the necessary affairs of the English Church.⁴ Acca visits Rome.⁵ The whole question about the observance of Easter, and the tonsure, was a question between the authority of Rome and that of the local churches.⁶ Osuiu sends Wighard to be consecrated at Rome, "intellexerat enim veraciter Osuiu, quamvis educatus a Scottis, quia Romana esset catholica et apostolica ecclesia."⁷ Wighard dying at Rome, Theodore is sent by Pope Vitalian, and the whole of his policy, as well as that of Bishop Wilfrid, is centralizing.⁸ Abbot John, archchanter of S. Peter's, came with Benedict Biscop, "quatenus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annum, sicut ad S. Petrum agebatur, edoceret."⁹ Cædwalla and Ina both go to Rome.¹⁰ Naitan sent to Ceolfred "to seek assistance from the English, who had long since formed their religion after the example of the Holy Roman Apostolic Church."¹¹ Eddi's Life of S. Wilfred¹² is curious as indicating a great increase in the reference to Rome. In the beginning he says, "Deinde . . . suggerente Spiritu Sancto, appellare et videre sedem Apostoli Petri et apostolorum principis *adhuc* inatritam viam genti nostræ tentare in cor adolescentis prædicti ascendit."¹³ The young man's desires are very like those which are attributed by S. Ailred to S. Ninian, "Sunt vota mea Domino quæ reddam, relinquero ut Abraham cog-

¹ Ep. Bonifacii, sec. 2.

² Gildas, Epistola 66.

³ Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. c. iv.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ Lib. iv. 13.

⁶ Lib. iii. 25, 26.

⁷ Lib. iii. 29.

⁸ Lib. iv. 5, 12, 13.

⁹ Lib. iv. 18.

¹⁰ Lib. v. 7.

¹¹ Lib. v. 21.

¹² *Historiæ Britannicæ, Saxonicæ, Anglodanicæ Scriptores xv, opera Thomæ Gale; Oxford, 1691.*

¹³ P. 44.

nationem et domum patris mei, ut visitem sedem apostolicam et ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ regulas didicerim in augmentum gentis nostræ, ad serviendum Domino.”¹ In the same life Theodore is described as “veniens ad regem Deirorum et Berniciorum, statuta apostolicæ sedis, unde emissus, venerat, secum deportans.”²

So Wilfrid himself, when driven from his see, “Ille vero Episcopus noster tali iudicio fraudabili non contentus, cum consilio coepiscoporum suorum, iudicium apostolicæ sedis magnæ elegit.”³ In his petition to Pope Agatho and the synod, he speaks of directing his steps “ad hoc apostolicum fastigium, tanquam ad locum munitum turremque fortitudinis.”⁴

In Scotland, in the Pictish Chronicle, during the reign of Culenrig or immediately after, we are told “Leot et Sluagadach exierunt ad Romam.”⁵

In 854 Indrechtaig, grandson of Finechta, Abbot of Ia, was martyred on his journey to Rome by the Saxons.⁶

In 974, as we have before stated, Dunwallawn, king of Strathclyde, went on a pilgrimage to Rome.⁷ S. Kentigern was seven times at Rome.

In 1050, the devout and charitable Macbeth “Romæ argentum pauperibus seminando distribuit.”⁸

The Welsh and Irish churches also referred to Rome. In the Life of S. Aidus, our Scottish Modoch, it is written, “Molaceir said, If I shall not go to Rome and to foreign nations, I shall die. Then Aidus took him with him in a fiery chariot, and they went together to Rome; and when they had remained therein one night they again returned to the city of Treves.”⁹

In the Irish Church, until the time of its subjection to the Roman Church in the twelfth century, the relations are those rather of veneration than of submission. One must be very cautious in admitting the statements in the Lives of the Saints,

¹ P. 45.

² P. 59.

³ P. 63.

⁴ P. 66.

⁵ Skene's Chron., p. 10.

⁶ Annals Innisfallen, cit. Skene's Chron. Picts and Scots, p. 169.

⁷ Welsh Bruts, cit. Skene, p. 124.

⁸ Chron. Mariannus Scotus, Perts, Mon. t. v. p. 556.

⁹ Rees, Cambro-British Saints, p. 568. For a statement on the Roman side of the relations between Britain and the Pope, see *Epistola Historica de mutuis officiis inter Sedem Apostolicam et Magnæ Britannie reges Christianos, anglie olim Scripta ad Jacobum Regem, per Richardum Smitheum S. T. D. nunc Episcopum Chalcedonensem*; Paris. 1654, pp. 403-417. See on the other side, *Chronological Vindication and Historical Demonstration of our British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, English Kings' Supreme Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over all Spiritual and Religious Affairs, Causes, Persons, etc.*, by William Prynne, Esq.; Lond. 1666.

being written many hundred years after the death of their subject. Thus S. Kieran of Saighir, one of the four saints who are said to have preceded S. Patrick in Ireland, according to his life in the so-called *Codex Kilkenniensis*, is reported to have come to Rome, been baptized there, and to have abode twenty years, learning the divine Scriptures, collecting the books of them, and studying the ecclesiastical rules.¹ He was ordained bishop there. He and S. Declan are said to have met S. Patrick in Italy before his consecration.²

In 458 S. Seginus went to Rome and was ordained bishop there.³

In 630 S. Lasrean was sent by Pope Honorius to induce the Irish to accept the Roman computation of Easter.

Gradually Ireland, known by the eminent scholars she sent abroad, came into closer relations with the Continent.

Colgan⁴ gives the following list of saints who made the "*peregrinatio ad Romanam*:"—"Endeus: Erardus Albertus et Hildulphus cum aliis unde viginti sociis: Maura et Brigida cum Hispadio fratre et aliis: Declanus: Furseus: Nennideus: Kelius et Virgilius: Ricarius et Caidocus: Gildas: Barreus Maidocus David et Eulogius: Indractus cum ix. sociis: Mansuetus: Dubslanius Macbethus et Malmurius: Marcellus et Marcus: Furseus: Finnianus Cathmail et Bitheus: Kieranus: Seginus: Senanus: Daganus: Hibarus et Abbanas: Fridianus: Endeus: Mocteus: Patricius: Cassanus Columbanus Lugadius: Lugacius Mellanus et Kieranus."

Concerning this list, one must say in the words of Dr. Lanigan,⁵ "Some of our hagiologists have sent to Rome several Irish saints, who never were in that city."

Donatus of Fiesole seems to have been a bishop before he undertook this pilgrimage to Rome. In the ninth century this was very common. Mark and Moengal stop at S. Gall on their way home. In 892 Dufflan Macheathath and Magelmunen, after visiting King Alfred, go to Rome on their way to Jerusalem.⁶

Dr. Lanigan⁷ believes the report of S. Abbanus's three visits to Rome, where he was ordained priest by S. Gregory the Great, to be "an ill-founded story," and combats the assertion of Ware that Flannan was consecrated at Rome by John iv. in 639,⁸ but he admits that S. Findan remained in Rome some time.⁹

¹ Colgan, p. 458.

⁴ Act. SS. Hib., p. 900.

⁷ *Ibid.* 15.

² P. 464.

⁵ H. E., vol. iii. p. 149.

⁸ *Ibid.* 149.

³ P. 477.

⁶ *Ibid.* 346.

⁹ *Ibid.* 237.

In the tenth century, *i.e.*, in 926, Blessed Kelius, Duballius, or Duballus, Abbot of Bangor, and Blessed Virgilius, Abbot of Tyrdaglass, go to Rome "peregrinationis causâ."¹

So late as 1134, we read that Bishop Imarus Hua Haodhagain, who restored the Basilica of S. Peter and S. Paul at Armagh, died at Rome "in suâ peregrinatione."²

NOTE K.

AN excellent edition of the works of Sulpicius Severus has been published at Vienna in 1866 as the first of a series called *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. It is termed *Sulpicii Severi Libri qui supersunt; recensuit et commentario critico instruxit Carolus Halm. Vindobonæ, 1866.*

Besides the Life by Sulpicius Severus, there exist four books on the virtues of S. Martin by S. Gregory of Tours, a Prose in his honour, some epigrams by Venantius Fortunatus, a hymn by S. Odo of Clugny, and a metrical life in six books by S. Paulinus.³

NOTE L.

A SIMILAR circumstance takes place in the history of the Saxon Church. Benedict Biscop brought from Gaul "cementarios qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum morem facerent."⁴ Dr. Reeves has an interesting note at p. 57 of his edition of the Life of S. Columba, where, in reference to the Gallic sailors who confirmed the miraculous account of the Italian city which was burnt with fire from heaven, he draws attention to the "mercatores Gallorum" who were at Clonmacnoise when S. Kieran was abbot, and to the vessel at Nantes in the time of S. Columbanus "quæ Scotorum commercia vexerat."

As to the question whether or not the masons from Gaul could understand the Britons, we cannot speak very certainly. In Sulpicius Severus we find a hint as to the languages which prevailed in Gaul. In the first dialogue we read "Tu vero, inquit Posthumianus, vel Celtice aut si mavis Gallice loquerei dummodo Martinum loquaris."⁵

The difficulty here lies in the distinction between the Gallic

¹ Colgan, *Act. SS. Hib.* p. 107.

² *Ibid.* 795.

³ *Biographi Veteres Sancti Martini Turonensis Episcopi et confessoris Edidit Alexis Jordanaky, Abbas B. Mar. de Szaszvar; Posonii, 1817.*

⁴ *Hist. Abb. Warem.*, sec. 5, cit. Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 177.

⁵ *Sulp. Sever. Op. ed. Halm.*, p. 179.

and the Celtic language. Can it be that there prevailed in France at the time two dialects, differing as much from each other as the Welsh and Irish?

Fauriel, speaking of the language of Gaul, says, "Tout le monde sait que César avait distingué dans la Gaule trois races d'hommes parlant chacune une langue tout à fait diverse de celle des deux autres : ces langues étaient l'aquitain, le celtique et le belge, qui aurait été, ce que semble, beaucoup plus convenablement et plus historiquement distingué par le nom spécial de Gaulois. Or de ces trois langues il y en a deux, l'aquitain et le celtique, qui sont aujourd'hui représentés en France par deux idiomes vivants qui en sont des restes immédiats, aussi certains que curieux. Ces deux idiomes sont le Basque, qui se parle encore dans quelques vallées des Pyrénées occidentales, et le bas Breton qui persiste dans une partie de la Bretagne Armoricaïne. Ce n'est pas certainement depuis le cinquième siècle, que les idiomes ont envahi les localités où ils vivent aujourd'hui : non seulement ils existaient dès lors, mais il est évident que, plus jeunes de 18 siècles, il devaient en être, d'autant plus purs, et plus entiers. Les fait et le vraisemblance se réunissent pour constater qu'ils dominaient alors sur une plus grande étendue de territoire qu'aujourd'hui. Quant à la troisième langue de César, que je crois pouvoir nommer proprement le Gaulois, il n'en reste aujourd'hui en France de vestige vivant : mais elles étaient selon toute apparence parlée encore au cinquième siècle dans quelques cantons particulier de la Gaule." Then after telling the story from Sulpicius he adds, "A moins de prendre ces paroles pour un insipide pléonasmе, qu'il n'est pas fautive d'imputer à un écrivain élégant et soigné comme Sulpice Sévère, il faut y voir une allusion formelle à deux des anciens idiomes de la Gaule encore coexistants, un celtique et un gaulois."¹ Mr. Skene says, "One of the points proved by Zeuss is that the Welsh approached nearer to the ancient Celtic of Britain and Gaul both in sound and grammatical forms, while it differed so much from the Irish that no commerce of language was possible between them, either then or at a much earlier age, while at the same time both languages show that they sprang from the same fountain, and are one in their original."² He adds, "The old Celtic of Gaul, if not the same language with the British or Welsh, was much nearer to it than the Irish."³

¹ Fauriel, *Histoire de la Gaule méridionale sous la domination des conquérants Germains* ; Paris, 1836, pp. 433-436.

² Skene's *Papers on the Race and Language of the Picts*, No. 2, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*

The Rev. Thomas Innes remarks:—"Buchanan seems to import that in his time many of the inhabitants of Galloway spoke the Welsh or British language, which was their native tongue—'Ea magna ex parte patrio sermone adhuc utitur;' and I have heard that some of the commonalty of that country in the remote creeks of it, continue as yet to speak a particular language, different from the vulgar tongue of the Scots, but I could get no certain information of it."¹ The New Statistical Account asserts that in Wigtonshire Gaelic did not entirely disappear in the more remote parishes of the country till about the beginning of the seventeenth century.²

NOTE M.

S. AILRED's description of Whithern is "*qui locus super litus oceani situs, dum seipsum mare longius porrigit ab oriente, occidente, atque meridie, ipso pelago clauditur: a parte tantum aquilonali, via ingredi volentibus tantum aperitur.*" This opens up the question, Was the site of S. Ninian's Church where the ruins of the Cathedral now are, or were they two miles distant southwards at the port called the Isle of Whithern?

Symson, in his large description of Galloway, says, "There was in this town a famous priory and a stately church founded by S. Ninian, and dedicated by him to his unkle S. Martin, Bishop of Tours in France, as I have heard it reported. Sure I am there is a little hand-bell in this church, which in Saxon letters tells it belongs to S. Martin's Church. The steeple and the body of the church is still standing, together with some of the walls of the precincts. The isles, crosses, chancel, and several other houses belonging thereto are fallen; but several large and capacious vaults are firme and intire. The Bishop of Galloway, as prior of Whitherne, hath here a regality comprehending not only the lands about Whitherne and other adjacent parishes holding of the prior, but also all the prior's other lands, which were many in Carrick, Argyle, and severall other places. The Earl of Galloway is heritable bayly of this regality."³ Further on, speaking of the Isle, he says, "Neer to this place, at the sea side, there is the ruines of an old chapel, called the Chapel of the Isle, which, as it is reported, was the first that was built for the service of Almighty God in this part of the kingdom; yea, as some say, in the whole kingdom."⁴

¹ Innes, *Crit. Essay*, vol. i. p. 39.

² Symson's *Galloway*, p. 47.

³ N. S. A., Wigton, p. 219.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 49.

For an account of Whithern see *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xvi. pp. 275-298; *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Wigtonshire, pp. 52-60; *History of Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, Edin. 1870, vol. i. pp. 464-503; *Nicholson's History of Galloway*, vol. i. p. 115, Kirkcudbright, 1841.

Mr. Muir,¹ while allowing that the question can never be settled positively, ventures to think that the Isle of Whithern is the site of the Candida Casa. "That the old chapel (there) can have no connexion with the time of Ninian is obvious enough, but what has that, or a fallacy in popular belief, to do with the matter? May not this small chapel be standing on the site of the White House; nay, may not even some of its rude stones be parts of the very White House itself? Cropping up here and there around it are bits of rough masonry, which are evidently the foundations of very old buildings; and on an elevated spot overhanging the shore, a few paces off, indications of other early erections are equally apparent in the artificial swellings and depressions of the turf. These last, however, are more likely to be the foundations of a British or Roman fort than of ecclesiastical buildings, and if so would seem to prove that at the time of Ninian's mission the place was an important station, and on that account, as well as from its advantageous position on the sea, probably was more populated than was then the site and neighbourhood of the inland borough."

As regards the Chapel at Isle of Whithern, Mr. Muir, who is our best authority on Scottish mediæval architecture, says, "From its appearance it should belong to somewhere about the end of the thirteenth century, but more than this I fear we shall never find out."²

Agreeing as I do with the date assigned by Mr. Muir, I confess that it seems to supply an argument against the isle being the site of the Candida Casa. Is it at all likely that "about the end of the thirteenth century," when S. Ailred's Life had been written, when the record of miracles was drawing thousands to the sacred spot, the Præmonstratensian monks should have built this shabby little chapel as the record of the spot where the great saint actually ministered? At this time Gothic architecture was just at its perfection, the First Pointed merging into the Second Pointed or Decorated. To this epoch the most beautiful specimens of Scottish art may be referred. It is impossible to suppose that the earnest votaries of the saint, whose zeal is alluded to in the Prologue of the Life, should surround themselves with beauty at the place where they resided,

¹ *The Lighthouse*, p. 34.

² *Ib.* p. 43.

while they spent so little care and money on the spot more actually associated with him than even the place where his relics were enshrined? Ailred's Life gives no indication of his dying in one place and being buried in another. Where he died, there he was buried. "The biographer, after stating that he was buried 'in ecclesia beati Martini,' has an expression that indicates this, 'Ubi virtus quæ in vivente claruerat, circa corpus defuncti apparere non cessat.'"

Moreover, neither in the Life of the saint, nor in the cultus of the later Scottish Church, is there any trace of the translation of his relics. Those pompous ceremonials, often commemorated by a feast as solemn as the original day, when, perhaps by the admonition of a dream or some celestial intimation, all that was mortal of the ancient servant of God was carried from the lonely place of his death to a shrine more worthy of the estimation in which he was held by God and man, have generally left their records, if not in history, at least in the Kalendars of the Church. In the case of S. Ninian nothing of this occurs, and we must therefore conclude that the celebrated spot, where his body was visited by pilgrims for so many ages, the modern town of Whithern, was the spot where he erected the Candida Casa "more Brittonibus insolito."

Its present condition is best described by the learned archaeologist, Mr. Muir, whose work has just been cited:—"What its original form and dimensions were it would be hard to conjecture by any means short of a thorough investigation of the foundations, for all that is visibly remaining is what seems to have been the nave of the Church, a plain narrow oblong, measuring internally 74 feet in length. The tower, of which there are still traces, stood at the south-west corner, and was probably Norman; at any rate a small part of the church adjoining its site is in the style of that period, and contains a fine semicircular headed doorway of four shafted orders, embellished with the usual zigzags and other characteristic devices of the twelfth century. Eastward of this the work is of late thirteenth century date, and in it are some four or five long single light windows with pointed heads, and near to the east end a small pointed doorway with moulded jambs and imposts carved into quasi capitals. In the east elevation there is nothing particularly noticeable, the only features being a small lanciform gable light, one of larger size under it, and a great square aperture at the ground. . . . Internally the aspect of the building is anything but interesting. . . . Of original features the only attractive ones are two large arched recesses of ornamental character in the east end of the north wall.

Eastward of the Church, and rising to what may have been the original level of its floor, are several rudely constructed crypts, respecting the age and uses of which I entertain no definite opinion. It is likely that under and around the Church there are many vaulted cells of the same kind."¹

NOTE N.

THE death of S. Martin, being the one historical fact recorded in the life of S. Ninian, and therefore determining the epoch of the saint, deserves a discussion of its own. The actual date is difficult to determine, though for historical purposes it may be surely fixed at the end of the fourth century. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, indeed, makes it so late as 440, but all other authorities confine themselves within a range of four years between 397 and 401.

Ussher,² in his *Index Chronologicus*, places the death at 401, and supports his view by these arguments:³—

"S. Martinum ex hac vitâ transiisse mediâ nocte, quæ Dominica habebatur, Attico Cæsarioque Conss., refert Gregorius Turonensis, eumque in chronico suo secutus Marianus Scotus: qui annus neque cum caractere ab ipsis proposito (dies enim transitus S. Martini, qui in capitularibus regum Franciæ et Martyrologiis omnibus tertius Idus Novembris constituitur, anno 397 quo isti consulatum gesserunt, in quartam feriam incidit) neque cum Severi Sulpitii, qui ipso Martino usus est familiariter, consentit testimonio, ab Euodii consulatu ad Martini exitum sexdecim annos numerantis. Sextus decimus ab illius consulatu annus nostræ epochæ est 401, in quo media nox, Romano more, et decimi Novembris Dominicam claudebat (quæ ob communis ambiguitatem termini, Dominica idcirco, ut loquitur Gregorius, habebatur) et undecimum ejusdem mensis diem, qui tertius Idus Novembris fuit, aperiebat."

The accurate Tillemont enters into an exhaustive argument, in which, after balancing between the years 397 and 400, he concludes on the whole in favour of 397:—

"C'est une grande question de savoir si S. Martin est mort en l'an 397 ou en l'an 400, y ayant bien des raisons de part d'autre. Il nous en paroist néanmoins davantage pour l'an 397."⁴

¹ The Lighthouse, pp. 46-48.

² Vol. vi. p. 562.

³ P. 392.

⁴ Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*; Paris, 1705, t. x. p. 340. See also a learned note in the same volume, pp. 779-781.

He concludes, "Suivant donc l'époque de l'an 397 à laquelle nous nous arrêtons, jusqu'à ce que nous voyions quelque chose de plus assuré, il faut dire que S. Martin a vécu environ 81 ans e a gouverné son église 25 ans, quatre mois, e quatre ou sept jours, selon qu'on voudra mettre sa mort le 8 ou le 11^e de Novembre."

The Church of S. Martin of Tours, which was destroyed at the first great Revolution, is described in a very scarce book, in which many of the rites of the local Usages of France are preserved.¹ The author's real name was J. B. Le Brun Des Marettes. He was the editor of the Breviaries of Orleans and Nevers. He gives an interesting account of Tours, showing how in the midst of the greatest splendour some remains of the primitive simplicity of S. Martin continued till his time :—

"L'Église de S. Martin de Tours est fort grande, mais grossière et obscure. Il y a trois rangs de vitres assez petites avec doubles ailes autour de la nef et du chœur. Cette église si illustre pars le tombeau de S. Martin a été desservie par des moines jusqu'au neuvième siècle ; et il y a encore un cloître au côté de l'Église. Il y eut des clercs du temps de Louis le Débonnaire ; et sous le règne de Charles le Chauve ces clercs par son ordre et du consentement de la communauté furent fixes à deux ans sous le titre de chanoines l'an 849. Il y a encore en cette église près de trois cents Prébendes. Le clergé est encore composé de 50 chanoines, de 50 vicaires perpétuels, et de 50 chapelains, chantres et musiciens avec 10 enfans de chœur. Entre ces dix enfans de chœur on y recevait anciennement un grand nombre d'enfans qu'on élevait dans l'esprit de la cléricature. On reçoit encore de ces enfans lorsqu'ils demandent à assister à l'office, et on les installe comme les bénéficiers ; c'est ce qu'on appelle choristes.

"Tous ces ecclésiastiques étaient distribués en quatre rangs en stations . . . entre les maritiers et Bedeaux ou Batonniers il y a un pauvre de S. Martin fondé par Louis XI., et qui est élu par le chapitre à la pluralité des voix. Il est logé, vêtu, nourri, et entretenu de toutes choses, sain et malade, au frais du chapitre ; et il ne peut être destitué que pour dérèglement des mœurs. Il assiste aussi à l'office des jours solennels vêtu d'une robe mi-partie de rouge et de blanc.

"Il n'y a rien sur l'autel, seulement 12 chandeliers derrière. Le saint Ciboire est suspendu au bout d'une crosse, sans images

¹ Voyages Liturgiques de France ou recherches faites en diverses villes du royaume, contenant plusieurs particularités touchant les Rits et les Usages des Eglises, par le Sieur De Moléon ; Paris, 1757, p. 120.

au côté. Il y a un parement de contretable au dessus d l'autel, et des rideaux aux côtés avec des balustres hauts de 6 ou 7 pieds qui ferment le sanctuaire.

"Derrière le grand autel est le tombeau de marbre noir, blanc, et jaspé, de S. Martin, fort simple et sans figures, élevé de terre environ 3 pieds. A toute heure de jour il y a un concours de peuple qui après y avoir fait la prière se baisse avec respect . . . Au dessus de ce tombeau il y a un autel de S. Martin, où l'on monte par un escalier de 12 degrés de chaque côté avec des balustres de cuivre, de peur qu'on ne tombe en y montant ou en y descendant. Ce petit autel est fort simple, sans image, pas même de S. Martin; seulement un parement devant et au dessus de l'autel, une croix sur l'autel, deux chandeliers au côté, et rien dessus. Tout cela est d'une grande régularité. On se sert de cire sacré dans cette église et d'un bréviaire particulier qui n'est ni Romain ni celui de Tours."

NOTE O.

THAT this name was known in Strathclyde we learn from Adamnan, who mentions that the father of King Rydderch of Dunbarton was Tothail. In the genealogies appended to Nennius he is termed Tutagual.¹

NOTE P.

A SIMILAR miracle is found in the Life of S. Aldelm, "*Per idem tempus contigit Rome ut puer ex incestâ matre incestoque patre editus famam apostolici (Sergii) lederit; quod cum ut fieri solet vulgaris opinio ex pontifice genitum crederet. Anxius Aldelmus multâ amicitia federatum sibi presulem tali federi infamia: puerum novem dies a nativitate habentem exhiberi precepit; imperatque in virtute et in nomine Jesu Christi ut fateatur si Sergius incesti conscius habeatur. Respondet infans absolutissimo sermone antistitem affinem criminis non esse; nil illum commune cum secundo sexu habere. Aldelmus itaque et ab amico pontifice depulit infamiam et sibi accumulavit gratiam;*"² and in Nennius's History of the Britons,³ Vortigern seeks to affiliate his own child begotten upon his daughter on S. Germanus.

¹ Reeves's Adamnan.

² Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, fol. x.

³ Sec. 39.

The miracle of the child revealing its paternity occurs elsewhere. A similar one in the case of a bishop falsely accused will be found in the eighth *Lectio* of the Feast of S. Brigida, in the Aberdeen Breviary.¹ A similar miracle is recorded in the Life of S. Malachi.²

NOTE Q.

WE have happily not to enter at any great length upon the long vexed question of the nationality of the Picts. That strong race, first mentioned by Eumenius the orator, in his panegyric on Constantius, A.D. 297,³ then by Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth century, who states they were divided into two gentes *Dicaledones* and *Vecturiones*, at the same time immortalized in verse by Claudian, and finally, not without uncertainty, credited by Venerable Bæda in the eighth with a Scythian origin,⁴ are now known by the remains of their language to have been part of the great Celtic or Gaelic stock, which coming originally from Gaul, gradually peopled the whole land;⁵ for although Bæda, in the passage before alluded to, speaks of the Pictish as one of the four distinct languages used in Britain, and although there was such a difference between the Irish and Argyleshire language and that of the northern Picts in the sixth century, that S. Columba, at Brude's Court at Inverness, was forced to use an interpreter, yet philologists now have come to the conclusion that it is a dialect of the Gaelic, having affinity to the Irish rather than to the Cymric, Cornish, and Armorican families of that mother tongue; and the Book of Deer, a monastery of Scots monks in Pictland, in its version of the Scriptures, and in the curious charters appended at the end, exhibits the Picts as cognate with the rest of the Celtic family, the laws, the names, the language being nearly similar. In the sixth century the Picts of Buchan were of the same race as the Scots of Down; and there is nothing to show that they were not the *αὐτόχθονες*, or at least the first known race that had colonized the district.

Mr. W. F. Skene, in his valuable work on the Four Ancient Books of Wales, has thrown much light on the Pictish question. After showing that the ethnological traditions of every country contain much historic truth of the earliest days of its existence, just as the incidents of the child's life remain in the memory

¹ *Pars Hyemalis*, fol. xlv.

³ Innes, *Crit. Essay*, vol. i. p. 47.

⁵ Innes, *Crit. Essay*, vol. i. p. 72.

² A. SS. Sept., t. v. p. 328.

⁴ Bæda, H. E., lib. i. c. i.

when the circumstances of middle age are forgotten, and that these traditions generally assume a twofold form, according to which the tribes are either a series of colonists arriving at different times from some distant land whose name has some analogy to them, or are represented by an eponymus or common ancestor whose name is derived from the people, he goes on to point out how both these are to be found in the race of which he is treating. On the one hand, we have Albanus, the eponymus of the Gwyddyl or Gael, called the brother of Brettus, and progenitor of the Alban, from whom the Scots and Picts took their origin. Also we find the ethnology of the inhabitants of North Britain represented under the form of successive colonizations. Three tribes are brought to Alban, according to the Triads, and remain there, the race of Gwyddyl or Gael generally, the red Gwyddyl from Ireland, that is the Scots, and the Gwyddyl Ffechti or Gael Picts. "The whole testimony of the Britons themselves, and the inferences to be drawn from tradition, clearly range the Picts as a people with the Gaelic division of the great Celtic race, and not with the Cymric or British. They point to their race and language both being Gaelic; but though this may be true of a central body of this people, yet there are indications that the more outlying or frontier Picts were mixed with other races, especially with the Saxons, the Irish Scots, and the Britons." Thus the Picts and Saxons are mentioned by Ammianus as united in the second great barbarian invasion of the Roman Provincia; and in Constantine's Life of S. German the two races are mentioned in close union in 429. In 503 a settlement of Irish Scots occupied a portion of the Pictish kingdom of Dalriada or Argyleshire, while Higden in his Polychronicon declares that they were also mixed up with the Britons. Each of these races occasionally saw a king of their own upon the throne. At length the Scoti succeeded in converting the accession of one of their race to the Crown, in right of his Pictish blood through female descent, into a permanent supremacy over the Pictish population of the country, when gradually the people disappeared among the Scots, and the name became lost.

Besides the testimony of tradition in the two forms which we have just indicated, there are three other sources whence we may draw conclusions more or less satisfactory:—(1.) the allusions in foreign contemporaneous writers; (2.) the remains of language indicating its own ethnical relation to languages spoken by other races; and (3.) the inferences to be derived from the topography of the districts which the septs in question have been known to have occupied. It is true that the evi-

dence from the last two must be taken with some reservation; there may have been the infusion of a foreign element in the language, and the names of places may have belonged to a still more primitive race. With these abatements, however, an approximation to the truth may be obtained from all.

1. Under the first head, that of foreign writers, we learn that the Picts unquestionably existed as a known people and as an independent nation possessing a political organisation, a known language in which they read the Holy Scriptures, till the middle of the ninth century. Then till the twelfth the name of Picts is known as the denomination of one element in a population formed of two races, but combined under one monarch. After the twelfth century the name disappears as applied to any portion of the population of Scotland. Bæda testifies to the fact of these statements. Henry of Huntingdon, in 1135, writing in the second period, makes the curious remark that the Picts seemed destroyed, and their language so entirely obsolete that it seemed like a fable that their mention was made in the Annals. Considering that the Picts occupied a division at the Battle of the Standard in the very year that Henry wrote, and that Richard of Durham says their language was still spoken at Kirkcudbright, we must—even if we allow, which there is no reason for doubting, that the mediæval chroniclers understood by Picts the same race that had existed some centuries before—take the statement with the reservation that the Picts had ceased to be a separate nation, and were fused with their neighbours, while their language, which had once been written, had degenerated into a provincial dialect or patois.

2. The scanty relics of the Pictish language are next very ingeniously used by Mr. Skene to illustrate the ethnical position of the nation; and here we must remark *en passant* that the singular advantage of being a scholar in Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish, gives him a right to speak with such authority as few scholars in England possess. After stating that the modern condition of the different Celtic dialects probably represents that of none of the ancient ones, he remarks that there run through them all two distinctive differences which must have existed before their introduction into Britain, if not before their entrance into Europe. These differences sever the languages into two—(1.) the Cymric, containing Breton, Welsh, and Cornish; (2.) the Gaelic, containing Manx, Irish, and Scotch Gaelic, which resemble each other more closely than the three Cymric dialects do each other. Each of the dialects composing the one class possesses in common those great distinctive differences which separate them from the three dialects which compose

the other class, but on the other hand, all are children of one common parent. Two-thirds of the vocabulary are common to all the dialects; the great number of the primitive adjectives are the same; the irregular forms bear a smaller proportion to the regular forms than usual, but these irregular forms bear a remarkable analogy to each other. The permutation of the initial consonants common to all gives the means of discriminating the different dialects. The phonetic laws of transformation between Gaelic and Welsh are perfectly well known, and they become the test whereby to determine to which sept the Pictish belongs. When Scott wrote *The Antiquary* only one Pictish word was known, and that had been preserved by Venerable Bæda. It is Peanfahel. Since that time there have been discovered Ur, Scolofth, Cartit, Duiper, and a considerable number of proper names, both of places and persons. The phonetic changes in these words exhibit Pictish as occupying an intermediate place between Cymric and Gaelic, leaning to the one in some of its laws, and to the second in others. It is, to speak more correctly, a Gaelic dialect partaking largely in Welsh forms. This is confirmed by the historical fact that S. Columba,¹ the Scot, could be understood in familiar conversation, but not in preaching by the Picts. "I consider," says Mr. Skene,² "that Pictish was a low Gaelic dialect, and, following out the analogy of high and low German, the result I come to is, that Cymric and Gaelic had each a high and low variety; that Cornish and Breton were high Cymric dialects, Welsh low Cymric; that old Scottish, spoken by the Scotti, now represented by Irish, Scotch Gaelic, and Manx, was the high Gaelic dialect, and Pictish the low Gaelic dialect." When the Picts came into contact with the Cymric in Galloway and Manan, the mixed language and blended forms which resulted from the communication is the language which is known to Bede as Pictish.

3. The third source whence we may derive knowledge on ethnology generally, and specially in the case of the Picts, is the etymology of places, but here there is a danger lest the inquirer be led astray by resemblance in sound only. Arguments from mere similarity in sound to words in an existing language overlook many important considerations, not the least weighty of which is the gradual change and corruption which goes on. The whole question is not arbitrary, but must be determined by the strictest laws of philology. A double process can be

¹ Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 62 n, p. 145.

² Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, p. 138.

detected. On the one hand, the language itself changes, and no longer exactly represents the ideas which existed when the local nomenclature was formed. On the other hand, the topographical terminology by corruption diverges day by day from the spoken language. Where the population has remained the same, and the dialect in which the names were given is still the spoken language of the district, the names either remain in their original shape, in which case they represent the archaic form of the language, or they undergo a change analogous to that of the written tongue. Obsolete names disappear as obsolete words drop out of the language and are represented by more modern vocables. When there has been a change in the population, and the older race has been replaced by a people speaking a kindred dialect, the names of places are subjected to the dialectic change which characterizes the rest of the speech of the inhabitants. There are some striking instances of this, where a British form has been superseded by a Gaelic one—*e.g.*, Kirkintulloch, the old form of which Nennius informs us is Caerpentulloch, *kin* being the Gaelic equivalent for the Welsh *pen*; Penicnick, the old name of which is Peniacop; and Kincaid, the ancient designation of which was Pencoed. "When the new language is of a different family, the old name is stereotyped in the shape in which it was when the one language superseded the other, becomes unintelligible to the people, and undergoes a process of change and corruption of a purely phonetic character. In the former case it is chiefly necessary to apply the philological laws of the language to its analysis. In the latter, which is the case with the Celtic topography of the low country, it is necessary, before attempting to analyse the name, to ascertain its most ancient form, which often differs greatly from its more modern aspect."¹

It is with these that we have chiefly to do. The first important thing is to distinguish between the generic terms, such as the words for mountain, river, valley, and the like, and the specific ones, great or small, etc. etc. When the objects of nature remain in their eternity, the names applied by the original inhabitants are generally retained by their successors, but with some phonetic corruptions, as Aberbuthnoth becomes Arbuthnot. On the other hand, when the districts are successively occupied by different branches of the same race speaking different dialects, the generic terms exhibit dialectic differences, thus the Welsh Pen is the Gaelic Ceann, and the Gaelic Fionn is the Cymric Gwynn. The comparison of generic terms thus

¹ Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, p. 146.

helps to indicate the race of the aborigines, and even to discriminate between the different branches of the several races. Bal, Cal, Dal, Drum, Inch, Inver, Aber, Pit, etc., are all generic terms, and from these we may approximate to the knowledge as to the branch of the great Keltic family to which each place may belong.

Taking then the test of the Cymric Pen, Gwynn, Gwern, and Gywdd, the Gaelic equivalents of which are Ceann, Fionn, Fearn, and Fiadh, to determine whether the topography of the country indicates a Welsh or Gaelic occupation, and applying it to the names given in the works of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna in the seventh century, Mr. Skene detects a Cymric population along the Roman wall from Tyne to Solway, and a Gaelic one between Forth and Clyde. If the same test be applied to the actual terminology, it will be found that with one exception the British Pen does not occur north of the Forth, and the other Welsh terms only occur in their Gaelic equivalents. And, analysing a step further, with reference to the Pictish language, we find five terms peculiar to the districts occupied by that race—Auchter, Pit, Pitten, For, and Fin. Thus while the generic terms do not show the existence of any Cymric race north of the Forth, “we find traces of an older and more recent form of the Gaelic, the one keeping labials and dentals, the other gutturals; the one hardening consonants into tenuises, the other softening them by aspiration; the one having Abers and Invers, the other having Invers alone; the one a low Gaelic dialect, the other a high Gaelic dialect; the one, I conceive, the language of the Picts, the other that of the Scots.”¹ Having premised these general considerations as to the position of the Picts generally, it is of importance to ascertain as exactly as we can the actual scene of the missionary labours of S. Ninian. They are termed by Bæda the *Australes Picti*, and are described as being on the side of the line of high and wild mountains which separate them from the northern Picts. The line of mountains is evidently the great chain called the Mounth, and now separating the counties of Aberdeen and Forfar. These remained in Paganism. On the south side, in the time of S. Ninian, the Picts extended as far as the Firth of Forth, which was anciently the boundary between the Angles and the Picts.² The *Australes Picti* therefore inhabited the modern counties of Kincardine, Forfar, Perth, Kinross, Fife, and

¹ P. 161. See *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, containing the Cymric Poems attributed to the Bards of the Sixth Century, by William F. Skene; Edin. 1868, and review of the same in the *North British Review*.

² Bæda, lib. i. c. 1.

Clackmannan. That the Picts also extended south of the Firths of Clyde and Forth is maintained by Thomas Innes.¹ After stating that Tacitus, Dio, and Bæda limit the bounds of Caledonia and Pictland as mentioned above, he adds, "That did not hinder the warlike people still in motion and ready to catch at all opportunities of extending their dominions over the midland Britains in the debateable lands, betwixt the walls, to make frequent settlements there, and though often beaten out of them by the Romans, to return still with new vigour, till at last, about the year 426, after the Romans bade farewell to Britain, the Picts took peaceable possession of all the midland provinces up to the Northumbrian Wall; at least towards the eastern coast, obliging the provincial Britons of these parts to be either subject to them or to return partly to the south Britons, partly towards the western coast, about Galloway, Clydesdale, and Dunbretton; and thus the bounds of the Picts towards the south remained till the coming in of the Saxons about the year 449."² Now the question is, Were the labours of S. Ninian confined to the *Australes Picti* north of the Forth, or to the more extended kingdom? The only suggestion we can obtain is from the dedication of the churches. It must turn on the fact whether in or about the year 400 there were Picts south of the Forth. That from time to time they may have ravaged the country, and obtained a temporary possession of it, is highly probable, but we have no reason for supposing they made such a permanent occupation as would entitle us to believe that Christianity was planted among them. It is true that the dedication of churches suggests the wider field. We find, that whereas in Dalriada, if we except Bute and Sanda, there is not a single church dedicated to him—for Kil Saint Ninian in Mull belongs to Nennidius—he is not only found through all Pictland north and south, but even in Northumberland and Cumberland his name is remembered.

At Fenton, four miles from Wooler, in the county of Northumberland, there was a chapel dedicated to S. Ninian. There is his well, and a fair is also held on his day. In Westmoreland he is the tutelary of the parish of Brougham, and there is an ancient chapel called after him at Whitby.

So great was the devotion to him in the north of England, that after the Reformation Bishop Barnes, who was translated from Carlisle to Durham in 1575, and lived till 1587, in his

¹ A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the northern parts of Britain or Scotland, vol. i. p. 93.

² Critical Essay, vol. i. p. 93; London, 1729.

“Monicions and Iniunctions,” issued 1577, gives us amongst others the following:—

“6. Item, that no popishe abrogated hollydaies be kept hollydaies, nor any Divine service publicuely saide or celebrated on any suche daies, nor any superfluous faste be used, as those called Lady fast or Saint Trinyon’s fast, the Blacke fast, Saint Margaret fast, or suche other invented by the devill, to the dishonouringe of God and damnacion of the sowles of idolatrous and superstitious persons.”¹

But whoever the *Austres Picti* were, *Bæda*, who on this subject is the “*autoritas prima*,” states that they were converted by S. Ninian, while their brethren beyond the Mounth remained in heathenism for more than a hundred years, till the advent of S. Columba. Yet it must be observed, that though *Bæda* speaks thus distinctly of the actual time of their conversion, there are reasons which suggest the possibility of the existence of an earlier Christianity. The celebrated passage in Tertullian distinctly asserts the existence of some Christians beyond the Roman rule, “*Britannorum inaccessa loca, Christo vero subdita*,”² and in the remarkable letter of S. Patrick to Coroticus, which most scholars accept as genuine, he speaks of “*Socii Scotorum et Pictorum apostatarunt*,” and again, “*Præsertim indignissimorum pessimorumque atque apostatarum Pictorum*.” Apostasy implies a previous Christianity from which it is the declension.

NOTE R.

It is certain that S. Ailred here in writing this sentence was transferring the ideas of his own time to those of S. Ninian. The better regulation and extension of the clerical orders, the foundation of new bishoprics, and the establishment of parishes with fixed bounds, were among the most potent means whereby in his time and a little before that the Reformation in Scotland was advanced.

With the exception of the first point, the ordination of presbyters, almost every one of his statements is liable to question. (1.) It is very doubtful whether among the southern Picts there were ever more than one bishop at a time at Abernethy, or elsewhere, as the case might be. Nor is it in the least likely that among the Picts converted by S. Ninian, the enormous

¹ The Injunctions and Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham; Surtees Society Publications, vol. xxii. p. 17.

² *Contra Judæos*, 7.

number of bishops who were recognised in the Irish church, should exist, or that any regular sees were established. There is not a trace of this in any document or legend. The topography of the country presents no indication of it. Probably Ailred here drew entirely on his imagination. There seem to have been very few bishops among the Picts; Palladius, Terman, and Servanus are all of whom we have any mention, and they seem to have been tribal. The only locality among the Picts which can in any sense be called a see was Abernethy. Doubtless the conversion of the *Australes Picti* was carried on upon the same principle that S. Martin converted France, by the development of a certain form of the monastic system; not that this was antagonistic to the Episcopal platform, for Dr. Todd points out the curious circumstance, that in the great monastery of S. Martin at Tours, there was a monastic bishop coetaneous with the diocesan bishop, just as there was at S. Denis, but at S. Martin's he survived till 1096, while at the other great establishment the system was abandoned in the beginning of the ninth century.¹ The description of the establishment of S. Servanus at Culros in the *Life of Kentigern* is probably the normal type of the Christian institutions of Pictland. Prior Richard² says of S. Wilfred about 689, "*Itaque eo tempore, ille solus pontifex erat in toto regno regis Oswi, id est in tota gente Deirorum et Berniciorum, et etiam super Brittones, et super Scottos de Lindesfarnensi insula, et super Pictos, quia Candida Casa nondum episcopum proprium habuerat.*" (2.) The term *parochia* in S. Ninian's time was quite different from what S. Ailred meant. "The word *parochia*," says T. Innes, "signified of old as well dioceses as what we now commonly call parishes, which last, by all that I can find, were not generally established even in the south of Britain till several ages after this by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury."³

The word gradually contracted in its signification. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* it is applied to Asia,⁴ later it is applied to a national or tribal church (*appendebat ad parrochiam Francorum*),⁵ sometimes for the territory of an abbey,⁶ but generally it meant a diocese.⁷

¹ Todd's *S. Patrick*, pp. 48-56.

² *Hist. Ch. of Hexham*, p. 22; Surtees ed.

³ *Civ. et Eccles. Hist.*, p. 43; Spalding edition.

⁴ *Apostolical Constit. lib. vii. c. xlii.* ed. Clark, p. 205.

⁵ Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* t. iv. p. 384.

⁶ *Vita Audoeni apud Surium*, 24 Aug., p. 261, n. 26.

⁷ Vide Du Cange *ad verb.*, who refers to the seventy-fourth dissertation of Muratori in *Antiqq. Ital. Med. Æv.* tom. vi. p. 359.

It became first applied in the modern sense in Africa, where we knew from the number of bishops at the different councils that the dioceses were exceedingly small.¹ From Africa it would seem to have extended to France, with which that province had such close theological relations.²

From France it is quite possible that the system crossed over into Cornwall and also into Wales,³ the elements of a parish usually springing up round the churches of the local saint; and, although we do not possess them in their primitive form, the laws of Howel the Good, which belong to A.D. 928, imply a parochial system. In England, Cedd, according to Bæda, in 653 "fecit per loca ecclesias;"⁴ and of Archbishop Theodore, A.D. 673, it is written, "Excitabat fidelium devotionem et voluntatem in quarumlibet provinciarum civitatibus nec non villis ecclesias fabricandi, parochias distinguendi."⁵ However, there were no settled parishes in Northumberland in the time of S. Cuthbert, A.D. 670,⁶ nor in the beginning of Egbert's Pontificate, A.D. 734.⁷

Apparently parishes were formed from time to time by the piety of individuals. They were endowed with tithes, and a church built, of which the founder and his family had generally the presentation; in most cases they were conterminous with the secular lordship, the abuse of appropriations not yet having prevailed. By the time of Edward the Elder, A.D. 900, parishes prevailed universally, tithe and church-scot being the law of the land.⁸

In Scotland, in the Celtic Church, the same conditions which prevailed in Ireland obtained. The monastery there was the centre of civil as well as ecclesiastical life. The halidome looked to the Abbey for spirituals. A vassalage to the mother house was one of the tenures of possession. We have the Gillserfs of Clackmannan in relation to some convent of S. Servanus, probably Culross, and the Gillanders of Arbuthnott, standing in the same relation to the see of S. Andrews though separated by some fifty miles from the parochia. In Bute we have the Brandane's men. Actual possession of the land, conceded by

¹ Concil. Carthag., iv. c. 102.

² Concil. Agath., can. 21; Vassense ii., can. 1, 2; Aurelian v., can. 9; Arvern. 10.

³ Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, vol. i. p. 143.

⁴ Bæda, H. E., lib. iii. c. 22.

⁵ Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, vol. iii. p. 122.

⁶ Bæda, H. E., lib. iv. c. 27.

⁷ Haddan and Stubbs, *ubi supra*, where Wharton's Defence of Pluralities, p. 89, is referred to.

⁸ See learned note in Haddan and Stubbs's Councils, vol. iii. p. 637.

the piety or fears of the neighbouring reguli, was the condition of the existence of the Irish and Scots monasteries. They owned the land and ministered to the souls of those who tilled it.

In the Celtic churches there were no parishes, for the churches were tribal, and not territorial, and their monastic character was opposed to it; but when the secular clergy came in from Northumbria in the eighth century, and wherever they superseded the monastic clergy, parish churches may have existed. The oldest name for a parish in Scotland proper was *schira*, which shows its Saxon origin.

In Bernicia, at the time when the Lothians, now in possession of Scotland, were being assimilated to the Norman-English pattern by the policy of Queen Margaret's successors, we get charter evidence of the creation of a parish. Thor the Long had received from King Edgar of Scotland the land of Edenham in a state of wildness. By the help of the king, and by his own money (showing the first instance of the application of capital to land), he made a manor for himself, and built a church from the foundation, which he endowed with one carucate of land. Here is a parish in its simplest form (A.D. 1107-1124).¹ "The word used in the oldest Irish records to denote a diocese is *parochia*. Sulpicius Severus uses '*diocesis*' in the sense of parish, and '*parochia*' of an episcopal seat."²

NOTE S.

No record save this remains of the life of S. Ninian, or of his devotional habits. In the parish of Glasserton at Phiagill, "under a cliff at the sea-side, in a very solitary place, there is a little cave called S. Ninian's cave, to which, as they say, S. Ninian us'd sometimes to retire himselfe for his more secret and private devotion."³

"Tradition here comes in and indicates a cave on the coast of Galloway, in the parish of Glasserton, on the face of a lofty and precipitous line of rocks, lying one-third of the way from the bottom of the cliff, and accessible only by climbing and springing from rock to rock. It is a deep recess running back some twenty feet, and gradually narrowing from the mouth, where it may be twelve feet high, and as many wide. There is nothing to screen it from the winds and spray which

¹ The charter is given by the photozincographic process in the Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Scotland, Part i. No. xiv.

² Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 68, note 6.

³ Symson, p. 15.

beat against the rock; no bottom of earth to rest on, but only bare uneven stone. Here, the tradition of the country says, S. Ninian used to come for penitential and devotional retirement."¹

Again his name is associated with the picturesque legend of S. Medana,² whose cave-chapel, near the Mull of Galloway, in the parish of Kirkmaiden, is of great interest. "Descending a high and steep rock of the shore, you find it secludedly shelved in the face of the rock, and looking down upon huge jagged rocks lying huddled in heaps at the foot of the crag, and running out in long pointed ridges a good bit into the bay. To its situation its escape from total destruction must be attributed; nevertheless the roof is sadly dilapidated. The roof, probably rudely arched, has long since disappeared. The artificially builded portions consist only of the wall fronting the sea, and that which is laid up behind against the face of the cliff, the side ones being naturally supplied by great jutting slabs of whin, or whatever it is. The area of the cell is nearly a square of very small size, the builded work of great thickness, and rudely made up of uncemented stones of all sizes and shapes. The wall facing the sea contains traces of a doorway, and an inwardly splayed window, the clear of which is no more than nine inches wide. In the other wall the doorway is happily entire, forty-four inches in height, with slightly sloping jambs, and long narrow stones roughly set over its massive lintel in form of an arch. The cave to which this aperture gives entrance is of very irregular form, small and low in the roof. Of what height the roof of the cell or chapel was it is impossible to say, but as in a building so diminutive it could not have been great, it is puzzling to find the inner or cliff wall reaching so much as twenty feet up from the ground. If by this we are led to believe that another apartment—an upper sanctuary or dormitory or refugium, whilst the wild Picts were down on the shore—rose above the cell, what should we not now-a-days give to have it entire?"³

The New Statistical Account adds that "there is a pool in the adjoining rock called the well of the Co' or the Chapel Well. To bathe in the well as the sun rose, on the first Sunday in May, was considered an infallible cure for almost any disease, but was particularly efficacious in the recovery of 'backgane bairns.' Till no very recent time it was customary for almost

¹ *Life of S. Ninian, Lives of the Saints*; Toovey, London, pp. 131-132.

² *Brev. Aber.*, pars estiv. fol. clviii.

³ *Muir's Lighthouse*, pp. 65-68.

the whole population to collect at this spot on the first Sabbath (Sunday ?) of May, which was called Co' Sunday, to bathe in the well, to leave their gifts in the cave, and to spend the day in gossiping and amusement. It is a natural cylindrical hole in the solid rock, about four feet in diameter and six deep, filled with loose stones to about half its depth. Round its mouth are three or four small holes for bathing the hands and eyes."¹

A relic of the saint is his Bell, of which we have the following account :—"The Clog Rinny, or Bell of S. Ninian, of malleable iron, is coated as usual with bronze, and measures only 6½ inches in height. It is rude enough to have been contemporary with the Candida Casa of Whithern in Galloway, and to have summoned to the preaching of the Missionary Bishop the first of the tribes of North Britain converted to the worship of the true God."² It was in the collection of the late Mr. Bell of Dungannon.

Symson, in 1684, mentions the Campana S. Niniani at Penryngham.

Four shillings were given by King James IV. in 1506 "to ane man that bure S. Ninaines bell."

Sulpicius Severus, describing the monastery two miles out of Tours, which Saint Martin established, says, "Ex uno enim latere præcisa montis excelsi ambiebatur, reliquam planitiem Liger fluvius reducto paullulum sinu clauserat; unâ tantum eâdemque arctâ admodum viâ adiri poterat. Ipse ex lignis contextam cellulam habebat multique ex fratribus in eundem modum; plerique saxo superjecti montis cavato receptacula sibi fecerant."³ The practice of S. Martin and his disciples would naturally commend itself to S. Ninian.

NOTE T.

No one has been able to identify this locality.

"The etymology given by Ailred seems to be quite correct. *Fear*, or *Fearr*, is the Saxon for Taurus, Bos, and occurs in the versions of the Old and New Testaments—*e.g.*, Leviticus iii. 1, p. 96, ed. Thwaites, 'unwemme fear offe heafre,' 'a male or female without blemish—of the herd;' and in S. Matt. xxii. 4,

¹ N. S. A., Wigtonshire, p. 208.

² The Church Bells of Devon, with a supplement about Bells of the Church, by Rev. H. T. Ellacombe; Exeter, 1872, pp. 322, 323, quoting Wilson's Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 460-475.

³ Vita Martini, 10. 4, p. 120, ed. Halm; Vindobonæ, 1866.

"mine fearras and mine fugeles synt oplegene," "my oxen and my fatlings"—the Saxon writer limiting *overta* to fowls, though the word includes all creatures put up for fattening. There are other Saxon writings in which the word occurs, and it is also used for the sign Taurus in the Zodiac. The other word, '*last*,' is also the equivalent for '*vestigium, orbita*,' a trace, footstep, course. In Psalm lxxvi. 19, 'Thy footsteps are not known' is '*fot-læst*;' and it is quoted also several times from Cædmon."¹

NOTE U.

THE reigns of Stephen and of Henry II. were not unlikely to supply matter for the sorrow of good men in view of the relaxation of morals. It is natural to all earnest men to see in their own times signs of the coming end in the wickedness of those by whom they are surrounded, yet it cannot be doubted that England in the twelfth century was sunk in profligacy, misrule, and misery. "In Stephen's reign all was dissension and evil and rapine. Against him soon rose rich men. They had sworn oaths, but no truth maintained. They were all forsworn and forgetful of their troth. They built castles, which they held out against him. They cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle work. They filled the castles with devils and bad men. They seized those whom they supposed to have any goods, men and labouring women, and threw them into prison for their gold and silver, and inflicted on them unutterable tortures. Some they hanged up by the feet and smoked with foul smoke; some by the thumbs or by the beard, and hung coats of mail upon their feet. They put them into dungeons with adders, snakes, and toads. Many thousands they wore out with hunger. This lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and gradually it grew worse."²

S. Ailred elsewhere in his homiletic works denounces the universal corruption. "Infelicia hæc tempora in quæ nostra ætas devenit in persona Ecclesiæ Ezechias deplorans: '*Ecce*' (inquit) '*in pace amaritudo mea amarissima*.' Vere fratres ita est, amara videbatur persecutio, sed in ipsâ persecutione non parva bonis est consolatio, quando non erat fictionis locus, nulum otio vel dissolutioni tempus; quando quædam necessitas cunctos fere cogebat esse perfectos, instantibus cunctis in gradibus suis, tam subditis quam prælatis. Sublato autem timore,

¹ Note by Rev. W. E. Buckley, M.A., late Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford.

² Saxon Chronicle.

nata est dissolutio, crebuit ambitio, honores et divitiæ virtutibus præponuntur, vitia deliciis nutriuntur.”¹

“In quibus modo mysterium operatur iniquitatis, cum multi eorum, adhuc regnante ecclesia fidei quam publice prædicant, occulte detrahant, in scholis, quasi pro fide disputantes, in thalamis et in angulis ipsam fidem deridentes.”²

“Væ nobis, qui in ista incidimus tempora infelicia, in quibus sol videtur conversus in tenebras. In quas inquis tenebras? Nolo dicere, fratres; nolo dicere ne videar ponere in cælum os meum. Ipsi videntur. Reducant ad memoriam eos, quorum vices gerunt, quorum obtinuerunt cathedras, quorum infulis gloriantur.”³

S. Bernard mourns over a corruption that was wide spread.⁴

“Multiplicasti gentem, Domine Jesu, sed non magnificasti letitiam: quoniam multi sunt vocati, pauci vero electi. Omnes Christiani et omnes fere quæ sua sunt quærunt, non quæ Jesu Christi. Ipsa quoque ecclesiasticæ dignitatis officia in turpem quæstum et tenebrarum negotium transiere: nec in his salus animarum sed luxur quæritur divitiarum. Propter hoc tondentur, propter hoc frequentant ecclesias, missas celebrant, Psalmos decantant. Pro episcopatibus et archidiaconatibus impudenter hodie decertatur, ut ecclesiarum reditus in superfluitatis et vanitatis usus dissipentur. Superest jam ut reveletur homo peccati, filius perditionis, dæmonium non modo diurnum sed et meridianum: quod non solum transfiguratur in angelum lucis, sed extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur.”⁵

So also in his sermons *In Cantica*—

“Væ generationi huic a fermento Phariseorum, quod est hypocrisis. Si tamen hypocrisis dicidebet, quæ jam latere præ abundantia non valet, et præ impudentia non quærît. Serpit hodie putida tabes per omne corpus ecclesiæ, et quo latius eo desperatius; eoque periculosius quo interius. Nam si insurgeret apertus inimicus hæreticus mitteretur foras et aresceret: si violentus inimicus absconderet se forsitan ab eo. Nunc vero quem ejiciet aut a quo abscondet se? Omnes amici et omnes inimici; omnes necessarii et omnes adversarii; omnes domestici et nulli pacifici, omnes proximi et omnes qui sua sunt quærunt. Ministri Christi sunt et serviunt antichristo. Honorati incedunt de bonis Domini, qui Domino honorem non deferunt. Inde is quem hodie vides meretricius nitor, histrio-

¹ Sermo in Isaiam, ix.

² *Ibid.* x.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Serm. in Cantic. 33.

⁵ In Psalmum Qui habitat, Serm. vi. 7, vol. ii. p. 222; Paris. 1835.

nicus habitus, regius apparatus. Inde aurum in frænis, in sellis et calcaribus; et plus calcaria quam altaria fulgent. Inde splendidæ mensæ et cibus et scyphis: inde commessiones et ebrietates; inde scythara et lyra et tibia; inde redundantia torcularia et promptuaria plena, eructantia ex hoc in illud. Inde dolia pigmentaria, inde refertur marsupia. Pro huiusmodi volunt esse et sunt ecclesiarum præpositi decani archidiaconi, episcopi, archiepiscopi. Nec enim hæc merito cedunt, sed negotio illi quod perambulat in tenebris.

“Olim prædictum est et nunc tempus impletionis advenit: ecce in pace amaritudo mea amarissima. Amara prius in nece martyrum, amarior post in conflictu hæreticorum, amarissima nunc in moribus domesticorum. Non fugare, non fugere eos potest: ita evaluerunt et multiplicati sunt super numerum. Intestina et insanabilis est plaga ecclesiæ; et ideo in pace amaritudo ejus amarissima. Sed in quâ pace? et pax est et non est pax. Pax a paganis et pax ab hæreticis; sed non profecto a filiis. Vox plangentis in tempore isto: filios innutrivit et exultavi, ipsi autem spreverunt me; spreverunt et macularunt me, a turpi vita, a turpi quæstu, a turpi commercio, a negotio denique perambulante in tenebris. Superest ut jam de medio fiat demonium meridianum ad deducendos si qui in Christo residui sunt, adhuc permanentes in simplicitate suâ. Si quidem absorbit fluvios sapientium et torrentes potentium, et habet fiduciam ut Jordanus influat in os suum, id est simplices et humiles qui sunt in ecclesiâ. Ipse enim est antichristus qui se non solum diem, sed et meridiem mentiatur, et extollatur supra id quod dicitur aut quod colitur Deus: quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet illustratione adventus sui, utpote verus et eternus Meridies, sponsus et advocatus ecclesiæ, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in sæcula, amen.”¹

In John of Salisbury's (+ 1180) Polycraticus, the well-known *De Nugis Curialium*,² we find such words as these:—“Sed quid majorum virtutem replico et revolvo? Defecit ætas nostra et fere ad nihilum redacta est, honoribus intumescit, honorum nesciens gradus, vanitate nominum delectatur, contemptâ rerum vanitate et fructu. Aleator, auceps, quodque magis mirare, stulticines et qui nunquam virilia tractaverunt, sed neque nota habuerunt officia, quum ad opera lasciviæ pilo fruticante, cuteque induratâ tanquam inhabiles reprobantur, militem induunt, primipilatum et ducatum affectant, et se duc-

¹ In Cantic. Serm. xxxiii., cap. 15 and 16.

² Lib. vi. c. 16, p. 39, ed. Giles; Oxford, 1848.

tores et doctores pollicentur officii, quod nunquam didicerunt. . . . Dum armata nobis militia stertit, dum alienam expugnant pudicitiam, suam prostituunt, dum nobilium circumeunt domos, convivia explorant, ut epulentur quotidie splendide, dum ampullus projiciunt et sesquipedalia verba, sine cruore trucidante Saracenos et Parthos, et si quid aliud hostili censetur nomine, dum hec faciunt milites gloriosi." So in Petrus Blesensis, + 1138,¹—"O infelices mercatores, hujuscemodi; qui seipsos vendunt et suimet ipsorum pretium ipsum nihil accipiunt. Legunt sed negligunt vanos esse filios hominum in stateris, ut decipiant de vanitate in id ipsum."

NOTE X.

THE touching miracle of the Illicita Cogitatio suspending the divine protection from the rain, "which speaks to us of the protection which accompanies the just, the tenure on which it depends, the negligence whereby it may be forfeited, the need common to the weakest and strongest to watch and pray," is a beautiful form of marvel which frequently occurs in the ancient hagiology. In the Life of S. Aidus of Ferns, "On a certain day, when Aidus was there reading, the steward came to him and said, Arise, take a coat, that thou mayest go with the brethren. . . . The obedient boy rose immediately, and through haste left his book open; and although heavy rain fell the book was not injured."² "Again, some persons of the brethren said, no one can move Aidus to strife. Then a certain brutal man of them said, I can move him to strife. And Aidus was clothed in the skins of foxes, and the brutal man went out and threw him into the fountain. To whom Aidus said, Thou art a most brutal man on account of this deed. And the young man seeing that the clothes of S. Aidus were dry, without one drop of water, said, I repent of what I have done."³

A more exaggerated form of the miracle is found in the Life of S. Kentigern, ch. xxxv.

NOTE Y.

THERE seems some confusion here. The young man commits a fault apparently at Candida Casa. Why should he seek a vessel to convey him into Scotia? Further down a wind springs

¹ *Tractatus quales sunt*, p. 586; Paris. 1667.

² Rees's *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 557.

³ *Ibid.* p. 571.

up "a parte orientali," and the people who receive him stand on the western shore.

If we are to understand Scocia of Ireland, this is about the latest use of the term. Perhaps S. Ailred copied from the old book without attending to the detail of the geography.

The only other supposition is that the scene of S. Ninian's miracle was at Cluan Conaire in Ireland, according to the life mentioned by Archbishop Ussher; and then the British Museum reading of "orientali" for "occidentali" would be the right one.

Dr. John Stuart, in a manuscript communication, says, "I have no doubt that Scocia is Ireland, and perhaps it is possible to understand the wind which blew from the east and landed the young man on the west in a slightly loose way. Whithern is placed on the east shore of the west side of the Bay of Wigton. When the boat got out of the bay, and felt the eastern blast, it would be blown round the point and get into shelter, so that people on the west side of the peninsula would get hold of it."

On this obscure point I am allowed to print the accompanying note from Mr. Skene:—

"Your note about the story of the boy who fled from the rod has called my attention to the difficulties of the narrative, and since I returned your proofs this morning I have been considering it. I think the expression, '*navem quæ transfretaret in Scociam quærebat*,' shows that the Scocia he wished to fly to was separated by sea from Galloway, and that by sea was the way to reach it. It was therefore either Ireland, and the sea the Irish Channel, or it was Argyllshire, and the sea the Firth of Clyde. When he arrives there he plants the baculum, which becomes a tree, and a fountain flows from the root, '*infirmis autem ob sancti merita utilem et salubrem*.' I think this implies that it was a well dedicated to S. Ninian, and known in Ailred's days for healing the sick.

"Now against Ireland is—

"1. Cluan Conaire is not on the shore.

"2. The opening sentence implies the boy was the son of a native '*nobilis*.'

"3. In Ailred's time Scocia was Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Ailred wrote in the reign of Malcolm iv., when the use of the term Scocia for Scotland was quite fixed, and in his other works he always uses Scocia for Scotland.

"4. We know of no S. Ninian's Well on the shore of Ireland.

"But suppose the boy, as was natural, was running home from school, he would fly north to Loch Ryan, or the coast of Ayrshire,—not further than to the Irish Channel. Take your map

and you will see that an east wind would take his boat from that coast to Kintyre, certainly in Scocia. The people standing on the *east* shore of Kintyre see the boat coming without sail, and with the baculum. On landing we find at once *the lands of S. Ninian* in that part of Kintyre, and, if he landed on Sanda, at the east corner of Kintyre, we find 'a small chapel sacred to S. Ninian.' 'Not far from the chapel is a perennial spring, noted for miracles, as the islanders and many on the Continent informed me. Indeed, it was frequented in my own time by the neighbours all around, chiefly by those in whose minds any remains of the ancient religion dwelt.'¹ I am inclined therefore to think that this is the legend which connects Sanda and the south end of Kintyre with S. Ninian.

"I see in the New Statistical Account the minister says that in the burying-ground of the chapel is an *alder tree*, growing over the reputed grave of the saint, over which should any walk he is doomed to die. Is this the tree? We may suppose the 'nobilis' father of the boy giving the land to S. Ninian. But whatever the solution of the difficulty may be, I consider it simply impossible that Ailred can have used the term Scocia for Ireland."

The connexion of S. Ninian with Ireland deserves consideration. We have already seen that the Irish life known to Archbishop Ussher not merely relates the foundation of his monastery of Cluan Conaire, but asserts that he died there. The martyrologists, as we have stated, also give him as Maoinneann on the 16th of September.

It was to be expected that Irish students and Irish ascetics should betake themselves to Whithern. The Life of the friend of S. Brigida, S. Modwena, who herself founded a chapel in Galloway called Chill-ne-case, shows us that even so early as her time, pious women such as Brignat were trained in Rosnat or the Magnum Monasterium. This place became in the next century a great school for Christian education, where many of the religious from the neighbouring coasts of Ulster were trained. Among these was the great S. Finnian of Magbile. He was trained at Whithern by one Mugentius, whose hymn, and the occasion of its composition, are alike remarkable. The hymn, conceived in the spirit of the deepest penitence, is as follows:—
 "Parce, Domine, parce populo Tuo quem redemisti, Christe, sanguine Tuo, et non in eternum irascaris nobis. Deprecamur Te, Domine, in omni misericordiâ Tuâ, ut auferatur furor Tuus et ira Tua a civitate istâ et de domo sanctâ Tuâ. Quoniam pec-

¹ Orig. Paroch. iii. p. 820.

cavimus, peccavimus Tibi, Domine, et Tu iratus es nobis, et non est qui effugiat manum Tuam. Sed supplicemus ut veniat super nos misericordia Tua, Domine, qui in Ninueu pepercisti invocantes Dominum. Exclamemus ut respicias populum Tuum concalcatum et dolentem, et protegas Templum sanctum Tuum, ne ab impiis contaminetur, et miserearis nimis afflicte civitati Tue. Exclamemus omnes ad Dominum dicentes, Peccavimus Tibi, Domine, peccavimus; patientiam habe in nobis et erue nos a malis que quotidie crescunt super nos. Dimitte, Domine, peccato populi Tui secundum multitudinem misericordie Tue. Propitius fuisti patribus nostris, propitius esto nobis, et implebitur gloria Tua in universa Tua. Recordare, Domine, dic angelo Tuo, percutienti populum Tuum, sufficit; contine manum tuam et cesset interfectio qui grassatur in populo ut non perdes omnem animam viventem. Exsurge, Domine; adjuva nos et redime nos propter nomen Tuum. Parce, Domine, peccantibus, ignosce penitentibus, miserere nobis te rogantibus, Salvator omnium Christe, respice in nos, Jesu, et miserere. Amen."

The scholiast's preface reveals the following strange circumstance. It is as follows:—"Mugent made this hymn in Futerna (Whithern). The cause was this—Finnen of Magbhile went to Mugent for instruction, and Rioc and Talmach, and several others with him. Drust was king of Britain then, and had a daughter Drusticc, and he gave her to Mugent to be taught to read, and she fell in love with Rioc, and she said to Finnian, 'I will give thee all the books which Mugent has if thou wilt give me Rioc to marriage.' And Finnen sent Talmach to her that night in the form of Rioc, and he knew her, and from thence was conceived and born Lonan of Treoit. But Drusticc supposed that Rioc had known her, and she said that Rioc was the father of her son. But this was false, because Rioc was a virgin. Then Mugent was wroth, and sent a certain youth into the temple saying, 'Whosoever comes first unto thee this night into the temple, smite him with an axe.' He said this because Finnian was in the habit of going first to the temple; but notwithstanding, on that night, by the providence of the Lord, Mugent himself went first to the church, and the youth smote him, as the prophet says,—For his travail shall come [upon his own head], and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate.¹ And then Mugent said '*Parce*,' because he thought the enemies would spoil the people, or, this was the cause that the hymn was made, that the sin thereof might not be visited on the people."

¹ Ps. vii. 17.

Capgrave's *Life of S. Finan*¹ states that he taught Coelanus or Machoi (+ 497), Abbot of Nendrum (identified by Dr. Reeves as Mahee Island in Strangford Lough), and sent him to a British bishop called Nennio, who had touched there, and was returning to his see at the Magnum Monasterium. As it is difficult to identify this Nennio either with Macinenn or Moenu of the Irish Annals, or with Monennus or Mancennus, tutor of S. Tigernach, S. Eoghan, and S. Enna, it is probable "that the name of Nennio, which is the same as Nennius and Ninianus, was given to the Bishop of the Magnum Monasterium according to the ancient custom of naming the comharb or successor after the saint by whom the see was originally founded."² If the Mula mentioned as the birthplace of Ninnidius Lamhglan, the son of Ethach, could be the Mull of Galloway, and not the island of that name, then we may conclude that he also was connected with the colony of Whithern.³

S. Ailred's account of the boat is very distinct:—"The Cymric Britons, though they lived on an island, had no boats or vessels except coracles, framed of slight ribs of wood covered with hides. These frail boats are still used by the Welsh fishermen on the Wye; and it may be remarked that the Celtic tribes in general have never taken to the sea, while the Teutons seem always to have enjoyed the danger of the ocean."⁴

NOTE Z.

THE Treasurer's Accounts,⁵ in the reign of King James IV., specify the different sacred spots at Whithern connected with S. Ninian. The king offered in "the utir kyrk, the rude altair, the hie altar, our lady altair, the reliques, the chapell on the hill." On the 16th of July in 1507, the year before, he offered "at the Rude Altair, at the ferter in the utir kirk, at the reliques, at the hye altair, at the lady chapel, and in the chapell on the hill." On the 18th of April the king offers "at the towme, the reliques, the hie altar, the rude altar, and the chapel on the hill."

From this we learn that the ferter or feretrum, the shrine in which the actual body was kept, was in the outer kirk, an object of devotion to the common people. The rood altar

¹ Nova Legend. Anglie, fol. cxlvii.

² Todd's Book of Hymns, fasciculus i. pp. 94-120; also Lanigan's Eccles. Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 437.

³ Colgan, A. SS. Hib. pp. 112-116, n. 16.

⁴ Palgrave's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 4.

⁵ See Note BB.

generally stood under the chancel screen. The "towme" is probably the sarcophagus mentioned in the text as being near the altar, unless it be the same as the ferter.

The chapel on the hill is probably what is termed in the Ordnance Survey Map, Chapel Outon, which stands on a little eminence of 200 feet, about one mile north of Whithern.

NOTE AA.

THE reader will remember that such a torture as this is the doom denounced by Dante against the diviners, augurs, and sorcerers, who by help of incantations have sought to pry into the future, which belongs to the Almighty alone:—

"Come il viso me scese in lor piu basso
 Mirabilmente apparve esser travolto
 Ciascun dal mento al principio del casso :
 Che dalle reni era tornato il volto,
 Ed indietro venir gli convenia
 Perche il veder dinanzi era la tolto
 Forse per forza già di parlasia
 Si travolse così alcun del tutto ;
 Ma io nol vidi, nè credo che sia."¹

NOTE BB.

By favour of Thomas Dickson, Esq., of the Register House, Edinburgh, I am enabled to present the reader with some extracts from the Accounts of the Lords Treasurers of the Kings of Scotland, relating to royal pilgrimages to the shrine of S. Ninian at Whithern, in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, which throw much light on the devotional and social habits of the day.

The first two entries refer to the pilgrimage of Queen Margaret, spouse of James III.; those which succeed to those of King James IV.

A.D. 1473.

Item gevin to Schir Alexander Naper, vltimo Julij, for thir thingis laid doune be him in absence of the Thesaurare ; in the first, for pan-yell crellis to the Qwene at hir passage to Sanct Ninianis, viij s.

Item, to Andro Balfoure, xx° Augusti, for lyveray govnis to sex ladys of the quenis chalmire at hire passing to Quhytehirne, xxj elne of gray, fra Dauid Gill, price elne x s., summa, . . . x li. x s.

¹ Inferno, c. xx. 11-18.

A.D. 1491.

- Item [the xxx Octobris], to Dave Rudman, to pass to Quhitherne to gar mak provision be the way for the king, vj s.
 Item, till a man, for a cran be the way passand to Quhitherne, v s.
 Item, at Sanct Johnis Kirk, for the ferying of horsse and men owre at the water, v s.
 Item, on Setterda the xij Nouembris, in Quhithern, to Johne of Kynloycht to by him a horsse, ij li.
 Item, to the massonis of Quhitherne, to the drink, xvij s.
 Item, the xv Nouembris, for a horsse boycht to the king be the way cumand fra Glenluss, vij li. xij s.
 Item, the xvij Nouembris, to the massonis of the bryg off Ayre, x s.

A.D. 1497 (September).

- Item, for the kingis hors meit in Bigar passand to Quhithirn quhare the king batit, xiiij d.
 Item, the king passand at the Cald Chapel, gifin be the kingis command to pur folkis, xxij d.
 Item, to the preistis of Durisder, at the kingis oommand, iiij s.
 Item, to pur folkis in almous quhen the king departit, iiij s. viij d.
 Item, to ane fidelar thare that playit to the king, v s.
 Item, to tua pur men be the way, xvj d.
 Item, at Sanct Johnis Kirk of Dalrye, to the preist, xiiij d.
 Item, to pur folkis thare, ij s.
 Item, to ane woman with the grantgore thare, be the kingis command, iij s. vj d.
 Item, to the wif of Durisder quhar the king lugeit, xiiij s.
 Item, to pur folkis at Wigtoun, ij s.
 Item, in Quhithyrn, to the kingis offerand, xiiij s.
 Item, to the pur folkis thare, ij s.
 Item, to say ten trentalis of messis thare for the king, be his command, and to his offerandis in Quhithyrn, x lib.
 Item, in Quhithirn, to the priouris man, of bridilsiluer for ane quhit hors he deliuerit to the king, ix s.
 Item, to Quintin, the lord Hamiltonis man, of bridil siluer that samyn tyme, iij s. vj d.
 Item, for schoing of the kingis hors thare, xx d.
 Item, to pur folkis cummand hame be the way, ij s.
 Item, to tua gydis, that day, that gidit the king, be the kingis command, x s.
 Item, quhar the king baytit, to the folk that plenyteit of the corn eiting, be the kingis command, vi s. viij d.
 Item, at our Ladie Kirk of Kile, to say five trentalis of messis for the king, v lib.
 Item, in Air, to say ane trentale of messis of Sanct Johne for the king, be the kingis command, xx s.
 Item, to the pur folkis at our Ladie Kirk of Kile, xvj d.
 Item, to ane man that gidit the king fra Kilmerno to Glasgo, xiiij d.

Item, to the seke folk at the brig of Glasgo, be the kingis command,	ij s.
Item, to say thre trentalis of messis in Glasgo,	ijj tib.
Item, to the pur folk in Glasgo,	ijj s.

A.D. 1498.

Item, the second day of Aprile, in Dumbertane, to the feryar for the botis quhen the king passit to Quhithyrn,	xviii s.
Item, that samyn nycht in Air, for the kingis hors cost.	ij s.
Item, the thrid day of Aprile, at the ffut of the Stanschell, for the kingis costis quhar the king baytit,	ij s.
Item, to ane pur wif be the way, at the kingis command,	vijj d.
Item, the thrid day of Aprile in Quhithyrn, gifin to Schir Andro to gif to preistis thare that samyn tyme,	v ti. viii s.
Item, to the kingis offerandis in Quhithyrn, thre vnicornis, half ane ros nobill and ane Franch croun; summa,	iiij ti. v s. vj d.
Item, to yong Rudman the lutar thare, at the kingis command,	xj s. viij d.
Item, for aill that the kingis hors drank thare,	vijj d.
Item, to the man that kepit the kingis hors thare,	xiiij d.
Item, the ferd day of Aprile, for schoing of ane of the kingis hors in Air,	xx d.
Item, be the kingis command, to Bell liand seke in the town of Air, v s.	v s.
Item, to the kingis offerand in our Ladie Kyrk of Kyle,	xviij s.
Item, to the preist thare, to say a trentale of messis for the king,	xx s.
Item, to the fery, cummand hame agane,	ix s.
Item, for the kingis luying in Dumbertane, to the gudwif,	xvii s.

A.D. 1501.

Item, the xxij day of Aprile, in Kyrkcudbricht, gifin to the preistis thare be the kingis command,	xx s.
Item, to the freris of Kyrkcudbricht, be the kingis command, to by thaim ane Eucharist, viij Fransche crounis; summa,	v ti. xij s.
Item, the samyn day in Quhithirn, to Schir Andro Makbrek, be the kingis command, to dispone amang preistis,	v tib.
Item, that nycht, quhen the king com to Quhithirn, to his offerand at the towme and at the reliques,	xxviij s.
Item, the xxiiij day of Aprile, in Quhithirn, gifin to the kingis offerandis at the towme, reliques, the hie altar, the Rude altare, and the chapel on the hill, v Fransche crounis; summa,	iiij ti x s.
Item, the xxiiij day of Aprile, in Aire, gifin to Schir Andro Makbrek, to dispone thare to preistis,	iiij ti.
Item, the samyn day, to the freris of Air, be the kingis command,	xiiij s.
Item, the samyn nycht, in Glasgo, gifin to preistis in Glasgo be the kingis command,	iiij tib.

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¹ Sum illegible in ms.

Item, the second day of Julij, payit to the priest of Boithuile, that he laid down to the kingis offerand in Our Ladie Kirk of Kile, cummand fra Quhithirn, . . . xiiij s.
 Item, xj Sept., for xiiij vnce brokin siluer deliuerit to Matho Auchlek, goldsmyth, for the making of Sanct Ninianes arme, . . . vj li. x s.

A.D. 1502.

Item, the xvij day of August . . . offerit in Quhithirn, . . .
 Item, to the masonis in Quhithirn, be [the kingis] command, of drink-siluer, . . . xiiij s.
 Item, the samyn day, to the priour of Quhithirn[is man], of bridil-siluer of ane hors he deliuerit to the king, . . . ix s.
 Item, to Johnesone the foular quhen his hors tyrit, be the kingis command, . . . xvij s.
 Item, the samyn day [xix August], to Dande Doule and the laif of the falconaris, be the kingis command, . . . xvij s.
 Item, to the piparis of Wigtoun, be the kingis command, . . . xiiij s.
 Item, the xxij day of August, be the kingis command, to Guilliam taubronair, . . . xiiij s.
 Item, to Analee taubronar, be the kingis command, . . . xiiij s.

A.D. 1503.

Item, the viij day of Aprile, in Quhithirn, to the kingis offerandis at diuers places, vj Franch crownes; summa, . . . iiij li iiij s.
 Item, that samyn day, in Quhithirn, to Schir Andro [Makbrek] to dis-pone, . . . v li. ij s.
 Item, the viij day of Aprile, to the freris of Wigtoun, be the kingis command, . . . xxviiij s.
 Item, that samyn day, in Wigtoun, to the freris and preistis to do dirige and saule mes for the Erle of Mar, . . . xl s.
 Item, the ix day of Aprile, to Schir Andro Makbrek, in Air, to dis-pone, be the kingis command, . . . vij li.
 Item, the x day of Aprile, to the kingis offerand in the Kirk of Kyle, . . . xiiij s.
 * . . . * . . . * . . . * . . . *
 Item (the vj day of Maij), to the kingis offerand to the Haly Croce of Peblis, . . . xiiij s.
 Item, to the kings offerand on the bred in the kirk of Moffet, . . . ix s.
 Item (vij Maij), to the kingis offerand in Our Lady chapell at the toun end of Drumfreis, . . . xiiij s.
 Item, to the kingis offerand to ane preistis first mes in Drumfreis, . . . xxviiij s.
 Item, to the kingis offerand on the bred in the parisch kirk, . . . ix s.
 Item, to the freris of Drumfreis, . . . xiiij s.
 Item, the xiiij day of Maij, to Schir Andro Makbrek, to dis-pone in Quhithirn, be the kingis command, . . . v li.
 Item, that samyn day, to the kingis offerandez in Quhithirn at diuers places, v Franch crounis; summa, . . . iiij li. x s.

- Item, the xvij day of Maij, be the kingis command, to the Blak Freris of Air, xiiij s.
 Item, that samyn day, to the Gray Freris thare, xvij s.
 Item, that samyn tyme, be the kingis command, to dispone in Air, xx s.
 Item, the xvij day of Maij, to the kingis offerand in the kirk of Kile, xiiij s.
 Item, payit to the comptrollar that he laid down be the kingis command to the Freris of Air and Glasgo, quhen the king com fra Quhithirn in Aprile bipast, vj Franch crounis ; summa, iiij ti. iiij s.

A.D. 1504.

- Item, the xxj day of Junij, in Linlithqw, to Schir Andro Makbrek, to dispone to preistis, iij ti.
 Item, the xxij day of Junij, in Hamiltoun, to Maister Andro Makbrek, to dispone to preistis thare, xx s.
 Item, the xxij day of Junij, to the Blak Freris in Air, xiiij s.
 Item, to the Gray Freris thare, xv s.
 Item, to Maister Andro Makbrek, to the preistis of Our Lady Kirk of Kyle, xx s.
 Item, the xxiiij day of Junij, Sanct Johnis day, to the kingis offerand in Sanct Johnis Kirk in Air, xiiij s.
 Item, that samyn day to the Freris of Irrewin, xiiij s.
 Item, that day, to the preistis in Air, be command, iij ti.
 Item, the xxvj day of Junij, in Quhithirn, to the kingis offerandis at diuers places, v Franch crounis ; summa, iij ti. x s.
 Item, that day to the preistis in Quhithirn, v ti.
 Item, the penult day of Junij, in Air, cummand hame agane, to Maister Andro Makbrek to gif to preistis thare, iij ti.

A.D. 1505.

- Item, the xxiiij day of Julij, in Dumbertane, to Schir Andro Makbrek, xl s.
 Item, the xx[v] day of Julij, to Schir Andro to dispone, xx s.
 Item, that day to the kingis offerand on Sanct James bred, xiiij s.
 Item, to the kingis offerand at the hie mes, xiiij s.
 Item, to the Blak Freris thair, xiiij s.
 Item, the xxvj day of Julij, in Eliotstoun, to the kingis offerand in the new college, xiiij s.
 Item, to the preistis thair, xx s.
 Item, the xxvij day of Julij, in Air, to the Blak Freris, xiiij s.
 Item, the xxviiij day of Julij, to the kingis offerand in Our Lady Kyrk of Kile, xiiij s.
 Item, to Schir Andro Makbrek to dispone thair, v ti.
 Item, that samyn day, to him to the Gray Freris of Air, xxviiij s.
 Item, the xxix day of Julij, to the monks of Corsraguell, xx s.
 Item, the penult day of Julij, in Glenluss, to Schir Andro Makbrek, xx s.
 Item, the last day of Julij, in Quhithirn, to Schir Andro to dispone, v ti.

Item, to the kingis offerand in the kirk in diuers places,	iiij Franch crounis; summa,	lvj s.
Item, to the kingis offerand in the chapell on the hill,		xiiij s.
Item, to preistis thair for the lady maistres,		xiiij s.
Item, that samyn day, to the Freris of Wigtoun,		xiiij s.
Item, the secund day of August, to the monks of Dundranane,		xx s.
Item, the thrid day of August, to the freris of Drumfreis,		xiiij s.
Item, the ferd day of August, to Schir Andro Makbrek to dispone,		xl s.
Item, the vij day of August to the kingis offerand in the Cors kirk of Peblis,		xiiij s.
Item, to the preistis thair,		iiij tib.
Item, the viij day of August, to the kingis offerand in Sanct Katrinis of the oly well,		xiiij s.

A.D. 1506.

Item, the xxvj day of Julij [Aprile], to the preistis of Paslay,	xx s.
Item, the xxviiij day of Julij [Aprile], to Schir Andro Makbrek to dispone,	iiij ti.
Item, to the kingis offerand in Our Lady Kirk of Kyle,	ix s.
Item, that day, to the Freris of Irwin,	xiiij s.
Item, to the Gray Freris of Air,	xlij s.
Item, the xxix day of Julij [Aprile], to the king to play at the kiles in Glenlus,	xviiij s.
Item, to the Abbot of Glenlus man, of bridilsiluer of ane gray hors giffin to the king,	xiiij s.
Item, to ane Irland freir thair,	ij s.
Item, the first day of Maij, in Quhithirn, to Schir Andro Makbrek to dispone,	ix tib.
Item, to the kingis offerand thair at sindry places,	vj Franch crounis; summa,
	iiij ti. iiij s.
Item, to ane pilgryme of Ingland that Sanct Niniane kythit miracle for,	xviiij s.
Item, to pure folkis in Wigtoun, Schir Andro being absent,	iiij s. viij d.
Item, to ane fithelair thair,	xi s.
Item, to certane Inglis pilgrymes in Wigtoun, be the kingis command,	xiiij s.
Item, the secund day of Maij, to Schir Andro Makbrek to dispone,	xl s.
Item, that day, to the freir of Wigtoun that suld haf sungin his first mes the next Sunday,	xiiij s.
Item, the thrid day of Maij, to the kingis offerand,	xiiij s.
Item, that day, to Schir Andro Makbrek to dispone,	xx s.
Item, the ferd day of Maij, to Schir Andro Makbrek to dispone in Lincloiden,	xl s.
Item, that day, to the Freris of Drumfreis,	xiiij s.
Item, ane relique quhilk the king offerit at Quhithirn, maid of the kingis avn siluer, weyand xxviij ¹ / ₂ vnce; for the fasoun of ilk vnce	iiij s. : summa,
	v ti. x s.

Item, for ij Hary nobles and quik siluer to gilt the samyn, iij ti. iij s.
 Item, the vij day of Maij, to Schir Andro Makbrek, to dispone, iij ti.
 Item, that day, to the kingis offerand at the Haly Croce of Peb-
 lis, xvij s.

* *

Item, the vj day of August, to the kingis offerand in Our Lady kirk
 of Kyle, xiiij s.
 Item, to the preistis thair, iij fib.
 Item, that samyn day, to the freris of Irrewin, xiiij s.
 Item to the freris of Air, xiiij s.
 Item, the vij day of August, to the Gray Freris of Air, xliij s.
 Item, the ix day of August, to the kingis offerand in Quthithirn, at the
 Rude altair, at the ferter in the vtir kyrk, at the reliques, at the hie
 altair, at the Lady altair, and in the Chapell on the hill; ilk place
 xiiij s.; summa, iij fib. iij s.
 Item, the x day of August, Sanct Laurence day, to the kingis offer-
 and at the reliques in Quthithirn, xiiij s.

A.D. 1506-7.

Item, the ix day of March, to the kingis offerand at the oly well, xiiij s.
 Item, the x day of March, to the kingis offerand in Bigar, xiiij s.
 Item [xj March], to the wif of the Mure alhous, quhair the king
 disjunit, vij s.
 Item, in Lintoun, to the kingis belcheir, xiiij s.
 Item, that nycht, in Dolphingtoun, to the preist, for fire, candill, and
 belcheir, quhair the king lay, xvij s.
 Item, to ane pure man in Dolphingtoun hed ane kow slane, xvij s.
 Item, in Bigar, quhair the king dynyt, in belcheir, xvij s.
 Item, to the wif in Lammyngtoun, quhair the king lay all nycht,

xxviij s.
 Item, to the wif of Cawod chapel, quhar the king dynyt, in belcher, vij s.
 Item, that nycht to the wif of Craufurd, quhair the king lay, xvij s.
 Item, the xij day of March, at the chapel of Craufurd Mure, quhar
 the king dynyt, to ane pure man of belcheir, vij s.
 Item, the xiiij day of March, to the kingis belchere in Durisdere, xiiij s.
 Item, to the vicar of Durisdere, quhair the king lay all nycht, xiiij s.
 Item, that day, to ane pure man tald tales to the king, vj s. vij d.
 Item, to ane wif that hed hir siluer stollin away, be the kingis com-
 mand, v s.
 Item, that day, to thre pur folkis at the Water of Nyth, ij s.
 Item, to the kingis offerand in ane chapel on the Water of [Nyth]
 on the gait side, xiiij s.
 Item, to William Douglas, quhilk he wan fra the king at schuting
 with the corsbow, xxviij s.
 Item, the xiiij day of March, in Penpont, to the kingis offerand on
 the bred, ix s.
 Item, to the four Italien menstrales, be the kingis command, iij
 Franch crounis; summa, lvj s.
 Item, to ane woman that sang to the king, xxviij s.
 Item, to ane fithelar, be the kingis command, xxix s.

- Item, for soling of une pair schone to the king in Penpont, xvj d.
 Item, the xv day of March, to the vicar of Penpont, in belcheir, xxviij s.
 Item, to the freris of Drumfreis thair, xviij s.
 Item, to the wif at the kirk quhar the king disjunit, xiiij s.
 Item, at Castell fern quhar the king dynit, in belchere, ix s.
 Item, that nycht, to the king, quhilk he tynt on schuting with the
 corsbow with William Douglas, xxviij s.
 Item, for ane sark to the Franch boy, v s.
 Item, the xvj day of March, to the kingis belcheir in Dalry, xviij s.
 Item, that day, to Quhynbore, taubroner, and his marrow, vi s.
 Item, for the kingis belcher, quhair the king dynyt be the gait, ix s.
 Item, that nycht, the king sowpit at Menegouf, for the belcher
 thair, ix s.
 Item, the xvij day of March, in Pennyghame, to the king, quhilk he
 tynt with William Douglas, xiiij s.
 Item, to ane pure man thair, viij d.
 Item [the xvij day of March], to ane man that bure Sanct Ninianes
 bell, ix s.
 Item, that day, to ane man that sang to the king, iiij s.
 Item, the xvij day of March, in Wigtoun, in belcheir, quhar the king
 lay, xxviij s.
 Item, to the freris of Wigtoun, xiiij s.
 Item, to ane man that gydit the king fra Wigtoun to Quhithirn before
 day, xiiij s.
 Item, that day, to the kingis offerand in the Chapell on the hill,
 xiiij s.
 Item, that samyn day, in Quhithirn, to the kingis offerandis at the first
 mes in the vtir kirk, syne at the Rude altair, at the hie altar, and
 at Our Lady altair; ilk place xiiij s.; summa, lvj s.
 Item, that day, to the kingis offerand at the reliques, xvij s.
 Item, that samyn day, to Schir Andro Makbrek to dispoone, vj fi.
 Item, to the priour of Quhithirnis man in bridilsiluer of ane hors, xiiij s.
 Item, to Adam Cokburn for iiij halkis met, ix s.
 Item, to Craik the lutar, ix s.
 Item, that nycht, to the king, to the tables with George Camp-
 bell, xiiij s.
 Item, to the ald priour of Quhithirnis clarscha, xiiij s.
 Item, the xix day of Marche, to the kingis offerand to the reliques in
 Quhithirn, xiiij s.
 Item, that day, to the kingis offerand in the vtir kirk quhair he herd
 mes, xiiij s.
 Item, for iiij hors to the four Italien menstrales fra Quhithirn to
 Tungland, v s.
 Item [the xx day of March], to the freres of Kyrkoudbright, xiiij s.
 Item, to Rudman lutar, xiiij s.
 Item, that day, to Lord Flemingis taubronar, xiiij s.
 Item, to Pate Harper, clarscha, xiiij s.
 Item, to tua trumpatis that wer at Quhithirn with the king, xxviij s.

- Item, to ane lutar of Galloway, xliij s.
 Item, to ane fithelar, be the kingis command, ij s.
 Item, for the kingis fraucht cumand and gangand at the water of
 Bladno, xvij s.
 Item, to the freris of Wigtoun, quhar the king dynyt, in belcher, xliij s.
 Item, in Tungland, to the four Italien menstiales, to fe thair hors to
 Lochmaban, xvij s.
 Item, the xxj day of March, to the freris of Drumfreis, xliij s.
 Item, to the boyis of the kechin, iij s. vj d.
 Item, to ane pipar playit with the schawmis, v s.
 Item, the xxij day of March, to the four Italien menstiales to fee
 thaim hors fra Lochmabane to Peblis, x s.
 Item, to the kingis offerand in the kirk of Lochmabane, xliij s.
 Item, to ane dum cheld that kepit the yet in Lochmabane, xliij s.
 Item, to four menstiales that playit to the king in Lochmabane, xv s. vj d.
 Item, the xxiiij day of March, to the kingis offerand to the Cors of
 Peblis, xliij s.
 Item, that samyn day, to the kingis offerand at the oly well, xliij s.
 Item, to the gude wif of the kingis lugeing in Peblis, of belcheir, xvij s. vj d.

A.D. 1507.

- Item, the first day of Julij, the king and quene tuke viage to Quhithirn, giffin to the Abbot of Cambuskinneth he gaif in bridilsiluer of ane hors, xliij s.
 Item, for tua small coffrez, and for girthes and brases to the samyn to turs the quenis chapel graith to Quhithirn, xxxix s.
 Item, to the four Italien menstiales, to fee thaim hors for ix dayis to cum, xxxvj s.
 Item, the thrid day of Julij, to the kingis offerand to Sanct Ninianes of Blaknes, xliij s.
 Item, the vj day of Julij in Striuelin, to the kingis offerand to ane preistis first mes, xxviiij s.
 Item, the vij day of Julij, in Cummernald, to Lord Flemyngis taubronar, xliij s.
 Item, the viij day of Julij, to the masounis and wrichtis in Glasgo, in drinksiluer, xliij s.
 Item [the ix day of Julij], to the masounis of Pasley, in drinksiluer, xviiij s.
 Item, that day, to the wif quhair the ladyis drank be the gait, xliij s.
 Item, the x day of Julij, to the kingis offerand to the reliques in Kilwynnin, xliij s.
 Item, that samyn day, to the freres of Irrewin, xliij s.
 Item, the xj day of Julij, to the kingis offerand to ane preistis first mes in Air, xliij s.
 Item, the xiiij day of Julij, to the portair of Bargany, iij s.
 Item, the xv day of Julij, in Glenlus, to Campbell of the chamer, xliij s.
 Item, the xvj day of Julij in Quhithirn, to the kingis offerandis in the vtr kyrk, the Rude altair, the hie altar, Our Lady altair, the

reliques and the Chapell on the hill, vj Franch crounis; summa, iiij li. iiij s.
 Item, that samyn day, to the freris of Wigtoun, xiiij s.
 Item, for ane hors to ane lady, v li.
 Item, the xvij day of Julij, to the kingis offerand at his moderis saule mes, xiiij s.
 Item, for iij dosane pointis to the quenis chariot, xiiij s.
 Item [the xx day of Julij], for j quartar carsay, quhilk mendit the quenis littair graith, xiiij d.

They returned by the same route, and reached Stirling on the 29th July.

A.D. 1507-8.

Item, the xxij day of March, in Quhithirn, to the kingis offerand in the vtir kirk, xv s. vj d.
 Item, to the kingis offerandis at the reliques, the hie altar, the Lady altar, and Rude altar, iiij Franch crounis; summa, lvj s.
 Item, to the king, quhilk he offerit for the quene in Quhithirn, xxvij s.
 Item, to the preistis thair, vj li.
 Item, to the kingis offerand in the chapell on the hill, xiiij s.
 Item, to pure folkis in Quhithirn, Schir Andro Makbrek being absent, xx s.
 Item, to the priour of Quhithirnis man, in bridilsiluer of ane hors giffin to the king, iiij s.
 Item, that day, passand fra Quhithirn, to pur folkis be the way, ij s. iij d.
 Item, the xxv day of March, Annunciatio Marie, in Bigar, to the kingis offerand, xiiij s.
 Item [the xxvij day of March], for ane relique quhilk the king offerit in Quhithirn, xvij li. xij d.

NOTE CC.

In addition to the miracles recorded by S. Ailred, Camerarius records one which was alleged to have taken place so late as 1608, at the chapel of S. Ninian, not far from where the Spey flows into the sea.¹

In the Treasurer's Accounts we have this remarkable entry, "To ane pilgryme of Ingland that Sanct Niniane kythit miracle for, xviii. s."

The following is interesting as a late instance of pilgrimage:—

"Also I will that one be hyryt to go for me. . . . Seynt Truyons in Scotlande, and offer [for] me a bende placke whyche ys in my purs."²

¹ Camerarius de Scotorum fortitudine, p. 174.

² Will of Robert Ardean, 22 Oct. 1540, 32 Hen. VIII., in Lancashire and Cheshire Wills, published by the Chetham Society.

NOTES TO THE LIFE OF S. KENTIGERN.

NOTE A.

THE twelfth century was an age of great religious activity in Scotland. It was the age of the foundation of many important religious establishments. The monasteries sent forth men who, for piety and administrative power, have left their mark upon the history of their country. Naturally, the heads of the abbeys, such as Guido of Lindores and Ascelinus of Kinloss, are mentioned by the historians with due respect. Many of the episcopal sees were now occupied by monks. Bishop Arnold of St. Andrews and John of Aberdeen came from Tyronensian Kelso. Simeon de Toner, Bishop of Moray, and Reinaldus, Bishop of Ross, were elected from Melrose. The unfortunate Adam of Caithness was Abbot there. So was the subject of this note, Bishop Joceline of Glasgow.

He appears to have been a man of great ability. Consecrated at Clairvaux by Eskilus, Archbishop of Lunden in Denmark, the Pope's Legate for that kingdom, he succeeded Bishop Ingelram in 1175, in the fifth year of the reign of William the Lion.

Alexander III. confirmed his election in a Brief, dated Ferentinum, xvii. Kal. Januar., addressed to the Abbot of Jedburgh and the other abbots in the patrimony of S. Kentigern, in which he states that it had been made known to him by letters from the King, and some of the bishops of the realm, and from the Dean and Chapter, that the said Dean and Chapter, on the death of the late bishop, had unanimously elected him, and the Pope knowing the election was canonical, "*multorum religiosorum versorum testimonio*," confirmed it.¹ By another, dated xvii. Kalend. April., in consideration of the most sincere devotion which Joceline and the Cistercian order from which he was taken entertain for the Roman Church, he appoints that he and the Church of Glasgow shall not be subject to any inter-

¹ Regist. Ep. Glas., p. 32.

dict, suspension, or excommunication, save only by the Pope himself or his Legatus a latere.¹

In 1176, at the Council of Northampton, held under Cardinal Uguccione S. Michael de Petra Leonis, King William brought with him, among others, "Jocelinum Episcopum de Glasceu," who having resisted the claim of Archbishop Roger of York to superiority over Glasgow and Candida Casa, successfully maintaining that his church was the special daughter of the Roman Church, and that if that of York had ever possessed domination over it, it was clear that it had lost it.²

In 1179, and for nearly ten years after, a great dispute raged round the Cathedral of St. Andrews. On the death of Bishop Richard the canons elected John the Scot, while the King, in spite of an appeal to the Pope, caused the prelates of the kingdom to consecrate his chaplain Hugo. On this a nuncio Alexius came from Pope Alexander III., who confirmed the election of John, and, "Rege nec prohibente nec contradicente," caused him to be consecrated with great pomp in Holyrood by his uncle, Matthew of Aberdeen. But John could not maintain his place, and was obliged to betake himself to Rome. On this the King, in 1181, was excommunicated and the country laid under an interdict. A compromise was attempted by the estranged parties, on the basis of John getting any other see save St. Andrews, but the Pope would not hear of it, and Bishop Joceline now comes on the stage. With Arnold, Abbot of Melrose, and Osbert of Kelso, he went to Rome and persuaded Lucius III. to remove the excommunication and the interdict. A second compromise was now tried on the basis of the resignation of both parties, which neither agreed to. They met at Velletri, and Lucius III. assigned St. Andrews to Hugh and John to Dunkeld; but this was not accepted, and three years after, in 1186, the controversy was renewed under Pope Urban, who ordered Hugh to come to Rome, and appointed Joceline, with the Abbots of Melrose, Newbattle, and Dunfermline, commissioners to hear the cause and report. On the authority of this, Hugh was suspended and John restored by Clement III. King William at last consented, and Hugh with all his suite died of the pestilence at Rome, August 4, 1188.

Fordun, quoting the Chronicle of Melrose,³ mentions that "Once Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, and Arnold and Osbert, Abbots of Melrose and Kelso, with other men of mark, went

¹ Regist. Ep. Glas., p. 34.

² Hoveden, ii. 91, 92; Robertson's Statuta Ecclesie Scot., vol. i. p. xxxii.

³ P. 92.

off to Rome on the business of their king and country; and when they had skilfully transacted it, they came home again in good health and spirits."¹ What is euphemistically called here the business of their king and country was to obtain from Pope Lucius III. the absolution of the King from church-censure.² He was required by the succeeding Pope to admonish the King with regard to his neglect to enforce the dues of the Church with the power of the Crown.³ During his episcopate the great city of Glasgow received its first form, being erected by William into a burgh, with a Thursday market, "*cum omnibus libertatibus et consuetudinibus quas aliquis Burgorum meorum in tota terra mea melius, plenius, quietius et honorificentius habet.*"⁴ During his time the Church in Glasgow possessed twenty-five churches, seventeen of which seem to have been mensal, and acquired large accessions of property both in land and churches. Balain was granted to the bishop in recompence of excesses committed by the King against S. Kentigern and his churches after the decease of Bishop Ingelram.⁵ Can the "*excessus a me, et a meis pro me, Sancto Kentigerno et ecclesie Glasguen. post decessum Engelrami illatis*" mean the system of seizing the revenues of the vacant sees, which was one of the crimes of William Rufus?

This erection by the King was confirmed by a Bull of Pope Alexander III., dated from the Lateran on the 13th of the Kalends of May 1178.⁶

Lucius III. confirmed the privileges granted to Joceline by Alexander III., and strengthened his authority⁷ by making his discernments final in cases of disputed patronage, and forbidding any religious person to hold a vacant benefice without the bishop's permission,⁸ also by giving him the right to appoint to benefices in the case of the failure of the patron to present after three months.⁹ Urban III. granted the Bishop of Glasgow the right of excommunicating those who invade his churches in spite of appeals, in which a curious allusion is made to the practice of borrowing at usury from the Jews. This Pope confirmed all previous privileges, and forbade the bishop or his clergy, as belonging to a Church which was the special

¹ Fordun, *Annals*, xxviii., vol. ii. p. 275; ed. Skene.

² *Vide Bullarium*, ad annum 1182.

³ *Bullarium*, and No. 182 of the *Registrum*, quoted in C. Innes's Preface.

⁴ *Registr. Ep. Glas.* 40, p. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Preface, xxiii.

⁶ P. 60.

⁷ P. 48.

⁸ P. 61.

⁹ Pp. 58, 59.

daughter of the Roman Church, to be dragged out of the realm of Scotland on appeal.¹

On January 6, 1179, Bishop Joceline consecrated Ernald sixth abbot of Melrose, but the greatest work of his life was the construction of the present cathedral, which he effected between 1181 and 1192. The dry Chronicle of Melrose at 1181 becomes enthusiastic in recording this work: "Jocelinus Episcopus sedem episcopalem dilatavit et Sancti Kentigerni ecclesiam gloriose magnificavit."² It was effected by the aid of the King, who in a touching document³ speaks of the Church of Glasgow as the mother of many nations, hitherto lowly and narrow, which he now desires to widen for the house of God, and as demanding his succour and that of other good men for its repair, because in his days it had been consumed by fire. In 1197, on the 6th of July, and in the thirty-fourth year of his episcopate, the Church which "ipse novam construxerat" was dedicated by Joceline. The fabric was not finished, for in 1242 a national collection was commanded to be made annually by order of a Council.⁴ Two years after the consecration, on the 17th of March, he died in his own abbey of Melrose, and was buried on the north side of the choir.⁵

In 1193 he had given Hazendean to the Church of Melrose, and witnessed a grant of lands in Carrick, at Maybole, by Gilbert of Galloway, to the same convent.

In 1195, on Sunday, October 29, he had dedicated the Church of S. Andrew at Peebles.⁶

The bishop seems to have clung closely to monks during his episcopate; a wise and kind regulation touching the goods of a defunct canon of his church is attested, among others, by the Abbots of Kelso, Melrose, Newbottle, by R., a monk, and his own chaplain, and by Harold, the Callarer of Melrose.⁷

The following eulogium on Bishop Joceline has been found in the Bodleian Library by the Rev. W. D. Macray, by whose permission it is now printed for the first time. It is numbered Auct. G. Rawl. 38, f. 55:—

"Uniuersis sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis, precipue autem viris religiosis ad quos presentis scripti pagina peruenerit. Frater R.,⁸ seruus seruorum dei apud Melros deo seruientium, humilisque

¹ Regist. Ep. Glas., p. 69.

² *Ibid.* 76, p. 66.

³ Chron. Mailros., p. 103, cit. Hoved. fol. 450.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 102.

⁵ The R. here probably stands for Radulphus, who was abbot of Melrose in 1194, after being successively prior of Melrose and abbot of Kinloss. He was consecrated bishop of Down in Ireland.

⁶ P. 91, ed. Stevenson.

⁷ Regist. Ep. Glas., xxviii.

⁸ Chron. Mailros., p. 103, cit. Hoved. fol. 450.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 102.

¹⁰ Regist. Ep. Glas., p. 47.

eiusdem loci conuentus [Abbas?] salutem et oraciones. Mundane varietatis ecliptica uicissitudo parte quicquid orbis in qualibet mortales ante conspectus quasi prouehit ad perfectum e lapsu temporis ad memoriam satis exigui irreparabilem uelud ex inuidia deiecit in defectum. Siquidem glorie cujuslibet terrene, inquam, quantumlibet inclita celsitudo in hac incolatus nostri breuitate propter productionem aliquam, si cui forte diuina uideatur in momento deiicitur, relictaque sui uix mencione nullo nature beneficio, nulla ingenii sagacitate in statum omnino pristinum restituitur. Sic ipsius nature sic omne artis opificium operosa quamuis industria diligenter excultum ab ipsa statim sui consummatione festinat sub breuitate consumi. Decorem enim primo inditum paulatim exuens, fuco quodam deformitatis obducitur, nec eâ assiduitate ad summum sue statim essencie per incrementa prouehitur, qua per detrimenta continua incessanter ad non esse deducitur. In his autem omnibus imperiosa sub celo præ omnibus humane sublimitas excellencie lapsu deiectione colliditur et quo ad eminenciores gloriam concenterit, eo dimissius in terram detruditur. Indidit enim homini inter subcelestia dingnitas condicionis imperium, sed induxit ex delicto condicio mortalitatis excidium, unde et quanto potencius plurima sibi subiicit ex imperio, quantoque admiracior in prelacione conspicitur: tanto miserabilior comparet in casu, tantoque abiectius corrui ex defectu. A turribus in terram prosternitur, a sericis in cilicium deuoluitur, a purpura in puluerem deponitur. Sicque demum a superstitionis conspectu subtractus sub cespite collocatur beniuolis pro beneficijs dolorem, inuidis autem relinquens detractorem. Sic est humane glorie calamitosa felicitas. Sic procurat perniciem comes assidua ex commisso contracta calamitas. Sic defectum inducit irreparabilem ruine semper exposita officiosa fragilitas. Sic in nostrâ dissolutione triumphat hostis publici consiliosa calliditas. Hinc miseria nostre mortalitatis oppressio. Hinc miserabilis oppressionis nostre desolacio, dum in diebus hijs dierum nostrorum decus et gloria Venerabilis Pater Jocelinus Episcopus, redeunte utinam in celo spiritu, carnis onus depositum nobis reliquit in terra deponendum. Cuius quanto fuit apud homines commendabilior conuersacio, tanto nobis et specialius ei subditis et conjunctiori deuocione deuinctis maior conquestionis occasio, et ad quos deuoluta fuerit, fauorabilior debet esse commemoracio. Ipsa enim adulescentie ipsius primordia quasi certa future in eo dingnitatis indicia presingnabant et insigne quiddam innuencia quasi ex desingnatione diuina Ecclesie dei rectorem ydoneum preparabant. Ita siquidem erat in gestu compositus, in actu prouidus, in sermone discretus ut ipsa

morum compositio singularem ei quemdam fauorem in oculis intuentium compararet. Unde et adhuc inpubes ad sanctam Melrossensem Ecclesiam tanquam a domino missus accessit, et in conspectu sancti patris Waldeui, cui spiritus domini bonus non defuit, specialem gratiam promeruit intra dies paucos ab eo ad conuersionem illectus, et post susceptum habitum quasi ex presagio de die in diem pro sanctorum sub discreto patre disciplinate conuersancium arbitrio magis dilectus. Vir quippe sanctus, ut quodam quasi vaticinio, concilii celestis infallibilem prouidentiam magnum aliquid circa iuuenem disposuisse preostenderet, quem in familiarem et filium specialiter adoptauerat quamlibet ei fere monasterii administracionem, ut in singulis exercitatum redderet suis successiue temporibus committebat. Siquid factum est ut post decessum patris benignissimi, elapsis annis aliquot, uno interposito, quasi sic uir sanctus destinasset concurrentibus uotis omnium, secundus ipse succederet. Qui patris ac predecessoris e uestigio uias secutus in gerendis ita negociis circumspecte agebat in regendis fratribus regulariter adeo incedebat quod sicut ex religione modestia ita mansuetudo creuisse in eo uidebatur ex prepositura. Ea tamen in omnibus discrecio seruabatur, ut et delictis disciplina non parceret, et delinquentibus correpcio non deesset. In corrigendis ac ulciscendis excessibus moderacione adhibita, ut cum admissi immanitas debitam quandoque seueritatem expeteret. Agendi micus si qua reperiri posset occasio, rigorem ordinis consueta benignitas temperaret. Erat etiam tante apud subditos reuerencie tantumque terroris eius inferebat offensa ut ipsius non solum metus sed et mencio a committendo plerosque compesceret qui tam ex singulari industria quam ex officiorum fere omnium administracione cogitaciones eum quorumlibet congnoscere arbitrabantur. Talis ac tante uir sagacitatis et prudencie tocus ordinis Cisterciensis gratiam tocus in quo manebat rengni fauorem facile sibi quasi ex debito conciliauerat. Post modicum autem sed decursis annis aliquibus dato tempore cum defuncto pio patre Engerramo Episcopo sancta uacaret Glasguensis Ecclesia ad populi petitionem a clero Ecclesie canonice et unanimiter electus et illustrissimi Scottorum Regis W. incontinenti quasi ex ipsius principis deuocione cum consensu gratiam adeptus non prius ad ipsam accessit ecclesiam non ante susceptam administracionem quam et a sancto Cisterciensi Capitulo eius approbaretur electio, et ipsius generalis concilii suscipiendi regimen ipse preceptum acceperat. Sicque sanctissimi patris cuius memoria in benedictione est, Alexandri papæ tercii autoritate uices summi pontificis circa hoc exequente Venerabile Patre Escillo dacorum Archiepiscopo qui pro ecclesie sue

libertate eo tempore exulabat in sancta Clareuallensi Ecclesia tanquam manibus Apostolicis consecrationem accepit. Nec eum dignitatis excellencia extollere in aliquo uidebatur set eadem in omnibus granitate seruata non gestus fractior non aspectus elacior non incessus solucior nec in aliquo uel mentis habitus, uel corporis ipsius status, incomposicior habebatur. Cum tamen ei in omnibus fauere adeo fortuna uideretur ut tam principalis excellencia quam dignitatis Ecclesiastice reuerencia sicut et populi communis affectus, pro maiore metueret pro patre ueneraretur. Quot labores et quanta pericula pro ecclesia sua, pro ipso etiam Rege Regnoque suo frequenter suscepit et sustinuerit quam liberaliter in exequendis Rengni negociis facultates suas effuderit, remote etiam provincie non ingnorant. Ecclesiam suam in suscepcone sua satis exiguum quam excel-
lenter ampliauerit quam decencia per loca in diocesi edificia construxerit, quantis quibusque libertatibus sicut et possessionibus rem augmentauerit, futura post multos annos tempora non tacebunt. Quanta fuerit carnis eius mundicia effantur ipsius familiares, qui uel notam cujusquam inquinamenti per ullam unquam coniecturam poterant suspicari. Assidentibus ei omnibus mensa quam dapsilis nota quam multis copia protestatur cum Appositorum affluentia cibum ipse sibi potumque ministrauerit, ut non sacietatem sed sustentationem suo duntaxat corpori procuraret. Ordinem de quo assumptus est Cisterciensem quanta deuocione complexus sit, quanta diligentia in se feruenter obseruauerit, consueta uestium asperitas suo ex appetitu ciborum inuariata communitas retenta etiam in clero circa has horas singulas regularium Idemptitas indicabant. Cuius obseruancie quam perseueranter animum obligauerit, dissimulare non poterunt ad quos ipse quine ad eum eiusdem ordinis professores aut casu aut uisitandi gratia peruenerunt. Tanta erat eis cum eo familiaritas ut non prelatum aut pontificem sed confratrem se fratribus in omni humilitate exhiberet. Sua eis ita munifice communicabat ut acceptorum omnium singulis debitor uideretur. Si quid eis erat apud eum negotii communiter tractabat, ut suum exequatur. Qui se esse in propriis tunc demum reputabat cum data conferendi copia uel ad eum plures confuerent uel ipse apud eos suis in locis aliquando moraretur. Precipuum autem gratiam apud religiosos assecutus, summe apud subditos reuerencie egregie apud omnes uenerationis exactis in pontificatu annis circiter xxⁱⁱ iiii^{or} labores diutinos iussus est terminare. Solutio itaque in capite Jeiunii quod ad diem pertinebat in prouincia sollemniter officio Ecclesiam suam Melrossensem quinta feria uisitauit ex desiderio eo destinatus ad requiem, ubi suscepto habitu professus fuerat

religionem. Nocteque ipsa graui tactus molestia sexta statim feria lecto decubuit et uelud infixi teli cuspidē ad compunctionem letaliter percussus in pectore primos illos tredecim penitentie dies a sexta illa feria usque ad quartam rursum secunde Quadragesimalis (?) ebdomade feriam accepit ad purgacionem. Dispositisque prudenter omnibus data assistentibus, ac percepta benedictione retenta usque articulum tam memoria quam loquela celeste depositum ad superna remisit xvi^o uidelicet Kalendas Aprilis, qua die ante annos circiter quinquaginta in eodem monasterio habitum susceperat religionis vi^{ta}que feria iiii^{to} Kalendas Aprilis, qua die post emensum probationis annum accepta monachali benedictione ibidem professionem fecerat et morum stabilitatem promiserat in tumultu est uenerabiliter collocatus quem ipse sibi ipsa in Ecclesia ante annos aliquot fecerat preparari. Quod si casus hujuscemodi uictu quasi diuino prouenientes circa ueterem aliquem diebus antiquis uelud ad notum concurrissent et detractorum ora concludere et malingnandi materia omnino precipere uiderentur et ad perhennem memoriam scripto forte commendabili traderetur. Quoniam autem in hac peregrinatione constitutis de consuetudine ad leuam leue est declinare fraternitatem uestram cum lacrimis exoramus ut insufficiencie nostre suspiriis oracionum uestrarum accedant subsidia et ad optinendam pie recordacionis patri beningnissimo perfectam summe clemencie misericordiam supplicacionibus assiduīs suffragentur, pro nobis et nostris in conspectu Altissimi et uos orare precamur qui pro uobis et uestris fraterne karitatis ex debito deuote supplicamus. Valeta in Christo."

NOTE B.

"JOCELINE, a monk of Furness Abbey, in Lancashire," according to Mr. Morley, compiled, at the request and for the use of different monasteries, legendary lives of S. Patrick, S. Kentigern, S. Helen, and other saints.¹ He is the author of the *Life of S. Kentigern* which is now presented to the reader. We do not know much concerning him. We learn from the prologue of his *Life of S. Patrick*, that he composed it at the request of Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh, and Malachias, Bishop of Down, and John de Courcy, the conqueror of Ulster, and therefore flourished about 1185. He wrote a *Life of S. Helen*, an abridgment of which is cited by Tanner as being found in MS. in the Bodleian Library, and a *Life of S. David of Scotland*, extracts of which are in the Sixth Book of Bower's *Scotichronicon*.

¹ Henry Morley's *English Writers before Chaucer*, p. 602. Chapman, 1864.

Tanner seems to think that he was a Welshman. Stowe, in his Survey of London, mentions a Treatise De Britonum Episcopis by him. The Life of S. Patrick is in Messingham and Colgan's Acta Sanctorum.¹

In Bower's continuation of Fordun, copious extracts are given from a work of this author, in which the acts of S. Waldeve are narrated. It was dedicated to William the Lion.²

Furness Abbey, begun in Tulket in Amounderness in 1124 for the monks of Savigny, was three years after removed to the present site, then called Bekangegeell, by its founder King Stephen. Stephen gave his forest of Furness with Wolney, lands at Dalton, his demesne at Furness, Ulverston, a fishery at Lancaster, and one or two villars with their property. Michael Fleming and William de Lancaster were its chief benefactors. It was much protected by the English kings, and could exhibit Bulls of confirmation by Eugenius III. and Innocent III.

The first Abbots were:—1. Yvon de Albrenno, 1127; 2. Eudo de Suderval; 3. Michael de Lancaster; 4. Peter de York, 1145; 5. Richard de Bayeux; 6. John de Cannosfield; 7. Walter de Millum, 26 Hen. II.; 8. Joslin de Pennington, 1181; 9. Conon de Baidoul.

The Chronicle of Melros records, on the Feast of S. Lucy 1211, the consecration there of three Abbots, those of Fountain, Calder, and Furness, by R. Dunensi Episcopo; that is, Radulphus, to whom we have already referred.

Roger Pyle, with twenty-nine monks, surrendered the Abbey to Henry VIII., on the 9th April 1537, and received for pension the rectory of Dalton, value £33, 6s. 8d. The gross value of the monastery was £966, 7s. 10d., net £805, 16s. 8d. per annum. In the fifth year of James I. it was granted to the Earl of Salisbury and John Preston.

Out of this place the bishops of the Isle of Man were formerly wont to be chosen, this being the mother of many monasteries both in that island and Ireland. The filiations of Furness were Caldre; Swyneshead; Fermoy, or de Castro Dei, in Ireland; Ynes in Dioc. Down; Holy Cross or Wethirlagaan in Dioc. Cashel; Wythney; Corkonrouth or De petra fertili; Russyn, in Man; and De Surio or Yneselughenught in Dioc. Lismore in Ireland.³

¹ Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum (Paris. 1624), pp. 1-85; Colgan, Trias. Thaumaturgus, p. 64.

² Scotichronicon, lib. vi. c. i. iii. vol. i. pp. 218, 219; ed. Goodal, c. xxv. p. 340.

³ Dugdale's Monast., vol. v. 245; ed. London, 1825; and see a few pages on, Appendix, n. 14, in ed. 1846.

NOTE C.

ALTHOUGH it was the fashion of the time, as in the case of Geoffrey of Monmouth, to profess to found upon earlier documents, there seems no reason to accuse Joceline of falsehood in this statement. When we know that some books written in Ireland in the ninth century actually exist now, having survived all the accidents consequent on the stormy history of that country, there is no impossibility that a sacred book should have been preserved from a time shortly subsequent to S. Kentigern till the days of Bishop Joceline. Nor is it unreasonable that it should have been written in Irish "*stílo scotico*," for though the relations of the Strathclyde Britons with the inhabitants of the opposite coast were chiefly hostile, as we may gather from the records of many conflicts in the Annals of Ulster, yet the influence of the Irish Church was felt along the whole west of Scotland, and the language was probably intelligible to all. As to the other book mentioned, the faults criticised by Joceline point distinctly to that Life, of which the fragment preserved in the British Museum is now given in this volume. Perhaps Joceline himself, in commenting upon the birth of the subject of his memoir, has not entirely escaped the very faults which he attributes to the antecedent biographer. An additional presumption in favour of Joceline's veracity in this matter is, that he frankly confesses to having found no account of the translation of the saint's relics, nor of the miracles performed after his death.

NOTE D.

JOCELINE appears to have been very familiar with the *Magna Moralia* of S. Gregory the Great. In it we find a comment on the words "*Qui extendit Aquilonem super vacuum*."

"*Aquilonis nomine, in sacro eloquio appellari Diabolus solet, qui ut torporis frigore gentium corda constringeret, dixit: sedebo in monte testamenti, in lateribus Aquilonis. Qui super vacuum extenditur: quia illa corda possidet, quæ divini amoris gratia non replentur.*"¹

So also "*unde et sponsi voce in Canticorum Canticis dicitur, Surge Aquilo et veni Auster, perfla hortum meum et fluent aromata illius. Austro quippe veniente, Aquilo surgens recedit,*

¹ *Mag. Mor. lib. xvii. col. xxiv. Op. S. Greg. tom. i. p. 547; ed. Paris. 1705.*

cum adventu Spiritus Sancti expulsus antiquus hostis, qui in torpore mentem constrinxerat deserit."¹

NOTE E.

THE earlier Life dwells at greater length than Joceline's on the nature of S. Thenew's imperfect religion, and it is well to observe that the description carries evidence of a true condition of things. For one of the most remarkable results of the preaching of Christianity is the tendency which that preaching has to affect the surrounding heathenism without conquering it. It projects a sort of shadow of itself on that with which it comes into contact without absorbing it. By an opposite process from that so common when the victorious Christianity absorbs into itself and utilizes certain portions of the earlier religion, as illustrated by the cultus of stones and wells in the Celtic Church, here the tendency is to create a spurious imitation of itself without succeeding in conquest. Thus it is generally believed that the remarkable similarity between the rites of the Thibetan Buddhists and the ceremonies of the Western Church are due to the preaching of the Dominican and Franciscan missionaries, who in the time of Gengis Khan and his successors penetrated into these regions. The Bhagavad Gita, which is the great Shastra of the Bhukhtas or worshippers of Crishna, a religion which seems to have sprung up in the seventh century of our era, contains some verses which seem to have been suggested by the Gospel of S. John, while the description of the Sanyasi in the 5th Lectio is not unlike that of the true Christian in the Stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus:—"Qui in hac ipsâ vitâ perferre valet, ante liberationem a corpore, impetum e cupidine et iracundiâ ortum, is devotus, is vir beatus est. Qui intus delectatur, intus gaudet, quique perinde intus illuminatur etiam, is devotus ad extinctionem in munere, divinitatis particeps pervenit."²

Speaking of the struggle of the New-Zealanders against the foreign domination of the English, Mr. Trollope, a recent author on the subject, says—"Of this nature also was the determination to which various tribes now came, to throw aside Christianity, and to set up, not any old Maori worship, but a new religion in its place. This religion was called by its votaries the Pai Marire, and they who practise it are called Hau-Haus

¹ Mag. Mor. lib. ix. c. xvii. p. 266.

² Lect. v. 24, Schlegel's Edition, Bhagavad Gita, p. 148; Bonn, 1823.

—pronounced How-Hows—from the fact that a considerable portion of its ceremonies consist in the repeated and violent exclamations of that word in the hour of battle, and when fighting is imminent. It would be useless here to describe the childish mixture of Bible legends and horrible Maori practices, which constitute the forms of this faith.”¹

I am allowed to print the following interesting remarks from the pen of that distinguished prelate who has done so much for the Maories. Bishop Selwyn thus writes:—

“I have lived among races speaking many tongues, and in various stages of progress in religion and civilisation from zero upwards. But I never met with any race in which the same common features of character were not apparent.

“1. Readiness to abandon religion varying in proportion to the readiness to receive it.—S. Luke viii. 6.

“2. Fusion into one of the old religion and the new, as in the case of the Gnostics.

“3. Tendency to accept the form of religion without the spirit.

“4. Religion made to serve worldly ends and aims.

“(1.) The New-Zealanders willingly received the Gospel. They had no educated mythology, no sacred caste, no elaborate ritual, to retain them. They came by hundreds to be baptized; accepted all church order, as it was offered to them. A few, especially the native clergy, were found faithful. The zeal of the many grew cool; daily services dwindled away. The number of communicants fell off. Upon the back of lukewarmness came positive stumbling-blocks, and then the religion of the many passed into the second stage.

“(2.) Retaining some of the forms and a little of the spirit of the true religion, they mixed up with it scraps of many—

“*Particulam unidique disectam,*

but chiefly—

“*Insani leonis vim.*

“The Pai-Marire religion adopted during the war contained songs from their old heathenism, bits of Romish and Wesleyan forms, words of command from army and navy, assumption of the power to work miracles, charms, sometimes made more powerful by pilgrimage to sacred places, self-sacrifice, bloody sacrifice, prophecy, invulnerability, all mixed up in a kind of witches’ caldron.

¹ Australia and New Zealand, by Anthony Trollope (London, 1873), vol. ii. p. 413.

"(3.) The most frequent, because the simplest form, was the ceasing to work on the 'Sabbath' day. I have seen an old man whose whole religion seemed to be laying up his firewood on the Saturday. To sleep all Sunday was the religion of many.

"(4.) The Pai-Marire religion was a politic attempt to unite Church of England, Roman, and Wesleyan converts with the small remnant of heathenism, in one compact body, in opposition to the English government.

"I could work out this subject by any number of examples, but we have only to look at home, and I think we shall see that New Zealand, Melanesia, and Cambria, differ nothing in these respects from Great Britain and Ireland in the nineteenth century."

The following interesting account of the Rebellion in China may be read as confirmatory of these remarks:—

"They see it, as it were, through distinct mediums, which gives to the representations of each quite a different colouring. The principal features are often retained in both; but so altered are they under the artist's style, that, as described by one, it appears like a pleasing landscape lit up by sunny tints, across which a shadow is certainly thrown here and there, but so thrown as to give greater prominence to the brighter portions of the picture; whilst, as depicted by the other class, 'shadows, clouds, and darkness,' rest upon it; the houses are roofless, the streets deserted, the untilled land produces only briars and thorns; the dead lie unburied in the foreground; the human figures are an armed banditti dragging after them their dishonoured female captives; and the only light thrown upon the scene is from the glare of villages burning in the distance. Both, no doubt, describe the movement as it appears to them; the one regarding it with the cool, calculating eyes of worldly wisdom; the other with all the fiery and enthusiastic zeal of fanaticism.

"The missionaries, naturally and necessarily anxious for proselytism, are only too prone to recognise as true believers all who in any shape profess to worship the Saviour; and, after years of unceasing toil and labour, crowned with but little, if any, success, their rapture knows no bounds when a host of people start up in the field of their pilgrimage, breaking down the carved images, against the worship of which they had long been preaching, and declaring themselves converts to the religion of the Gospel.

"It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that in their joy at so much apparent spiritual good, they should lose sight of

the great evils attendant thereon. If such should be alluded to before them, they at once remind you of the burnings, crucifixions, and horrible tortures which have always accompanied the introduction of any new creed into countries as uncivilized as China is at present, where the character of the people is as barbarous, and their ideas of right and wrong as confused and ill-defined as those of the English in the tenth century.

"The style in which edicts are worded would be blasphemous in the extreme, if it were not so essentially ludicrous. They commenced by invoking the name of God the Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Tien-wan, Christ's uterine younger brother and junior lord; this last being the above-mentioned son of the great impostor. They all assert that as Jesus Christ came into the world to save mankind, so has Tien-wan, Christ's uterine younger brother, come down by God's command to establish His kingdom upon earth.

"The Trinity, as believed in by us, is not conceived by them. The same man who will repeat to you a doxology most glibly, in which the three persons only are glorified, will, if you question him, declare that Christ and Tien-wan, being uterine brothers, are equal. They tell you that as all the earthly kings are equal one with another, so is Christ and Tien-wan. They have abolished the worship of ancestors; but their respect for age, and the superiority in dignity to which a father must ever be entitled over his son, induces them to give a higher precedence to God the Son. It is unnatural, say they, that a son should be equal to his father. I know this is a point upon which a whole host of missionaries will contradict me, urging, in strong denial of it, the doxologies which they are ever bandying about."¹

NOTE F.

THE whole of Joceline's narrative here is directed at undoing the weird legend in the earlier life, which gives the unedifying account of the conception of Kentigern, and yet it would almost seem that the British mind seemed to take delight in the contemplation of such a birth as this. When Vortigern retired to the mountain of Erir or Heremus to build a tower to secure him against the barbarians, the materials vanished, and on inquiring of his wise men, he was told to find a child born without a father, whose blood was to be sprinkled on the

¹ Narrative of the War with China in 1860, by Lieut.-Col. C. G. Wolsley; London, 1862, pp. 332-341.

ground. A boy being found, his mother said, "In what manner he was conceived, I know not, for I never had intercourse with any man." Then follows the strange disputation between the boy and the wise man, concluding by his declaring himself Ambrose,¹ the son of a Roman Count.² It cannot be doubted that the allusion in the text to "poetic songs" and "histories not canonical," refers to Geoffrey of Monmouth's tale of the conception of Arthur, which was brought about by the enchantments of Merlin, Uther the Pendragon being transformed into the likeness of Gorlois, the husband of Igera.³

But even the legend of the earlier life has authority elsewhere. In the life of S. Dewi, "*Rex ceretice regionis Deme-ciam que nunc Northwallia dicitur pergens, invenit sanctimon-ialem sibi obviam nomine Nonnitam virginem pulchram nimis. Quam concupiscens et vim inferens oppressit. Que filium concepit et nec ante nec post virum agnovit: sed in castitate mentis et corporis perseverans felicem vitam duxit.*"⁴ Darker shades of guilt are sometimes connected with the birth of saints, as in the case of S. Cuimmin Foda.⁵ It may be that these facts have prominence given to them to illustrate the power of Divine grace, and the general law of Providence which brings good out of evil.

NOTE G.

SIR JAMES YOUNG SIMPSON alludes to this passage in his work on this subject.⁶ He mentions that Mandragora was extensively used by Hugo of Lucca in the twelfth century, and the preparation employed by him, under the name of Spongia Somnifera, is described to us by his son and successor, Theodorice, who died in 1278. In his *Chirurgial*, which he published on entering the Church, and in which he made known most of the chemical preparations and rules of surgery which had been followed but kept secret by Hugo, we find that this sponge was prepared according to a prescription there given by him.⁷

NOTE H.

THE superstition here reprehended by Joceline finds its

¹ In British, Embres Guledig.

² Nennius, Hist. Brit. § 42; Geoff. Mon. l. vi. c. 17.

³ The British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Book viii. ch. 19, p. 169; London, 1842.

⁴ Capgrave, Nova Legenda, fol. lxxxiii.

⁵ Mart. Donegal, p. 305.

⁶ Anæsthesia, Hospitalism, and Hermaphroditism; Edin. 1871, p. 11.

⁷ P. 5.

parallel in heathen times. Döllinger, quoting Servius ad *Æn.* iii. iii., and speaking of Corybas, whom he identifies with the mystery-God Atys or Zagreus, says, "In the Greek myth he is the son of Cybele, i.e., Demeter and Jasion, or, according to another account, of Persephone, who bore him without a father; that is, his paternity was a secret, in the same way as Zagreus is sometimes reckoned the son of Demeter, sometimes the child of her daughter."¹

NOTE I.

JOCELINE says that among the ancient Saxons, even till modern times, the law remained that every virgin of her own will deflowered in her father's house was without any remission to be buried alive, and her lover hanged over her sepulchre.

No trace of this excessive severity is to be found in the Saxon codes that have come down to us. In the laws of *Æthelbirht* such sins are visited by a pecuniary mulct."² It is the same in that of *Alfred*.³

Neither is there anything like this in the Laws of *Howel Dda*, among the Welsh, but we find in the letters of *S. Boniface* the following passage:—

"*Nam in antiquâ Saxoniâ, si Virgo paternam domum cum adulterio⁴ maculaverit, vel si mulier maritata, perduto fœdere matrimonii adulterium perpetraverit, aliquando cogunt eam propria manu per laqueum suspensam vitam finire, et super bustum illius incesse⁵ et concrematae corruptorem ejus suspendunt: aliquando congregato exercitu fœmineo, flagellatam eam mulieres per pagos circumquaque ducunt, virgis cædentes et vestimenta ei abscondentes juxta cingulum, et cultellis suis totum corpus ejus secantes et pungentes, minutis vulneribus cruentatam et laceratam de villa ad villam mittunt, et occurrunt semper novæ flagellatrices, zelo pudicitiae adductæ, usque dum eam aut mortuam aut vix vivam derelinquunt, ut cæteræ timorem adulterandi et luxuriandi habeant.*"⁶

Other punishments were, however, laid on women: *Du*

¹ *The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ*, vol. i. p. 162; London, 1862.

² *Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institute of England*, vol. i. pp. 7, 25.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-73.

⁴ *Adulterio, stupro, fornicatione.*

⁵ *Incesse, other reading incensæ.*

⁶ *S. Bonifacius, Epistola ad Ethibaldum, Regem Merciorum, Epist. lxxii.* in edit. Wurdwein, Mogontiaci 1789, p. 192, quæ est *Epist. xix.* in ed. Serariana. I owe this reference to the Rev. W. E. Buckley.

Cange says, in reference to *Lapides Catenatos*, "*Joann Stiernhookers de jure Sueonum, Ignominiosa lapidum illa civitatis gestatio in confusionem flagitiosi concubitûs locus celebrata, quæ etiamnum extat.*" See also under the words *Mantol* and *Sten*, what is said in *Thre, Lexicon Sueco-Gothicum*, vol. ii. pp. 125, 765.

NOTE K.

THE author exhibits a deplorable picture of the morals both of the clergy and laity, "*Ecce omnis sexus, omnisque conditio, in omne volutabrum carnalis colluvionis . . . immergitur.*"

Gieseler,¹ speaking of the period between 1073 and 1305, says, "An effort was made at the end of the eleventh century to restore in the religious foundations the canonical mode of life, even in conformity with one of the stricter rules, the so-called *regula S. Augustini*, but the new regulations were soon relaxed. The celibacy of the clergy, which was now constituted as an ecclesiastical ordinance of more general application than before, could not be fully established until the thirteenth century. But it introduced in its train a greater increase of the most shameful licentiousness, from the readiness of the bishops to overlook it. Besides that unchastity which already made many thoughtful minds mistrustful of celibacy, utter worldliness, and love of pleasures, avarice, and simony were the principal faults for which the clergy at this time were commonly rebuked with solemn earnestness, and upbraided with biting satire."

NOTE L.

THE allusion here is to Job xli. 1-34, and also to Job xii. 12, Ps. lxxiv. 14, and to Isaiah li. 9, 10. The Leviathan or Dragon in Holy Scripture is taken allegorically to mean the devil, and the series of questions in the first citation are answered in the affirmative by reference to the Incarnation. The first allusion to this is in Origen, where we find the germ of so many mystical interpretations, which in after ages became popular.² S. Augustine³ and S. Jerome⁴ also use it, but Joceline was probably indebted to the *Magna Moralia* of Pope S. Gregory the Great, who

¹ H. E., vol. iii. p. 203; Edin. 1853.

² *De Princip.*, i. 6.

³ In Ps. ciii., *serm.* iv. 6, *tom.* iv. p. 878; ed. Antw. 1700.

⁴ In *Ezechiel cxxix.*, *tom.* v. p. 412; Francof. 1534.

in that commentary on the book of Job goes into the most minute details of allegorical interpretation,¹ such as that which immediately follows in the text "*bestia montem tangit.*" S. Gregory says, "*Bestia montem tangit, cum mens irrationalibus desideriis subdita, ad contemplationes altas se erigit, sed lapidibus percutitur, quia summa non sustinens, ipsis superni ponderis ictibus necatur.*"²

NOTE M.

THIS is now called Traprain Law, and forms a part of the Lammermuirs, in the county of Haddington. North Berwick Law and Traprain Law are conspicuous objects in the topography of the district. They are seven miles distant from each other, and rise singly in the open plain—the former a beautifully-shaped conical hill—to the height of 800 feet, the other to 700 feet above the level of the sea.³ It is situated toward the southern boundary of the parish of Prestonkirk. The extent of this hill is about forty Scotch acres, and it affords excellent pasturage for sheep, but is too steep and precipitous for cattle. On the south side it is nearly perpendicular. It is entirely formed of clinkstone. Its structure is slaty, with seams running across the slates dividing it into imperfect columns. The colour is generally a light mottled brown, sometimes porphyritic. At one part of Traprain Law it has a bluish-grey tint, greatly resembling greenstone.⁴ The only considerable hill in the parish is Traprain Law, formerly called Dun-pelder.⁵

The older Life calls the place Kepduff.

NOTE N.

RICHARD, Archbishop of Canterbury, *temp.* Henry II., in a circular letter in which he inveighs against the avarice of some of the Cistercians in the matter of grasping at tithes, says, "It is the voice of all men that the professors of the Cistercian Order keep the footsteps of apostolic religion, in moderation of food and raiment, in watching, in confession, in discipline, in psal-

¹ S. Greg. Opera, tom. i. p. 1075-1142; ed. Paris. 1705.

² Lib. vi. c. 58, S. Greg. Mag. Mor., tom. i. p. 209.

³ N. S. A., Haddington, p. 358.

⁴ N. S. A., do., pp. 18, 19.

⁵ Two Gaelic words signifying "steep hill." O. S. A., vol. xi. p. 84.

mody, in humility, in hospitality, in obedience, and in all other points of law.”¹ One development of the order was a very great increase in the cultus of the Blessed Virgin. The order was “inter religionis cæteras gloriosæ Virginis singularitate devotionis ad scripta ex institutione primaria.”² All the churches of the Cistercians are dedicated to her.

In this they followed their great ornament, S. Bernard. “Totis ergo medullis cordium, totis præcordiorum affectibus, et votis omnibus Mariam hanc veneremur, quia sic est voluntas Ejus, Qui totum nos habere voluit per Mariam. Ad Patrem verebaris accedere, solo auditu territus, ad folia fugiebas, Jesu tibi dedit mediatorem, sed forsitan et in ipso majestatem vereare divinam, qui licet factus sit homo manserit tamen Deus. Advocatum habere vis et ad Ipsum? Ad Mariam recurre. Pura siquidem humanitas in Maria, non modo pura ab omni contaminatione sed et pura singularitate naturæ.”³

Dante, at the end of the *Paradiso*, introduces S. Bernard telling him that if he would obtain power to descry what remained of the heavenly vision, he must unite with him in supplication to Mary, and then follows the celebrated apostrophe,⁴

“Vergine Madre figlia del tuo figlio.”

Chaucer has imitated this, and in the stanza preceding alludes to his special devotion of the saint:—

“And thou art flower of virgins all
Of whom that Bernard list so well to write.”

NOTE O.

THE narrative of the second life loses much of the picturesqueness of the earlier one in the details of the exposure of S. Theneu to the waves. There is no mention of Aberlessic, the “ostium fetoris,” or of the Isle of May, or the termination of her voyage. Neither are the two incidental circumstances mentioned, which are noticeable. The fact that fishermen from all coasts, Angles, Scots, Belgians, and French, used to resort to the Isle of May in pursuit of their trade, which is an early

¹ Petrus Blesensis, Ep. 82.

² See Gieseler, vol. iii. p. 340, where he quotes *Prestigium Gregorii ix.*, in *Manrique Annal. Ord. Cisterc.*, i. 10, 17.

³ Serm. in Nativ. B. Mariæ de Aqueductu.

⁴ *Paradiso*, canto xxxii. l. 132.

notice of the trade, is not recorded, and the fact of the enormous quantity of dead and dying fish tainting the air at Aberlessic, which finds its parallel at this day in the western world. The following quotations are much to the point:—

“On the 17th September I returned again to Colvilla. The Indian village is situated about two miles below the fort, on a rocky eminence overlooking the Kettle Falls. These are the highest in the Columbia river. They are about 1000 yards across, and 18 feet high. . . . The salmon commence their ascent about the 15th of July [1847], and continue to arrive in almost incredible numbers for nearly two months; in fact there is one continuous body of them, more resembling a flight of birds than anything else in their extraordinary leap up the falls, beginning at sunrise and ceasing at the approach of night. The chief told me that he had taken as many as 1700 salmon, weighing on an average 30 lbs. each, in the course of one day. . . . None of these salmon coming up from the sea” [a distance of between 700 and 800 miles] “ever return, but remain in the river and die by thousands; in fact, in such numbers that in our passage down the river in the fall, whenever we came to still water, we found them floating dead or cast up along the shore in such vast numbers as literally to poison the atmosphere.”¹

“The Salmon River is one of the upper branches of the Oregon or Columbia, and takes its rise from various sources. . . . It owes its name to the immense shoals of salmon which ascend it in the months of September and October. . . . As the season advances and the water becomes chilled, they are flung in myriads on the shores, where the wolves and bears assemble to banquet on them.

“Often they rot in such quantities along the river banks as to taint the atmosphere.”²

NOTE P.

For an account of Culross see *Old Statistical Account*, vol. x. p. 131, vol. xviii. App. p. 649, where it is mentioned that, “in honour of S. Serf, there was an annual procession on his day, being the 1st July, early on the morning of which all the

¹ *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America*, by Paul Kane. London: Longman, Brown, and Co., pp. 308 and 311-313.

² *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West*, by Washington Irving. Author's Revised Edition. Bohn, London, 1850. Chapter viii. p. 49.

inhabitants, men and women, young and old, assembled and carried green branches through the town, decking the public places with flowers, and spent the rest of the day in festivity. The procession is still continued, though the day is changed from the Saint's day to the present King's birthday." See also *New Statistical Account, Perthshire*, pp. 597-607.

I am indebted to the Rev. William Bruce of Dunimarle for the following interesting account of the honour paid to S. Serf at Culross till very recent times:—

"The information respecting the observance of our patron saint's festival which I have been able to pick up may be summed up in a few words.

"From time immemorial the 1st of July was wont to be kept as a holiday here. Soon after daybreak all the younger male inhabitants of the little burgh, and such of the older ones as had a mind for a ploy, repaired to the neighbouring plantations and cut a quantity of boughs of birch and plane tree. These were brought to Culross and distributed to all of the community who were disposed to take part in a procession which started at midday from the Abbey Lodge, and perambulated the streets of the town. When this procession came to the open green in front of the Town House, they walked several times round the 'Tron'—the pedestal of which still remains. They then proceeded to the Town Cross, where the same circuitous perambulation was repeated, and those forming the procession disbanded themselves; the rest of the day being spent in mirth and jollity.

"One informant—the Rev. Wm. Stephen, our local antiquary—traces in this manner of celebrating the festival a reference to the famous episode of Birnam Wood, in the victory over Macbeth by M'Duff, Thane of Fife, whose castle crowned the eminence now occupied by the house of Dunimarle, adjoining which masses of stone and run lime still indicate the foundations of a very old building.

"The old Town Cross was wont on this occasion to be decorated with evergreens, ribbons, etc., a usage still kept up on the 24th of June (to which, as I shall mention, the observance of the day was afterwards transferred); and the upper part of the Cross was surrounded by a frame of hard wood, now in the possession of Mr. John Harrower, joiner, whose ancestors have for many generations lived at Culross; the said frame being made the foundation of a garland of flowers. But this part of the decorations is now discontinued.

"After the accession of King George III., his birthday began to be observed on the 24th of June,—the neighbouring lairds of

Valleyfield, Torrie, and Balgownie, and the whole population of the district generally, being strong Hanoverians; but as their loyalty was too apt to exceed the bounds of sober temperance, and the two days of public rejoicing coming so near were found to have rather an unsettling effect upon the community, the magistrates decreed that one day was to serve for both; and so, long ago,—but how long ago I cannot precisely ascertain,—the procession of bough-bearers was transferred to the royal birthday, the 1st of July being thrown out altogether.

“Persons of middle age remember having taken part in ‘beating the bounds’ (which use the procession also served) in their boyhood. But now the only vestige of the old observance is the ‘busking’ of the Cross on the 24th of June. This I am very anxious to get transferred again to its original day; and as the memory of S. Serf is still green here, perhaps it may be managed.”

NOTE Q.

THERE is a Life of S. Servanus, whose day in all the Kalendars is the 1st of July, in Archbishop Marsh’s Library in Dublin. It is numbered v. 3. 4. 16, and has been printed by Mr. Skene in his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, at p. 412. The curious scene of his temptation by the devil in the cave at Dysart (now the wine-cellar of the Earl of Rosslyn), has been versified by Wynton, the Prior of Lochleven.¹ It is probable that the Life of S. Servanus preserved in Dublin is the same that, according to the inventory of the possessions of the church of Glasgow, was chained to the stall of the Precentor.²

NOTE R.

JOCELINE gives two etymologies of the name. He says first that it means “capitalis dominus” (ch. iv.), and then that it comes from “Kyen albanice caput” and “tigern, dominus.” The first is the meaning in Welsh, and the second in Gaelic. The Welsh form, Cynderyn, is from Cyn, chief or principal, that is, “capitalis,” and Teyrn, in composition Deyrn, dominus. The Gaelic form is Ceanntighern, from Ceann, a head, “caput,” and Tighearn, lord.³

The name of the mother of S. Kentigern is spelt and pronounced differently. Joceline calls her Taneu, the elder Life

¹ The *Cronykil of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 41; ed. Laing, Edin. 1872.

² *Regia. Epis. Glas.*

³ Information from W. F. Skene, Esq., LL.D.

Thaney. In the Welsh *Bonedd y Saint* she is *Dwynwen* or *Denyw*. In the *Kalendar* of the *Breviary* of *Aberdeen* she is *Thenevve*; and in *Camerarius*, *Thametis* or *Thennat*; in *Adam King*, *Thennow*; in *Conæus*, *Thames*. *Bower* has *Thanes*; *Ussher* has *Thenis* or *Thenna* or *Themi*; *Stewart's Metrical Chronicle* of *Scotland*, *Cemeda*, probably a misprint of *Temeda*.

NOTE S.

THIS is a Welsh word. *Joceline* translates it "*carus amicus*." It comes from *Mwyn*, mild, amiable, gentle; and *Cu*, in composition *Gu*, dear. This is the same termination as in *Glesgu*, or, as in the *British Museum ms.*, *Deschu*, which the same author gives as the old name of *Glasgow*, and by him translated into "*cara familia*."¹

The name *Mungo* still exists as a surname in *Scotland*. It frequently occurs in the *Retours*, where it is Latinized into *Quintigernus*. The older name is found in the thirteenth century. In a description of the lands of *Stobo*,² among the witnesses we find *Matheus, Jacobus et Johannes, filii Cosmungho, sacerdotis, apud Edolveston*. In the same document we find a *Cos-patricius* and a *Cosouold*. A variation of the same is found in the same document under the form of "*Queschutbrit*." *Mr. Skene* thinks that the prefix "*cos*" is the same as the Welsh "*gwas*," a servant, and is equivalent to the "*gille*" of the *Scotch*, and "*cele*" of the *Irish*.

NOTE T.

It is remarkable to see how the love of the lower creation exhibits itself in all creeds and conditions of life. We have to compare the beautiful lines of *Catullus*,

"*Passer deliciæ meæ puellæ,*"

with the account in the text, and a candid mind will allow that the graceful description of the *Cistercian* of *Furness* holds its own beside that of the most tender of all the *Latin poets*. Indeed, the gentle spirit evoked by *Christianity* wells over beyond humanity to love all the creatures of the good *God*. Notably is this found in the life of *S. Francis of Assisi*. It is quite possible that the *Vituli Marini*, which *Erc*, the chief of the tribe *Mocu-druidi*, stole from *S. Columba*, were pets, for it is hardly to be believed that the community lived on such stimu-

¹ Information from *W. F. Skene, Esq., LL.D.*

² *Regis. Epis. Glas.*, p. 89.

lating food as the seal.¹ In any case, we have the pretty stories of the little bird that was seized by the kite, healed and restored to its nest by the prayers of S. Kieran,² and of that restored to life by S. Cuthbert.³ S. Colman used to be awakened by a mouse, and the line where he left off reading was noted by a fly.⁴

NOTE U.

THE reader will at once call to mind the remarkable passage in Bæda⁵ where the dream of S. Fursey is given, and also that of the Hermit Drithelm.⁶ Fursey's life is given by Colgan;⁷ his burial and subsequent miracles are told of by Mabillon.⁸ It is in the Acta SS. Jan.

NOTE X.

JOCKLINE has here fallen into a curious error with regard to Mallena and Lidon. He supposes them to be two rivers, whereas Lido is "maris æstuario" and "æstus maris." Bæda says "*Æstus crescentes malinas, decrescentes autem placuit appellare ledones.*" Du Cange (ad verb.) says, "*Est igitur Ledo seu Ledona, æstus maris languidior, qui per quatuor pene dies, tam ante, quam post secundam atque ultimam Lunæ quadraturam, mense unoquoque accedit, cum certis diebus languidius et minore aquarum cumulo terræ oras adlambit, malinæ contrarius, quæ fit cum effusius et majori æstuum quantitate in littus proruit et effunditur.*" Yet although he has made this mistake in his terminology, it is quite clear that he really meant two rivers, and these rivers must be the Forth and the Teith.

NOTE Y.

It is difficult to assign the exact spot of the "Pons Servani." The Life of S. Servanus gives the following localities in the neighbourhood of the Forth,—Culenros, Tuligbotuan (Tullibody), Tuligcultrin (Tullycultrie), Alveth (Alva), Atheren (Airthrey); but the fact that on crossing, the Saint came at once to Cernach or Carnock would indicate that the Pons Servani was near to Alloa. We know that the church of Alloa was dedicated to S. Kentigern; at the same time the river at Alloa is very broad, and there is no tradition in the country of any bridge below Stirling.

¹ Reeves's Adamnan, p. 77.

² *Ibid.* 679. 4.

³ H. E., iii. 19.

⁷ Act. SS. Hib., 75-98.

⁵ Act. SS. Hib., 458. 3.

⁴ Colgan, Act. SS. Hib., p. 244.

⁶ *Ibid.* v. 12.

⁸ Annales Bened. t. i. p. 410, lib. xiv. 1.

NOTE Z.

THIS name is probably Fergus.

The miracle of the oxen carrying the dead body to its appointed place of sepulture, is repeated in the case of S. Fursey,¹ S. Florentinus, S. Tressanus, S. Joava, S. Fachult, also in the case of S. Patrick.²

In the case of S. Gall it was unbridled horses.³ When S. Abbanus died, there was a great faction fight for his body, which was appeased by two oxen with a wain, which led away the body to the north, and two similar oxen led away the body to the south, and then the oxen disappeared in the water at a place called Ath dain Chedt, the fords of the oxen, who hid themselves.⁴

NOTE AA.

KERNACH is certainly Carnock. It is not the parish of that name in Fifeshire, though in the immediate vicinity of Culros, but it is Carnock in the parish of S. Ninians. "When the carses were a morass, the narrow space between them and the Lennox hills afforded the chief if not the only line of communication between the northern and southern parts of the island, nearly cut asunder by the Firths of Clyde and Forth. Nor is it till you reach this parish that there are any fords at which men or horses can pass the Forth, and even now there are no bridges lower down than Stirling."⁵

NOTE BB.

For a detailed account of the Strathclyde Britons, see Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 235-249. See also Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. iii. p. 3; Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. lxxix.-xciii., 15, 124, 407, xcv. 15; Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. pp. 58, 165, 179, 182, 242.

In order to understand the political situation in the time of S. Kentigern, it is necessary to bear in mind that, from and after the middle of the sixth century, Maelgwyn Gwynedd was reigning over the whole Cymmraeg tongue and nation, both titularly and with rather more of authority than most of his race were able to exercise. He was engaged in disputes, of which the nature is obscure and mysterious, with the men of

¹ Colgan, *Act. SS. Hib.*, 85, xi. 157, xv. 273, xv. 442, xiv. 706, x.

² *Ibid.* 624. 47.

³ *Ibid.* 383, 384.

⁴ *Ibid.* 620, xlv. xlvii.

⁵ *New Statistical Account, Stirlingshire*, p. 318.

the great northern forests. These debates, which ended in the war of Ardderyd, were more immediately carried on by Rederech Hael, son of Tudwal, son of Cedig, son of Dyvnwal, lord of Alclyde and prince of the Strathclyde Britons. The people who opposed him were under the rule of a certain Gwenddoleu of Cediaw, a Cymry by name, and himself a bard, of whose poetry a minute fragment survives. The principal bard was Myrddyn, son of Morvryn, commonly called Merlin Caledonicus, though some people said he was a native of Demetia; but this was merely a confusion between him and Merlin Ambrose, who was born at Caermarthen—a mistake probably originating with Geoffrey of Monmouth.¹

Maelgwyn appears to have been one of those tyrants who so frequently reproduce themselves in the history of Wales, combining the licence of the tyrant and sensualist with the devotion of the earnest Christian. The document published in the Preface of the present volume from the *Archæologia Cambrensis* exhibits both aspects of his character. On the one side, Maelgwyn founded the see of Bangor and the religious houses of Penmon and Caergybi. He built a church also at Llanrhos, which he dedicated to S. Hilary.² On the other hand, he is the object of the fierce invective of Gildas, as Maglocunus the “*insularis Draco*,” and several of the events of his life are held up to reprobation: his depriving many petty kings of their kingdoms and their lives; his oppressing the king, his uncle; his temporary dedication of himself as a monk; his sad relapse; his incestuous connexion with his nephew’s wife; his murder of that nephew and of his first wife; his public marriage with the widow of the slaughtered man.³ Geoffrey of Monmouth describes Malgo as one of the handsomest men in Britain, a great scourge of tyrants, a man of great strength, extraordinary munificence, and matchless valour, but addicted to detestable vice, by which he made himself abominable to God. He was said to reign over the whole island, and to have annexed Ireland, Iceland, Gothland, the Orkneys, Norway, and Dacia.⁴ He occurs in Taliessin in the poem relating to the battle of Ardderyd.⁵

I am permitted by Mr. Skene to enrich this work with the following

“NOTES ON CUMBRIA.

“The terms Cumbria and Cumbri are not applied to any part

¹ *Vide* Iriah Nennius, pp. xxxiii.-xxxvi.

² Thomas, *Hist. of Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 4.

³ Gildas, *Epistol.* 33-36.

⁴ *Geoff. Mon.*, xi. c. 7.

⁵ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 368.

of the territories and people of Britain by any writer prior to the eleventh century.

"To Bede these terms were quite unknown. He terms the people Britones generally, and on two occasions, where he obviously alludes to this part of Britain—one where he mentions their recovering their liberty after the defeat and death of Ecgfrid, king of Northumbria, in 685; the other, where he notices their adoption of the Roman Easter—he calls them simply 'Nonnulla pars Britonum.'

"Gildas, who was a native of this district, knows nothing of these terms. To Nennius they were equally unknown, though he refers to their kings by name. Adamnan calls Rhydderch Hael a king 'qui in Petra Cloithe regnavit,' but knows nothing of Cumbri or Cumbria. The Irish Annals term the kings who reigned during the whole of the eighth century simply 'Reges Aloclunathe,' but have no term to express the district they reigned over.

"The extent of their kingdom may be gathered, however, from the Life of St. Kentigern, with whose *parochia* it was co-extensive. Jocelyn states that, like Severus's wall, it extended from sea to sea.¹ The wall meant is the northern wall, and it thus included Stirlingshire, and possibly Linlithgowshire. It contained Glasgow, Lothwerwerd or Borthwick, and Hoddelme, that is, Lanarkshire, Peeblesshire, and Dumfriesshire. It also apparently included Carlisle, but Galloway was excluded. See c. xxxiv., where it is clearly stated to be beyond his diocese. Jocelyn does not give the southern limit, but it may be fixed at the river Derwent:—

"1st. Because the dedications to St. Kentigern extend to the Derwent, but there are none beyond it.

"2d. Because the districts south of the Derwent were considered as belonging to North Wales. There is a Welsh document termed 'the Principal Territories of Britain,' which states that Gwynedd, or North Wales, extended from 'Cantred Orddwyv to Menai, including also Aerven and Teyrnllwg;' and again, that Teyrnllwg extended 'from Aerven to Argoed Derwenydd.' Aerven was an old name of the river Dee, and Derwenydd is Derwent, and the district between them, called Teyrnllwg, was thus considered as belonging to Wales. Jocelyn is quite consistent with this, for when Kentigern leaves Carlisle he goes to Wallia, and when recalled from Llanelwy by Rhydderch, he is said to return from Wallia.²

"3d. Palgrave very truly remarks, that 'ecclesiastical divi-

¹ C. xi.

² C. xxiii.

sions furnish the surest clue to ancient geography,' and we find that the districts between the Dee and the Derwent belonged to the ancient diocese of Chester, the Derwent being its northern boundary.

The whole of this region, extending from the Derwent to the Clyde, was under the dominion of the Angles of Northumbria during the reign of King Ecgfrid, and probably that of his predecessor, King Oswy; and it is during this period that Cunningham is said to have been a district of Northumbria, and that Ecgfrid gave Carlisle and the circumjacent territory to S. Cuthbert. By the defeat and death of Ecgfrid in 685, 'nonnulla pars Britonum' recovered its liberty, but Galloway remained Anglic, as an Anglic bishopric was founded at Candida Casa shortly before 731. This almost implies that the district south of the Solway also remained Anglic, as without it access to Galloway from Northumbria would have been impossible. In 750, Kyle and the adjacent districts, that is, Ayrshire, was added to the Anglic territories, and in 756 Eadbert, king of Northumbria, and Angus, king of the Picts, take Alclyde, and the Britons surrender, and in 780 Alclyde is burnt.

"In the next century a territorial name is for the first time applied to these Britons. They are now called 'Britons of Strathclyde, or Strathclyde Welsh.' In 872 we have in the Irish Annals 'Artgha rex Britannorum Strathacluidhe concilio Constantini filii Cindedo occisus est;' and in 875 the Saxon Chronicle tells us that the Danes subdued the whole of Northumbria and ravaged the Picts (Peohtas) and the Strathclyde Welsh (Straecled Wealas). Asser, who wrote in the end of this century, in narrating the same event calls them 'Pictos et Strathduttenses' (the *d* being written for *cl*); but Ethelwerd, who wrote in the end of the following century, between 975 and 1011, and whose Chronicle is in the main a translation of the Saxon Chronicle into Latin, in his rendering of this passage translates these names by 'Pictis Cumbrisque.'

"This is the first appearance of the name of Cumbri, and it is obviously used to signify the same people who were previously called Britons of Strathclyde or Strathclyde Welsh.

"As to the extent of the kingdom in this century, it seems plain that the regions north of the Solway, including Strathclyde and the Picts of Galloway, were independent of the Angles and of each other; but it would appear from the notices from Simeon of Durham, quoted by Mr. Haddan (p. 819), that the Angles still maintained a hold upon Carlisle and the districts south of the Solway.

"In the following century we see the name of Strathclyde Welsh passing over into that of Cumbri. In 924 the Saxon

Chronicle, in enumerating the people who became subject to Edmund, the elder king of Wessex, names 'the king of Stræcelled Weala and all the Stræcelledwealan' or Strathclyde Welsh; but the author of the Life of S. Cadroë, writing of the same period, has no name for this kingdom except 'terra Cumbrorum.' The old edition of the *Annales Cambriæ*, compiled in 977, has, under the year 946, 'Stratclut vastata est a Saxonibus;' but the Saxon Chronicle, in narrating the same event under the year 945, has 'King Edmund harried all Cumbreland and gave it to Malcolm, king of Scots,' and Florence of Worcester has 'tota terra Cumbrorum.' The kings too, instead of being called 'kings of Alclyde,' are now called 'reges Britannorum,' 'Ri Breatan,' and 'Ri Breatan tuascert' (North Britons).

"It is plain, from the Life of S. Cadroë, and from the terms in which the cession to Malcolm is talked of by all writers, that the districts extending from the Clyde to the Derwent formed one kingdom, termed in Latin 'Terra Cumbrorum' and in Saxon 'Cumbreland.'

"In the next century we find Duncan, the father of Malcolm Canmore, termed 'Rex Cumbrorum,' and Malcolm himself 'Filius regis Cumbrorum,' and no doubt he retained what his father had ruled over. The Chronicle of Carlisle, however, tells us what the extent of this kingdom of Cumbria was. Under the year 1069, that is, in the early part of Malcolm's reign, 'Cumbria dicebatur, quantum modo est Episcopatus Karliolensis et Episcopatus Glasguensis, et Episcopatus Candidæ Casæ et insuper ab Episcopatu Karliolense usque ad flumen Dunda.' Galloway was thus now included in it, and the three bishoprics named comprehend the whole region between the Clyde and the Derwent. The additional territory added, extending from the Derwent to the Dunde or Duddon, was what was afterwards called the barony of Copeland, but it was not considered as included in the term Cumbria, as appears from the *Chronicon Cambriæ*, where King William is said to have given 'totam terram de comitatu Cambriæ Ranulpho de Meschines et Willelmo fratri eorum terram de Copland inter Duden et Darwent.'

"The statement that these grants were made by King William is of course erroneous, as they were actually made by Henry I.; but it shows the designation of the lands correctly enough; and the same Henry erected the bishopric of Carlisle 'in limbo Angliæ et Galwalliæ;' in 1132 'datis sibi ecclesiis de Cumberland et Westmariland' (John of Hexham).

"Simeon of Durham also states that in 1070 Cumberland was at this time 'under the dominion of Malcolm, not as a rightful possession but as subjugated by force.'

"In 1092, according to the Saxon Chronicle, William Rufus went north with a large army to Carlisle and wrested the district south of the Solway from Malcolm; and, according to the *Liber Feodorum*, it was bestowed by Henry I. upon Ranulph de Meschines.

"On the death of Edgar, king of Scotland, in 1106, Cumbria north of the Solway was bequeathed to David his younger brother, with the title of Comes. In the Inquisition made by him into the possessions of the see of Glasgow in 1116, David terms himself 'Princeps Cumbrensis regionis,' and the district under his rule as 'Cumbria regio inter Angliam et Scotiam sita.' He states, however, that he did not possess the whole of the 'regio Cumbrensis'—'non vero toti Cumbrensi regioni dominabatur.' The part he did not possess were the districts south of the Solway, as appears from the charter by him to Robert de Brus of the valley of the Annan, which is granted 'a divisā Dunegal de Stranit usque ad divisam Randulfi Meschines . . . cum omnibus illis consuetudinibus quas Randulfus Meschin unquam habuit in Carduill *et in terra sua de Cumberland.*'¹

"Galloway, however, was included in David's principality, as in the Chartulary of Kelso there is a grant to the monks of Selchirch of the tithe of his Can of Galloway.

"It is apparent from the above that the 'regio Cumbrensis' was still viewed as a whole, but that the name of Cumberland began now to be appropriated to the southern parts.

"Ailred, who wrote in the reign of Malcolm IV., terms it Cumbria, and the people Cumbri; and Jocelyn, whose *Life of S. Kentigern* was compiled about the same time, uses the terms 'Regio Cambrensis,' 'Regnum Cambrense,' and 'Cambria.'

"We find, however, that contemporary historians, such as Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham, begin now occasionally to distinguish between Cumbri and Streatgledwalli. Thus, in narrating the people who became subject to Edward the elder in 921, they have both Cumbri and Stretgledweali; when the older writers have only one.

"It is in fact at this period, when the districts south of the Solway had been dissevered from those north of it, that the distinction between an English Cumbria and a Scotch one began, and the name in the form of Cumberland began to be appropriated to the former.

"The claims of the Scotch to this Cumberland were finally abandoned by Malcolm IV., and in 1157 Cumberland and Westmoreland were annexed to the English crown, and in the suc-

¹ National Manuscripts, Part I., No. 19.

ceeding reign of William the Lion we find the name of Cumbria and Cumberland entirely transferred to the English portion, and the Scotch portion, including the whole of the districts extending from the Solway to the Clyde, now comprised under the name of Gallovidua, Galweya, or Galloway.¹

"The name of Galloway or Gallwallia appears also now for the first time in the contemporary historians. Thus Roger of Wendover has in 921, instead of the Cumbri or Stretchedweali becoming subject to Edward, Dux Galwalensium, and in 924 he has Cumbri, Galwalensii. In enumerating the eight kings who were said to be subject to Edgar in 973, he has 'Jacobus rex Galwallie and Iuchil rex Westmeriæ;' but Mr. Robertson has conclusively shown in his *Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 387, 388, that the titles given by Roger to these kings are entirely fictitious."

Mr. Skene finds in Arthuret the scene of the battle of Ardderyd. "The parish of Arthuret, in Eskdale Ward, did anciently enclose much of the northern part of this country before the parish of Kirkandrew was severed therefrom. It contains the barony of Lyddel, and consists of the following divisions:—Esk, Arthuret, Stobhill, Carwinlaw, Speerdykes, Rendlinton, Eston, North Eston, Brackerhill, Nichol Forest, and the English part of the debateable lands."²

NOTE CC.

Two irregularities are here mentioned as having occurred at S. Mungo's ordination: 1st, Consecration by a single bishop; and 2d, The custom of only anointing the head of the elect with chrism, with invocation of the Holy Spirit, benediction, and the laying on of hands. Mr. Haddan, commenting on this passage, says, "The custom intended is probably that relating to unction only, but the single bishop at consecration is recognised as well, and such is the practice recorded in the legendary lives of Dubricius, Teilo, etc." It was the practice of the later Irish also.³

Ordination by one bishop has always been held to be valid, but irregular. While the early Councils require the assistance of all the bishops of the eparchy or province who might con-

¹ See *Int. to Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. 80 and 87, n.

² *Hutchinson's History of the County of Cumberland*, vol. ii. p. 528; *Cartulae*, 1794.

³ *Lanfranc, Epist. ad Terdelvac*, A.D. 1074, and *Anselm, Epist. ad Muriardach*, c. A.D. 1100, in *Ussher, Syllog. Epist. Hibern.*, cit. *Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, and Eccl. Documents*, vol. i. p. 155.

veniently be present, it soon came to be the practice that three at least should take part in the ceremony,¹ the metropolitan and the rest signifying their consent by writing. The rule, however, was not absolute. Sometimes in addition to these bishops the presence of the metropolitan was necessary; at other times two bishops were regarded as sufficient.² Ordinations by one bishop were regarded as irregular in the fifth century, but not disputed. Pope Pelagius was ordained by two bishops and one presbyter; Dioscorus of Alexandria by two bishops, and they under ecclesiastical censure. Ordination by one bishop was quite common among the Scotti. In Bæda we see symptoms of a tendency to undervalue or cast doubt upon the Scotch consecrations.

Thus Theodore upbraided Bishop Chad that he had not been duly consecrated. He, with great humility, answered:—"If you know that I have not duly received episcopal ordination, I willingly resign my office, for I never thought myself worthy of it; but, though unworthy, in obedience submitted to undertake it." Theodore, hearing his humble answer, said he should not resign his bishopric, and he himself completed the ordination after the Catholic manner.³

But S. Gregory the Great, in his celebrated answers to the questions put to him by S. Austin, distinctly asserts the validity of consecrations by single bishops in the case of necessity. "Truly, in the Church of the English, in which as yet you are found the only bishop, you cannot ordain a bishop otherwise than without other bishops."⁴

In Scotland, besides S. Kentigern, we have the cases of SS. Ternan and Servanus. To this day, in countries where there exists persecution, one bishop, with the assistance of two priests, validly confers episcopal orders; nay, so strongly is the doctrine asserted, that not even the exigencies of controversy invalidate it. When an Oriental bishop, calling himself Bishop of Jerusalem, caused a schism in the ecclesiastical province of Kiev in Poland, the Latin Poles declared that his ordinations were invalid, and the same thing took place in Belgium and Holland when the Bishop of Babylon, *in partibus infidelium*, consecrated by himself the first archbishop of Utrecht, who repudiated the Bull Unigenitus; but Rome has always considered these ordinations valid, though wrong.

I have been favoured by the following important communication from the learned Bollandist, P. Victor de Buck:—

¹ Con. Nic. can. iv.

² Conc. Arch. II. c. v. Apostolic. Constit. lib. viii. c. 27.

³ Bæda, H. E., iv. 2.

⁴ Bæda, H. E., lib. i. c. 27, 6.

“ Dans ma dernière lettre, j’ai parlé de mémoire de la question des évêques ordonnés par un seul évêque. J’ai dit que cette question avait été surtout discutée en Belgique et en France, à la suite de la consécration de l’archevêque janséniste d’Utrecht par Varlet l’évêque suspens de Babylone *in partibus*. J’ai dit également que des Catholiques avaient contesté la validité de la consécration des évêques rutheniens faite par un évêque grec, soi-disant patriarche de Jérusalem (Théophanes), qui renouvela le schisme dans la province ecclésiastique de Kiew en 1621, et que le Saint-Siège avait considéré ces consécrations comme valides tout comme celles des évêques jansénistes Hollandais et de Reinkens, le prétendu (? ed.) vieux-Catholique, — Benôit XIV. dans son livre *de Synodo Diocesana*, lib. xiii. cap. xiii. num. 4 et seqq., indique plusieurs auteurs qui ont écrit sur cette question qui n’a jamais été définie. Il expose qu’il régné parmi les théologiens trois opinions ; la première qui enseigne que la consécration faite par moins de deux évêques est nulle, parce que, disent-ils, des prescriptions des canons en cette matière sont d’origine apostolique et remontent à Jésus-Christ. Selon la seconde opinion, cette consécration est illicite mais valide, parce que de temps immémorial l’Eglise a considéré comme valides les consécrations faites par un seul évêque et que, par conséquent, la présence de plusieurs ne saurait être essentielle. La troisième opinion se tient entre les deux précédentes ; elle soutient qu’une consécration faite par un seul évêque, autorisé à cela par le Saint-Siège, est valide et licite, et qu’une consécration par un évêque non autorisé est illicite et invalide. Cette opinion s’appuie sur le sentiment des théologiens qui disent que, hors du baptême et de la S. Eucharistie, Notre Seigneur n’a pas déterminé la *species infima* de la matière et de la forme des autres sacrements, mais qu’il a laissé cette détermination à son Eglise qui peut, ou en corps ou par son chef le Pape, introduire des modifications dans la manière d’administrer ces sacrements. 1°. Celui qui défend le plus vigoureusement la première opinion est le savant et judicieux Docteur de Sorbone, Tournély : *Prælectiones theol. de sacramento ordinis*, pag. 452-465. (C’est un volume d’une théologie complète. De toutes les théologies catholiques, c’est, je crois, celle qui conviendrait le mieux à Votre Grandeur, sauf que, non par conviction, mais à cause de la loi de Louis XIV., comme l’auteur l’avoue, il défend le gallicanisme.) 2°. Vuitasse, autre docteur de Sorbone, dans son *tractatus de sacramento ordinis*, part. ii. pag. 251, établit brièvement qu’un seul évêque suffit pour la validité. Mais il traite longuement des chorévêques (*ibid.* pag. 255 et suiv.), prétendant que ceux-ci furent tantôt évêques et tantôt simples

prêtres, parce que, depuis la publication des fausses décrétales de Mercator, on déclara en plusieurs synodes que la consécration des chorévêques était invalide ou ne valait qu'une ordination presbytérale, et que les ordres majeurs conférés par eux étaient invalides. Ainsi dans la V^e fausse décrétale du pape S. Damase, on lit : *Quod enim episcopi non sint, qui minus quam a tribus sunt ordinati episcopi, omnibus patet, etc.* Et dans la fausse décrétale de Jean III. : *Omnia quoque concilia affirmant [cela n'est pas vrai du tout] eum non episcopum esse qui minus quam a tribus episcopis fuerit factus episcopus.* Or, généralement, les chorévêques étaient ordonnés par un seul évêque. Mais Sbaralex (*Disputatio de sacris pravorum ordinationibus*, Florentiæ, 1750, pag. 252-272) refute assez bien la distinction introduite par Vuitasse et enseigne que, généralement parlant, tous les chorévêques étaient de vrais évêques quoique ordonnés par leur seul évêque urbain. Reste la difficulté très-réelle qui a sa source dans un capitulaire de Charlemagne. Dans ce capitulaire on lit que Léon III. fit une déclaration conforme aux fausses décrétales. 3^e. C'est le docteur Daemen, de Louvain, qui a soutenu surtout la troisième opinion contre Van Espen, le défenseur et le véritable auteur du schisme d'Utrecht. Daemen publia en 1724 et 1725 deux dissertations *de numero episcoporum ad validam ordinationem episcopi requisito* : c'est le travail le plus considérable sur la matière. Il contient et discute tout ce qui s'est dit de part et d'autre. Cette opinion résoud certainement les difficultés avec le plus de facilité, mais je crois cependant que malgré les objections nées des fausses décrétales et d'autres actes qui s'appuient sur elles, il faut tenir que les ordinations faites par un seul évêque sont valides mais illicites. Je ne dis rien de Saint Grégoire-le-Grand qui permit à Saint Augustin de consacrer seul des évêques, en cas de besoin ; cela est connu. On écrirait facilement un livre sur cette matière sans en tirer plus que ce que je viens de dire."

The second irregularity mentioned by Joceline as having been received by the Britons by apostolic tradition seems to rest upon this authority only. The Rev. Dr. Henderson, who has devoted much time and thought to the subject, tells me that "There is no trace of *chrism* in English Pontificals till the first half of the eleventh century in the unction of bishops.

"The delivery of staff and ring with special forms is universal, except in Leofric's Sacramentary, which only gives the form which is found in the Gelasian office.¹

"In a Pontifical of the reign of the Confessor, there is the

¹ Muratori, 624.

delivery of 'sanctæ crucis labarum v. signum' (*sic*), with a form to the bishop.

"The mitre and its delivery does not appear till the twelfth century.

"The laying the textus on the head or neck is to be found in all English Pontificals except Leofric. Morinus thinks there are traces of its original non-use in Africa up to the Donatists' time.

"Admodum igitur probabile mihi est impositionem evangelici codicis ad ordinationis episcopalis substantiam non pertinere, cum ubique et semper non extiterit. Sed certum est hunc ritum in oriente ab ipsa ecclesiæ infantia fuisse usurpatum et ab oriente in occidentem emanasse: Primum in Africam, deinde in Italiam Romanque, serius in Galliam et Germaniam."

The passage in Morinus is so curious that I have thought it right to print it at length:—

"Usurpatum non fuisse primum hanc ceremoniam in Provincia Carthaginensi ex iis quæ in Ordinatione Cæciliani perpetrata sunt colligi videtur. Donatistæ Cæciliani Ordinationem calumniabantur, eo quod traditionis deificorum codicum reus esset. Cum vero id probare non potuissent, in Felicem Cæciliani Ordinatorem crimen notaverunt. Quid ad hæc Cæcilianus? *Ab eo mandatum est, ut si Felix in se sicut illi arbitrabantur, nihil contulisset, ipsi tanquam adhuc Diaconum ordinarent Cæcilianum. Tunc Purpurius solita malitia fretus quasi et Cæcilianus filius sororis ejus esset, sic ait, exeat huc quasi imponatur illi manus in Episcopatu et quassatur illi caput de Pœnitentia. His rebus compertis tota Ecclesia Cæcilianum retinuit ne se latronibus tradidisset.* Purpurius iste irâ et odio in Cæcilianum æstuans liberiusque in eum invehens eo quod esset ejus ex sorore nepos, manuum impositionem ordinationis propriam ad manuum impositionem quæ in Pœnitentia datur retorquet, furentisque verbo utitur: Quasi diceret, Vult iterum manum sibi imponi, imponatur; sed loco manus impositionis ordinatione quassatur illi caput de Pœnitentia, hoc est, detur illi manus impositio Pœnitentialis. Sane si Evangelici Codicis capiti impositio cum manus impositione tum conjuncta fuisset, furenti multo convenientius erat exclamare: Exeat huc et quassetur illi caput de Evangeliorum codice. Hoc posterius omnino quadrabat verbo, *quassetur*, non autem Pœnitentiæ impositio, cui metaphorice tantum convenit. Admodum igitur probabile mihi est impositionem Evangelici codicis ad Ordinationis Episcopalis substantiam non pertinere, cum ubique et semper non extiterit. Sed certum est hunc ritum in oriente ab ipsa Ecclesiæ infantia fuisse usurpatum et ab Oriente in Occidentem emanasse: Primum in

Africam, deinde in Italian Romamque, serius in Galliam et Germaniam.”¹

NOTE DD.

WHILE Christianity was confined to the limits of the Roman Empire it of course told little upon the development of its material resources. The towns were converted before the pagi or country places, hence the term “pagani.” In every great city the Christian community was an *imperium in imperio* governed by its bishop and hierarchy, gradually absorbing all that was good of the older system, but not challenging opposition by the erection of ostentatious buildings. Till the state establishment there was no room for architecture. But it was quite different when Christianity extended itself among the barbarians. Then the wattled church, the fortified monastery, and the shrine or memoria of the departed saint or martyr became the nucleus of the city which gradually sprung up beside them. Houses were built round the church or chapel, they grew into a village, the village became a town, and ended by being a city. The bringing of S. Cuthbert’s body to Durham, then a rude and uninhabited place, was the beginning of that beautiful city. Fulda, Corby, Salzburg, S. Gall, all grew out of Benedictine or Columban monasteries. Such names as S. Neots, S. Ives, Bury S. Edmunds, S. Germane’s, S. Boswells, S. Johnstone, show how entirely the municipality grew out of the ecclesiastical establishment. The present life of S. Kentigern records the process in the case of the largest city in Scotland. It is true that a cemetery had been consecrated there in the time of S. Ninian, implying the existence of some population; but the life exhibits the aspect of a wild forest as the condition of Glasgow when S. Kentigern established himself on the banks of the Mellendonor.

NOTE EE.

IN the Welsh Church of the sixth century, and therefore presumably in that of Strathclyde, the dioceses in the main tallied with the civil principality, though the bishop resided at one place at the head of a monastery, the king or regulus at another. S. Kentigern dwelt at Glasgu, Rederech at Alclyd. In 1258 John of Cheham, Bishop of Glasgow, claimed, in opposition to the Bishop of Carlisle, that his diocese extended as far as the

¹ Morinus, *Comm. de Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus*, pars iii., Exercit. ii., cap. i. sec. 8, p. 17; ed. Antwerp, 1695.

Rerecross in Staynmore, and to enforce his right he proceeded to Rome, but died on the way.¹ The diocese was conterminous with the civil kingdom of King Rederech, and therefore must have extended from Dumbarton and Stirling southwards. On the east it would be determined by the measure of Northumbrian aggression. On the south it extended at least to the Rerecross, but probably further. About 900, Cumberland extended "as far as the Rerecross on Stanemore,"² and about the same time "usque Loidam civitatem (Leeds), quæ est confinium Normannorum et Cumbrorum." "This would take the district only so far south as about Workington and the Derwent on the coast side, and would include about two-thirds only of Westmoreland on the east; although probably including also the district east of Wetherall in Cumberland up to the present county boundaries of Northumberland and Durham."³

"The bishopric of Carlisle extends into the two counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, but not to the whole of either; for all that part of Cumberland called Allerdale Wood above Derwent, and the barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, do lie within the archdeaconsry of Richmond in Chester Diocese; so Alston Moor and also Over Denton (as is said) are in the diocese of Durham."⁴

"The great barony of Copeland, which lieth between the river Dudden, the river Derwent and the Lee, was given by Henry I. to William, brother of Ranulph de Meschines, who again granted part of it to Waltheof, son of Gospatrick, Earl of Dunbar. He caused the name of the barony to be changed from Copeland and to be called the barony of Egremont, which name it retaineth to this day."⁵

The following quotations shew that the aggressions of the Saxons coincided with the diminution of the ecclesiastical state of the Britons:—

"883. (a¹³ *Alfredi Magni*), sane ad episcopatum Lindisfar-nensem pertinebant antiquitus Lugubalia, id est Luel et Northam; omnes quoque ecclesiæ ab aqua quæ vocatur Tweda usq. ad Tinam Australem, et ultra Desertum usque ad Occidentem: pertinebant illo tempore ad præfatam ecclesiam et hac mansiones, etc."⁶

¹ Chron. de Lanercost, in an. 1258, p. 65.

² Chron. Picts and Scots, p. 204.

³ Haddan and Stubbs' Councils, vol. ii. p. 11.

⁴ The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland, by Joseph Nicolson, Esq., and Richard Burns, LL.D., London, 1777, vol. ii. p. 6.

⁵ P. 8.

⁶ R. Hoveden, p. 418, t. i. p. 45; Rolls ed.

"990. Postquam episcopi Danos metuentes, ad latebras quærendas compulsi, incertis sedibus vagarentur; et regio hæc universa sic depopulata et immaniter a crudelissimis barbaris vastata esset, ut quasi in solitudinem redacta, hominum multorum miliarium spatio non ostenderet, nisi unum aut alterum fortassis *Hibernum* hinc inde oberrantem; Richmundiæ Archidiaconus Jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam totius Cumbriæ Westmorlandiæ et Alvedaliæ, a Lindisfarnensibus episcopis (qui jam Dunelmi consederant) per multorum annorum curriculum neglectam, usurpare paulatim coeperunt sibi que asserere."¹

1082. In a charter of William of S. Carleph, Bishop of Durham, Carlisle "cum omni circumjacenti" is reckoned as part of his diocese.²

NOTE FF.

FOR an account of the supposed conversion of Britain in the time of King Lucius and Pontificate of Eleutherus, see Haddan and Stubbs' Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, vol. i. p. 25 (Oxf. 1869), where the matter is summed up in these words,— "It would seem therefore that the bare story of the conversion of a British prince *temp. Eleutheri* originated in Rome during the fifth and sixth centuries, almost 300 or more years after the date assigned to the story itself; that Bede in the eighth century introduced it into England, and that by the ninth century, it had grown into the conversion of the whole of Britain; while the full-fledged fiction, connecting it specially with Wales and with Glastonbury, and entering into details, grew up between centuries nine and twelve." Joceline would naturally have seen the accounts of his contemporaries, William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth.³ He however mistook an expression of the former, who had said "prout carta Patricii *gestaque Britonum* testantur." The latter he ascribes to Gildas, who is silent with regard to the legend. Nennius, in the ninth century, is the first British authority on the subject.

NOTE GG.

THE word used for the garment of the skin used by the saint is Melotes. It is the word employed in the Septuagint for the

¹ F. Godwin de Præsul., p. 2, p. 144.

² Monast. Ang., v. i. p. 236.

³ Will. Malm. Antiq. Glaston., Geoff. Mon., lib. iv. c. xix.

Addereth or mantle used by Elijah, and it seems to have been the distinctive dress of the prophets. "Made of rough materials and black in colour, it marked the prophet, but it was often made of the most costly materials and thus what Achan stole is described as Addereth Shinar, a Shinar or Babylonian robe."¹

The Cuculla was the common covering of the head in monastic houses. "Cucullis perparvis usque ad cervicis humerorumque demissis confinia, quibus tantum capita contegant, indesinenter diebus utuntur ac noctibus."—Ducange a.v.

The albe was the original lower vestment used by all who ministered at the altar. It is well known that the clergy and bishops were required formerly by the decree of synods to wear their albes constantly; hence the rochets, which were merely reduced albes, were introduced from reasons of commodity.² In a formula of visitation in the tenth century in Germany, the bishop is to inquire whether the presbyter presumes to sing mass, either without an albe, or in the albe "quâ in suos usus quotidie utitur."³

What Joceline mentions here of the change in the form of the pastoral staff is borne out by fact. The early staves of the British and Irish bishops were very short and simple. The Bachal-more of S. Moloch, in the possession of the Duke of Argyll, and figured in the *Origines Parochiales*,⁴ is a black thorn bludgeon, with traces of a metal covering, measuring only 2 feet 10 inches in length. Several of the bronze Cambuttas preserved in the museum of the Irish Academy are little longer.

In the curious account of Erasmus and Colet's visit to Canterbury in the *Colloquies*, when examining the relics of S. Thomas of Canterbury, and contrasting his simplicity with the splendour of treasury at the time of the visit, there occurs this passage, "Ibidem vidimus pedum divi Thomæ. Videbatur arundo laminâ argenteâ obvestita: minimum erat ponderis, nec altius quam usque ad cingulum."⁵

In the second volume of Mabillon's *Annales Benedictini* there is a very ancient image of S. Bertin, and of S. Momolin, Bishop of Tournay and Noyon, who followed the *ritus Scotti*. In the *Acta Sanctorum*, t. vii., October, Father Victor de Buck, in giving an engraving of S. Momolin, has represented all that refers to the subject.

¹ Prophecy a Preparation for Christ. The Bampton Lectures for 1869, by R. Payne Smith, D.D., p. 184; London, 1869.

² Pugin's Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament, p. 220.

³ Kræmer, de Liturgiâ, p. 257.

⁴ Orig. Par. vol. ii. p. 163.

⁵ Desid. Erasmi, *Colloquia*, p. 303; ed. Roterodam, 1693.

HH.

THIS name occurs in one of the poems of Taliessin :—

“From Penryn Wleth to Loch Reon,
The Cymry are of one mind, bold heroes.”¹

“Kentigern sits ‘super lapidem in supercilio montis vocabulo Gwleth.’ Gwleth, forming in combination Wleth, signifies dew, and this hill was afterwards known as the Dew or Dow hill in Glasgow. Loch Reon is Loch Ryan, and this passage shows a Cymric population extending from Loch Ryan to Glasgow.”

“The chapel of S. Mungo without the walls, called also Little S. Mungo’s Kirk, was built and endowed in the year 1500, by David Cunningham, Archdeacon of Argyll and Provost of the Collegiate Church of Hamilton. It stood on the Dow Hill on the north side of the Gallowgate, on the eastern bank of the Molenburn, immediately without the Park. Certain trees which grew there were called S. Mungo’s trees; a well beside it had the name of S. Mungo’s well; a way which led to it still retains the name of S. Mungo’s road. It was surrounded by a churchyard.”²

This miracle of the hill rising is repeated in the case of S. Endeus³ and S. Mochuanus.⁴ While S. David was preaching against the Pelagians, “terra sub ejus pedibus crescens attollitur in altum, ut ab omnibus communiter ipse cernatur tamquam in monte stans, qui quasi tuba esset exaltans vocem suam, et hæresim confundens et fidem orthodoxam corroborans, omnes veritati consentiunt.”⁵

NOTE II.

FOR corroboration of the statement as to the vicious condition of the clergy at this period, we may refer the reader to the volume of the Anglo-Latin satirical poems of the twelfth century, edited under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, by Thomas Wright, Esq.; the amusing poems of Nigellus Wirecker, precentor of Canterbury; the *Speculum Stultorum*, and the more solemn and classical invective of the Architrenius of John de Hauteville.

¹ Taliessin xiv. From *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 276; vol. ii. p. 404.

² Orig. Par., vol. i. p. 6.

³ Act. SS. Hib. 707, 12, 13.

⁴ *Ibid.* 703, 14.

⁵ Vita S. Davidis, apud Colgan, p. 429, 23.

NOTE KK.

THE allusion to the flies is taken from S. Gregory, *Magna Moralia*, lib. xviii. 68, p. 588, tom. i.

NOTE LL.

THE custom of retiring for a time to a cave was very common among the British and Scottish saints. The local tradition has in many places preserved their memorial. In Scotland it can point to these:—

S. Ninian,	.	.	.	.	Glasserton.
S. Medana,	.	.	.	.	Kirkmaiden.
S. Serf,	.	.	.	.	Dysart.
S. Phillan,	.	.	.	.	Pittenweem.
S. Adrian,	.	.	.	.	Caipley.
S. Constantine,	.	.	.	.	Fifeness.
S. Rule,	.	.	.	.	S. Andrews.
S. Ciaran,	.	.	.	.	Cantyre.
S. Gernadius,	.	.	.	.	Kenedor.
S. Laisren or Molio,	.	.	.	.	Holy Island.
S. Fergus,	.	.	.	.	Glamis.
S. Margaret,	.	.	.	.	Dunfermline.
S. Mac-ua-Charmaig,	.	.	.	.	Eilan Mohr.
S. Columba,	.	.	.	.	Cove in Knapdale.
S. Monan,	.	.	.	.	S. Monance.

The parish of Weem no doubt takes its name from the Weem or Cave which probably was tenanted at one time by S. Cuthbert.

Hermits in Scotland before the Reformation seem to have had a sort of legal possession to their hermitages. In the description of the deanery of Stobbo in the Registry of the Diocese of Glasgow (104, p. 89), Cristinos "heremita de kyngeldores and Cospatricius heremita de Kylbeuhoc."

In the *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis* is a charter by James II., granting to John Smyth, a citizen of the city of Brechin, the hermitage of the chapel of B. Mary, in the forest of Kilgerie, in the barony of Menmuir, with croft and grene and its pertinences, as well as three acres of arable land, which of old had been annexed to it, which Hugo Cuminche, the hermit of the said hermitage, held *hereditarily* of his proctor, William de Nudry, but resigned "per fustem et baculum" into his hands, for payment of services used and wont, saving the suffrages of

prayers and other rights and services owed and accustomed ere the resignation.¹

NOTE MM.

DR. REEVES, in stating his predilection for the translation of "servant of God," rather than "spouse of God," as rendering the word *Céle Dé*, says, "I have not been able to discover an instance where *sponsus* or *maritus Dei* has been used as *monachus* or *servus Dei*. It is true that the Irish may have taken into account the celibacy of their ancient monks, their seclusion from the world, and their entire devotedness to religion, and in this sense have employed the expression 'spouse of God' to denote a class who owned no other master, no other love, no other companion but God; and this notion may possibly have suggested to Giraldu*s Cambrensis*, when adverting to the *Coli dei*, his emphatic *cœlibes*, and to Joceline his *singulares clerici*—the companions of God, to the exclusion of all earthly ties; being a life of utter poverty, in reliance upon His unconditioned supplies; members of such a class as that to whom, as Probus relates, our apostle (S. Patrick) was directed by the angel's precept, *Vade ad plebem dei, id est eremitas et solitarios nudis pedibus*."²

NOTE NN.

THE view taken in the text by Joceline as to the power of miracles, is enforced with great eloquence by a modern writer:—

"Miracles are the most striking proofs of the restoration of man to his primitive rights. They recall the power which in the beginning he received to rule over nature, and to command it in the name of the Creator. That power, that prerogative, may be regained by any man; for all, in virtue of the creative word, bear within them the force which subdues the elements, rules over creatures, and commands the earth. But this force is latent, degenerate, in chaos; and the noble chief of creation, the uncrowned king of this world, has by the original catastrophe fallen to a level of the creatures he was called to govern, and even depending upon those whom it was his mission to free. Hence, as says St. Paul, the groanings of those terres-

¹ *Regist. Epis. Brechin*, vol. ii. p. 382; Aberdeen, 1856. See *Stuart's Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, vol. ii., *Notices of Plates*, p. 21.

² *The Culdees of the British Isles*, by W. Reeves, p. vii.; Dublin, 1864.

trial things, who sigh after their deliverance, and wait for the manifestation of the children of God; hence the laborious work of liberation and purification which man has to accomplish upon earth; and in proportion as he raises himself and is restored to harmony with his eternal principle, in the same proportion he recovers, with the gifts of God, his glorious prerogatives, and participates once again in the mighty power of God. (James iii. 7.)¹

That in a primitive state of society the Supreme Being should deem it right to interpose more manifestly in the affairs of everyday life than in more artificial states of society, where the arguments for His providence ought to be better known, is surely no absurd notion; and correlatively, that men should see, in what we now know to be the working of the ordinary laws of nature, Divine interpositions, is still more to be expected.

Again, it is possible that, in the case of the conversion of a rude people, recourse may be had to those supernatural means whereby Christianity was commended to the world in its infancy, the more probably if the people were so barbarous as not to be able to grasp arguments addressed to the intellect. With every abatement for conscious fraud, unintentional deception, mythical accretion, there still remains the fact of the conversion of Scotland and Ireland without a single martyrdom, except those which took place in the way of ordinary conquest by heathen Danes and Saxons, and without any remarkable access of, or increased condition of, civilisation accompanying such conversions. It is more difficult to believe the fact of this conversion without some exceptional supernatural means, than to admit that they may have been used for such a purpose. To those who disbelieve in any exceptions to what are termed the laws of nature, this suggestion is inapplicable; but by all who admit the possibility of answer to prayer the thought deserves attention.

NOTE OO.

It is possible that this Morken of Strathclyde can be the same as the Morcant who fought with Urien Rederech and Guallauc against Hussa. The four kings seem to have been kinsmen, and it is not impossible that, after their alliance, when they combined against the Saxon, on the death of Morken, Red-

¹ Ratisbonne, quoted in Wolff, 181.

erech may have taken possession of his dominions. Everything seems to point to Rederech absorbing into his kingdom the lesser Reguli, of whom Morken was probably one. We have the pedigree of Morken in the Welsh additions to Nennius. Thorpmorken, the place where he is said to have died, cannot now be identified.¹

NOTE PP.

It would seem from Joceline's mistaking the Molendinar brook for a place, that he was not very familiar with the localities of Glasgow.

The course of the Molendinar Burn is indicated on a curious map, drawn in the middle of last century, with reference to a suit in the Court of Session. An engraving of it is to be found in *Glasghu Facies*, vol. i. p. 494, edited by Dr. J. F. Gordon, 1873. After passing the Cathedral and skirting the east end of the College Green, it crossed the Gallowgate about 140 yards east of the Cross, and finally ran into the Clyde 240 yards from the great bridge.

NOTE QQ.

THE visit of S. Kentigern to Menevia "accords well with the probability of circumstances, and is readily accounted for by the great reputation of S. David, and by the oneness in race and creed of the Britons in the north and west. The next step was to head a mission into Ystrad Clwyd—a name which, from its exact correspondence with that of the region whence he had come, would, if of earlier date, supply a special reason for his choice, and which, if subsequently given, may serve in a degree to corroborate that event."²

The reader will note the remarkable similarity between the account of the intercourse of S. Kentigern and S. Dewi, and that of S. Ninian and S. Martin. Did the two Cistercian authors draw from a common source?

There is a life of S. Dewi by Ricemarchus, who flourished in 1090, a copy of which is in the British Museum;³ by Giraldus Cambrensis, in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*; by John of Tine-mouth, given in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Anglia*, fol. xxxii.-

¹ Skene's *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 16.

² Thomas's *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, p. 2.

³ Cott. mss., *Vespasian. A. xiv.*

lxxxv.; by Leland, in his *Collectanea*. There is also a Welsh life in the British Museum;¹ another life is given by Colgan,² from the mss. of Routh, Bishop of Ossory. The life printed in the *Acta SS.* belonged to the church of S. Sauveur in Utrecht.³ All the various versions of the lives may be referred to Rice-marchus.

NOTE RR.

THE dedications in Cumberland show very distinctly the power of S. Kentigern's influence there.

The existence of idolatry in the time of the saint is asserted by his contemporary Gildas, at the beginning of his history, who uses the curious expression, "Nor shall I enumerate those diabolical idols of my country, which almost surpassed in number those of Egypt, and which we still see mouldering away within and without the deserted temples, with stiff and deformed features, as was customary."⁴ The tendency to such a cultus did not die out in Wales. At the reformation in 1538 a figure of the ancient Welsh Saint Dderfel Gadeon, brother of Cristiolus Rhystud and Sulien, was the object of daily pilgrimage and many offerings. It was brought to London by the orders of Thomas Cromwell, where it was used as firewood, for burning Friar Forrest, Bishop Latimer preaching the sermon on the occasion.

NOTE SS.

THE parish of Kirkland is the extreme parish of Cumberland, being separated from Westmoreland by the Larnthwaite Beck, which rises near the top of Crossfell and is discharged into the Eden a little below Temple Sowerby Bridge.⁵ The great mountain forms part of the ridge which runs from Derbyshire to the Tweed. Aldston is the nearest town. It is remarkable for what are termed the Helm Winds, a phenomenon similar to the south-easters that blow from the cloud-covered flat terraces of the Table Mountain at the Cape of Good Hope.⁶

¹ Cott. mss., Titus, D. xxii. ff. 136-182.

² *Acta SS.* Hib. pp. 428-432.

³ *Acta SS.* Bolland. Mart. t. i. p. 41. See Duffus Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. i. pp. 118-124.

⁴ *Gild. Historia*, § 4.

⁵ Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, vol. ii. p. 257.

⁶ See *Description of the Mountain Crossfell* in Hutchinson, vol. ii. pp. 263-268.

NOTE TT.

As to the question who is the king to whom the reception of S. Kentigern is attributed by Joceline, it may be Casswallawn Law Hir, the great-grandson of Cunedda, who, according to the *Genealogia*, with his sons came down from Manau Guotodin, or the region about Falkirk, into Wales, and expelled the Scots therefrom, 146 years before Mailcun. Mr. Skene thinks that this must not be taken strictly, and that the expulsion of the Scots was really effected by Casswallan himself.¹

Cassawallawn Law Hir occurs in the Welsh genealogies appended to Nennius, of which, whether authentic or not, Joceline was not cognisant. In treating of the early history of Wales, it must be borne in mind that the best scholars are now throwing discredit on Geoffrey of Monmouth, from whom, naturally, his contemporary Joceline must have borrowed many of his facts. Geoffrey does not mention this king, and it is possible that Joceline may refer to the later Cathwallawn, the commencement of whose reign Geoffrey places in 617. The actual words of Nennius are, "The great King Mailcun reigned among the Britons, *i.e.*, in the district of Guenedota, because his great-grandfather Cunedag, with his twelve sons, had come before from the left-hand part, *i.e.*, from the country which is called Manau Guotodin, 146 years before Mailcun reigned, and expelled the Scots with much slaughter from those countries, and they never returned again to inhabit them."² The Book of S. Asaph states that the grant of land on which Llanelwy was founded was made by Maelgwyn himself.

Nautcharvan is evidently the Abbey of Llancarvan, in which Caradoc, the author of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, lived. It was from this abbey that the six learned men were sent to Armagh, after that, in 850, it had been devastated by the Danes.³

The first abbot was S. Cadoc, or Cattwg Ddoeth.⁴

NOTE UU.

S. ASAPH, "*cui et Powisia subest*,"⁵ was itself in Pefedwlad (Teyrnllwg is the Welsh name for the district), which was distinct indeed from Gwynedd, but belonged to it and not

¹ Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 47.

² Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, § 62.

³ Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 313.

⁴ Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 176.

⁵ *Gir. Camb., Descript. Camb.*, c. iv., Opp. t. vi. 170; ed. Rolla.

to Powys; and Llandaff, which stood in Morganwg, included (at least as time went on) several small states within its see, which were at one time independent of one another. It is however in the main true that the states and the bishopric bore a direct relation to each other. It is a tempting theory, indeed, that S. Asaph, of which no trustworthy record of a bishop exists prior to A.D. 928, came into existence as a see with the little Denbighshire district of Strathclwyd, founded by a colony from Kentigern's northern Strathclwyd. Kentigern, driven from the Clyde in Scotland, and entering Wales, was arrested by the sight of a vale and a river, which resembled that which he had left, and resolved to found an establishment there, calling the river "Clyde," after the Clyde he had left.¹

It may be regarded as a mark of the substantial accuracy of the main facts that S. Kentigern is said to have established his monastery under the protection of a king of Powys, for while the rest of the Vale of Clwyd belonged, according to the earliest known divisions of the country, to the province of Gwynedd, this portion formed part of that of Powys, and, sharing its subsequent disintegration, was included in the Domesday survey in the Earldom of Chester, as was reckoned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII., as falling within the lordship of Chester.

The limits of the diocese seem to have been originally commensurate with those of Powys. Maelgwyn, having erected Bangor into a see, appears to have assigned to Llanelwy the rest of his dominions in North Wales, *i.e.*, the province of Powys, the extent of which was much greater than after the incursions of the Lord Marchers. It reached from Pulford Bridge, near Chester, to Pengwem, Powys, or Shrewsbury, and thence again through the eastern limits of Montgomeryshire, comprehended all that county, a part of Radnorshire and Brecknockshire.²

The enormous size of the Welsh monastery finds confirmation in the condition of others. In that of S. Finnian of Clonard there were at one time 3000 monks. Bangor, near Carrickfergus, contained, before the death of its founder S. Comgal, 4000. At Bangor, in Wales, there were eight divisions, each of 300 monks. In the year 900 there were more than 1000 monks in the Abbey of S. Silvester, at Nonantula, near Modena. That of Jumièges, founded by SS. Philibert and Bathildis, contained 900; at Fulda, during the time of Hrabanus Maurus, 370; at Clugny, in the days of Peter the Venerable,

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, vol. i. p. xxxi.

² Thomas's *Hist. of Diocese of S. Asaph*, p. 7.

400, besides an immense number of guests and a multitude of poor. Hugo, the abbot there, admitted more than 10,000 monks into the ranks of the Lord's host.¹

Joceline's account of the continual succession of prayer and praise in his Welsh monastery is confirmed by the fact that the same pious practice of incessant prayers and praise of God, called "*Laus perennis*," was in use in the same age in many of the great monasteries of France, such as those of S. Denys, S. Maurice, S. Benigne; at Dijon, Luxeuil, Marmoutier, etc., and probably in others in Britain and Ireland.²

The perpetual psalmody in the monastery of S. Kentigern is a carrying out of an early practice in the Christian Church. About the beginning of the fifth century, or, as Baronius thinks, towards the middle of it, at Constantinople, under Gennadius, the Patriarch, one Alexander, set up an order of Monks, whom the writers of that and the following age style *ἀκουῖται*, that is, watchers, the reason of which name is taken from their manner of performing the Divine offices without intermission, for they divided themselves into three classes, and so one succeeded another at a stated hour, and by that means continued a perpetual course of Divine service, without any interval, as well by night as by day.³

It will be recollected that in the post-Reformation Church of England, in the interesting attempt at the revival of the monastic life at Little Gidding by Nicholas Ferrar or Farrer, "Mr. Farrer and others of the congregation did at night, at the ringing of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory and here betake themselves to prayers and lauding God and reading the psalms that had not been read in the day; and when those in any part of the church grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung sometimes before, sometimes after, midnight; and then another part of the family rose and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying or singing lauds to God, or reading the Psalms; and when after some hours they also grew weary and faint, then they rung the watch-bell and they were relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions until the morning. And it is to be noted that in this continued serving of God the Psalter was in every four-and-twenty hours sung and read over from the first to the last verse, and this was done as constantly as the sun runs

¹ Digby's *Mores Catholici*, vol. iii. p. 226.

² T. Innes, *Crit. and Eccl. History*, p. 125, citing Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.*, tom. i. pp. 29, 46, 123, 174, 212, 315, 342, 418, 422.

³ Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, vol. ii. p. 264.

its circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.”¹

Llanelwy is connected with another great Welsh saint, S. Tyssillio, son of Brochwael Ysgythwg ab Cyngen ab Cadell Deyrullwg, Prince of Powys. He was bishop and immediate successor of S. Asaph, to whom he was cousin in the first degree. A remnant of poetry ascribed to him is found in the Red Book of Hergest, written it is said on the occasion of Gwrnerth's coming to perform his devotions with Llewelyn his companion.²

Mr. Thomas, in his history of the diocese of S. Asaph, seeks to account for the miracle of the boar and for another in the life on the theory of a misunderstanding of an original document. “Aper, the old form of Aber, which means the confluence of two rivers, and describes very suitably the situation of S. Asaph near the junction of the Clwyd and Elwy, was mistaken for the similar later word, and made out to be a boar that led Kentigern to choose that site, and so, too, Tanwydd, *i.e.*, firewood, which Asaph is said to have borne to his shivering master, by being mistranslated into *vivi* and *ardentes carbones*, was held to establish the saintly character of the disciple, because it left no mark or smell of fire upon his clothes.”³

NOTE XX.

THE account of the miraculous blinding of the Angle, or as in the Dublin Manuscript it is written, the regulus or prince, Melcoinde Galganii, seems to be a different version of the event related in the twelfth-century document giving the history of the foundation of the church of S. Asaph in the Llyfr Coch. If *Anglus* be the true reading, no *Anglic* name commences with *Mael* or *Mel*, which means the tonsured servant of a sacred personage. It is quite improbable that an Angle should be in power in North Wales of that time, and the narrators of the history might have been glad to veil the offence of the “insular dragon” by imputing his opposition to the saint to one of his enemies. But may not the *Galganu* have something to do

¹ Walton's *Life of Geo. Herbert*, p. 264; ed. 1828.

² Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 590; vol. ii. pp. 237, 431.

³ *Egobaeth Llanelwy: a History of the Diocese of S. Asaph*, by D. R. Thomas, M.A., Rector of S. Mary's Cefn, p. 2; London, 1870.

with his name as given by Gildas, *Maglocunus*? *Melcoindi* is no unnatural corruption of *Maelgwyn*.

NOTE YY.

THE Breviary of Aberdeen has an office for S. Asaph, in which it describes him as the disciple of S. Kentigern, parting with all his earthly possessions and performing the miracle of carrying live coals in his bosom.¹

He was the son of Sawyl Benuchel, who is mentioned as being swallowed up by the earth at the prayers of S. Cadore in the life of that saint.²

His mother's name was Gwenaseth, daughter of Rhufon Rhufoniog. He is the founder of Llanasa in Flintshire.³

"The many places in Tegengl that bear his name, such as Llan-asa, his church; Ffynnon Asa, his well; Onen Asa, his ark; Pantasa, his hollow, all combine to point out that region as his native place; and the old legend that pointed out, until late years, a spot in the high street at S. Asaph as the impression of the hoof of the saint's horse, when he leapt thither from Onen Asa, seems but another version of the same idea."⁴

NOTE ZZ.

For a learned account of the growth of the Legend of Lucius see Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Appendix A, vol. i. p. 28. It rests solely on a later form of the *Catalogus Pontiff. Rom.*, which was copied by Bæda. Gildas is silent with regard to them, but Nennius in the ninth century gives his British name *Lleuer Maur*. Fresh details are supplied by the *Liber Landavensis*, and the account of Faganus and Duvianus or Deruvianus is an addition to the legend of Eleutherus, which we owe to William of Malmesbury, who connects them with Glastonbury.⁵ It is found also in Geoffrey of Monmouth, book iv. c. xix.

Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs point out that there are in the diocese of Llandaff churches dedicated to *Lleirwg*, *Ddyfan*,

¹ *Pars Hyem.*, fol. xxii.

² Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 334.

³ Rees, *Essay on Welsh Saints*, p. 266.

⁴ Thomas, *Hist. of the Diocese of S. Asaph*, p. 5.

⁵ Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. 25.

Ffagan and Medwy.¹ They sum up in these words: "It would seem that the bare story of the conversion of a British prince *temp.* Eleutheri originated in Rome in the fifth or sixth centuries, almost 300 or more years after the date assigned to the story itself, that Bæda in the eighth century introduced it into England, and that by the ninth it had grown into the conversion of the whole of Britain, while the full-fledged fiction, connecting it specially with Wales and with Glastonbury, and entering into details, grew up between centuries nine and twelve."

For S. Alban's martyrdom we must refer to Gildas' Hist. sec. 8, and to Constantine's Life of S. German, i. 25. "All that seems certain is that within 125 years after the last persecution a belief existed at Verulamum that a martyr named Albanus lay buried near that town."² I cannot find any trace of a prevalence of Arianism after the outbreak of the Pelagian heresy. It is true that before that, in 358, the orthodox British bishops hesitated about the acceptance of the Homousion, but this by no means implied the acceptance of Arianism. The homousion does not occur in S. Patrick's creed.

NOTE AAA.

S. GREGORY the Great, independently of the important work he did in the mission of S. Augustine to the Angles, is recognised as occupying an important place in the early church-history both of Ireland and Scotland. Known by the surname of Bel oir, of the Golden Mouth, he is referred to by Cumianus in his letter to Segenius, Abbot of Hy, in the Paschal Controversy. "Ad Gregorii papa, urbis Romanæ Episcopi (a nobis in commune Suscepti et *oris aurei* appellatione donati) verba me converti."³ Nay, the O'Clerys furnish him with an Irish pedigree, tracing him up to Conaire.⁴

So also in many of the lives of the Scottish saints as given in the *Lectiones* of the venerable Breviary of Aberdeen his name occurs. Thus S. Talaricannus was consecrated Bishop by him.⁵ S. Ternan also was raised to the episcopate by him, and received from him a bell. So also was S. Yarchardus;⁶ and we have his own authority for his knowledge and admiration of S. Wynnin.⁷

¹ Councils and Eccl. Doc., vol. i. p. 26.

² *Ibid.* p. 6.

³ Usher's *Sylloge*, p. 21.

⁴ *Annals Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 215.

⁵ *Pars Æstiv.*, fol. cxxxv.

⁶ *Ibid.* fol. lxxxix., v.

⁷ *Greg. Dial.*, lib. iii. c. 9.

The Legend of the Life of S. Asaph in the Breviary of Aberdeen¹ has "Kentegerno antistite reverendissimo a Sanctissimo Gregorio Papa apud Romam omnium civitatum facile urbem (qu. primum) rite et legitime consecratum Scotiam revertente."

But touching his seven visits to Rome, as mentioned by Joceline, while it would be impossible to chronicle the visits to Rome of the British and Saxon and Irish saints, on the other hand it is exceedingly improbable that the great Pope had such close relations with any form of the Celtic Church as these seven visits imply. That he took interest in the British Church we know from his Commentary on Job, which was written before he was Pope, and in which occurs this fine passage: "Omnipotens enim Dominus coruscantibus nubibus cardinis maris operuit: quia emicantibus prædicatorum miraculis, ad fidem etiam terminos mundi perduxit. Ecce enim pene cunctarum jam gentium corda penetravit: ecce in una fide orientis limitem occidentisque conjunxit: ecce lingua Britannæ, quæ nil aliud noverat quam barbarum frendere, jam dudum in divinis laudibus Hebræum capit Alleluia resonare."² The Benedictine editor in a note supposes that this was an addition inserted long after the publication of the treatise when the Angles had been converted; but this is mere assumption, supported by no manuscript authority. In his letter to S. Austin, in congratulating him on his success, he uses, with regard to the Britons, these words only: "cujus amore in Britannia fratres quærimus quos ignorabamus."³ In his answer to S. Austin touching the British bishop he says: "Britannorum vero omnium Episcoporum curam tuæ fraternitati committimus ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roorentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur."⁴

NOTE BBB.

EULOGIÆ, though used "for bread and other things which are blessed, also apply to all sorts of gifts bestowed from affection." The very terms of the text, "cum exenio vel Eulogiis," occur in the life of S. Radegonde in the *Acta Sanctorum Ordines*

¹ Para. Hyem., fol. lxxxii.

² *Magna Moralia*, lib. xxvii. c. 21, tom. i. p. 862; ed. Paris. 1705.

³ *Reg. Epist.*, lib. xi. indict. iv., ep. 28, tom. i. p. 1110; Paris. 1705.

⁴ P. 1158.

Benedictini of Mabillon¹ where he refers to Albaspinæus, lib. i. Observat. 8, and to Menard in Concord. Regul. cap. 61, sec. i.

NOTE CCC.

That King Rederech was baptized in Ireland is more than probable, for "he was of Irish extraction by his mother's side, for his sister, Melangell or Monacella, was daughter of Ethni, surnamed Wyddeles, the Irishwoman."²

NOTE DDD.

S. KENTIGERN's altar, near his tomb, in the town church, received in 1400 an annual vote to maintain the lights before it, and in 1507 Archbishop Robert (Blacader) founded a chaplaincy at it, which he endowed with part of the rents of Craigrossy.³ There was another altar to S. Kentigern on the south side of the nave of the cathedral, founded in 1506 by Sir Walter Steward.

NOTE EEE.

In the pedigree of S. David of Scotland Fordun writes: "Cujus pater Woden, apud quosdam Mercurius dictus est. Hic tantæ auctoritatis apud suos ut quartam feriam suo nomini dedicantes, diem Woden vocabant, quæ consuetudo per Anglos etiam hodie servatur, vocant enim eundem diem Wodenisday. Gentiles vero ipsum diem Mercurii appellabant."⁴

NOTE FFF.

This place, the patronage of the church of which was resigned by Udardus by symbol of a book,⁵ lies in Annandale, in the county of Dumfries. It is sixteen miles south-east of the county town, and is remarkable for the Birrensworck or Bruns-

¹ Vol. i. p. 328; ed. Paris. 1668.

² Reeves's Adamnan, p. 43; quoted Rees's Welsh Saints, p. 269.

³ Orig. Par., vol. i. p. 2; City Regist. Epia. Glas., pp. 412, 519.

⁴ Fordun, Chronic., lib. v. cap. lii.; vol. i. p. 253; ed. Skene.

⁵ Regist. Ep. Glas., t. i. pp. 24, 83.

wark, a conspicuous hill on which are the traces of two rectangular encampments.¹

It is adjacent to the parish of S. Mungo or Abermilk. The present parish contains the ancient ones of Hoddam, Luce, and Ecclefechan. Beside the spelling of Holdelm, it appears in the twelfth-century charter as Hod-holm² and Hod-olm. The ancient church stood on the east bank of the Annan at some distance below the old castle of the Bruces, now called Hall-guards.

NOTE GGG.

WE must believe that a real historical fact is asserted here. Modern historians are beginning to recognise as they should the extent to which the Christian Church exerted civil power from the beginning.

We have the first traces of it in S. Paul's Epistles, where he checks those who carried their disputes before the secular judges, and did not submit to the arbitration of the heads of the religious community to which they belonged. In the Roman cities and municipia the Christians very early organized themselves into a constituted society, governed by their own laws, and avoiding as far as might be the interference of the pagans around them. They were of course liable to serve in the army, and they were under the supreme jurisdiction of the civil courts, which from time to time were called into action by the internal disputes of the various sects, as actually took place in the reign of Aurelian, when there was a law-suit for the possession of the see-house at Antioch in the matter of Paul of Samosata.³

Of course the most patent instance of the gradual assumption of civil and judicial functions on the part of the Christians as organized by their own laws, and as represented by their bishop, is found in the case of the Church of Rome, but there is no doubt that the same custom obtained elsewhere. In S. Cyril's time the Bishop of Alexandria was a great civil personage. Mr. Pusey, the learned editor of his works, directs my attention to the fact that the archbishops of Alexandria had enormous temporal power. A corporation of parabolani was under their entire control, and seem to have attached them-

¹ See Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, pl. i.

² *Reg. Episc. Glas.*, t. i. 165.

³ Theodoret, H. E., ii. 8; Euseb., H. E., l. vii. c. 30.

selves to the person of the archbishop; their special functions are not entirely known, but they were very numerous. In A.D. 416 they were (apparently owing to the disturbance in the early part of S. Cyril's episcopate) reduced by imperial rescript to 500,¹ and the archbishop deprived of their nomination. Yet two years later the Emperor by a new rescript increases the number to 600 (500 being found insufficient), and restores the nomination to the archbishop.² S. Cyril's successor Dioscorus appears to have taken a portion of his parabolani to Ephesus with him, apparently as a sort of body-guard, for in the Acts of Chalcedon, Basil, Bishop of Seleucia, says of it: *There ran into the church soldiers with arms, and the monks were standing with Barrumas and the parabolani (οἱ παραβαλανεῖς).*³

At the Council of Ephesus, immediately on the deposition of the Archbishop Nestorius, the Synod sent a rescript to the clergy and Oeconomi of the Church of God at Constantinople, in which, after certifying the deposition of the Archbishop of Constantinople, the Synod proceeds:—*φύλαξατε τοίνυν τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά σύμπαντα ὡς μέλλοντες καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ . . . χειροτονηθισμένῳ τῇ κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ*; the *ἐκκλησιαστικά* appear to be the temporalities of the see, of which the account was to be rendered to the succeeding archbishop (*χειροτονηθισμένῳ*).

It does not seem possible to suppose that S. Cyril's relation to the Archiepiscopal Palace and churches of Alexandria would have differed materially from that of Constantinople as indicated here, and we may suppose that such was the general position of the see-house and church-property in the East.

Still more was this the case in the case of countries converted from heathenism beyond the Roman Empire. The missionary bishop or abbot not only ruled over his clergy or monks, but became the great authority over the wild and untaught men whom he had made Christians. The mission station became the germ of the future halidome, and the converted peasantry became the serfs of the ecclesiastics. Out of such a condition of things as this sprung up the spiritual electorates and prince-bishoprics of Germany. But there was a certain difference in the cases where whole tribes, led by the example of their kings, sometimes as a consequence of foreign conquest, embraced Christianity. The pages of Venerable Bæda exhibit to us the relations which existed between the Roman hierarchy and the reguli of the

¹ Codex Theodosianus, lib. xvi. tit. 2, t. vi. p. 82; ed. Lugd. 1685.

² *Ibid.* 85.

³ Conc. Chalco. Actio Prima, t. iv., 1096; ed. Cossart.

different races of Saxons and Angles, with whom they had to do. The early-exhibited capacity for self-government which distinguishes these races presented the greatest resistance to the ecclesiastical predominance; still, in days when, in spite of much barbarism and evil living, every man, woman, and child believed firmly in a future state, and that the keys of that future state were grasped by the clergy, it is only reasonable to suppose that they must have had the greatest power, not only over the social life of the people, but over their external politics and the administration of the kingdom. And this is still more to be expected in the case of the Celtic tribes, whose grasp of the supernatural and whose vivid faith in the unseen are such features in their mental constitution. Here of course we would expect to find the clergy very predominant, and it is so. S. Columba is a great political personage in Ireland, and his coronation of Aedh, which seems the earliest record of such an event, was no mere ceremony. It was the actual delegation of civil power to the secular arm. This was specially the case with regard to barbarian kingdoms. The fiction of the Reich, that the Holy Roman Empire was perpetuated, invested that form of government with a sort of sanctity of its own, which emerged in the political creed of Ghibellinism and found its noblest exposition in Dante's *De Monarchiâ*; but the coronation service of every country in Europe testifies to a condition of things which illustrates our position.

By the battle of Ardderyd in 573 Rederech Hael established himself in Alcluyd as the first monarch of the kingdom of Cambria or Strathclyde, embracing all the petty Cymric states from the Derwent to the Firth of Clyde.¹ Ardderyd was the place where Paganism was cast down by the united efforts of Rederech, Maelgwn, and Aedan. If the influence of Kentigern in the case of Rederech was analogous to that of S. Columba in the case of Aedan, there is no reason to disbelieve that he owed his crown to him, and therefore remained under his influence.

By permission of the author, I am enabled to embody here an interesting notice by Mr. Skene of the site of the battle of Ardderyd or Arderyth, in which the king Rederech established his power over Cambria, and, as the text of Joceline informs us, restored S. Kentigern to Glasgow:—

"Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, after narrating the events connected with the reign of King Arthur, and which followed his death, gives the following account of this battle, couched in

¹ Skene's *Four Books of Wales*, vol. i. p. 66.

that extraordinary style which he seems to have considered as the perfection of historical narrative :—

“Such were the events which occupied five-and-thirty years, from the death of Arthur to the battle of Arderyth in 577. The British Triads reprobate this skirmish, as the *nugatory battle* of Britain. Whatever cause may have moved the wrath of the kings, whether a *bird's nest* or a disputed boundary, Ryderech, the munificent king of Strathcluyd, defeated, on the height of Arderyth, Aidan of Kintire, who is stigmatized by Merlin, the Caledonian poet, as *Aeddan Fradarwg*, the perfidious Aidan. Merlin was a witness of the conflict, and he had the envied honour of wearing on that decisive day the golden torques. Gwenddolau, the patron of Merlin, fell in the treacherous field. He merited a more disgraceful fate: Gwenddolau, according to the habits of the people and the perturbations of the age, had called in Aidan as an auxiliary against the munificent king of Alclyd’ (vol. i. p. 246). And he adds in a note, ‘It is of more importance to settle the site of the conflict; to give it a local position as well as a poetic name. It was not on the Solway, as the editor of Lhwyl’s Commentariolum supposes (p. 142), but on the Clyde, as probability attests. From a consideration of all the circumstances it seems more than probable that *Airdrie*, in the parish of New Monkland, Lanarkshire, which was in the territory of Rydderech, and is at no great distance from the Clyde, is the true site of the battle of Arderyth.’

“Chalmers took this account from the Welsh traditions, which he has strangely perverted. But though I conceive he is right in considering this battle to have been a historical event, I consider him quite wrong as to the site he has fixed upon.

“It may be as well to state first, what the Welsh traditions really tell us regarding this battle.

“They are to be found partly in the triads, partly in the old poems.

“In the triad called the three frivolous battles of the Isle of Britain, the second is said to be the battle of Arderyth, and a lark’s nest was the cause of it, where 80,000 men were slain of the nation of the Cymry.

“In the triad called the three retinues of the passes, the third is the retinue of Drywon, son of Nudd in Rhodwydd Arderydd. The word Gosgord, here translated Retinue, was a body of 300 horsemen who defended the different passes in the island.

“In the triad of the three horses who carried three loads of

the Isle of Britain, the second load was that of Cornan, the horse of the sons of Eliffer Gosgordvawr, which carried Gwrgi and Peredur, and Dunawd Bwr the sons of Pabo and Cynvelyn Drwscl, to see the sacred fire of Gwenddolau in Arderydd.

“In the triad of the three loyal tribes of the Isle of Britain, the third was the tribe of Gwenddolau, the son of Ceidiau, who maintained the conflict for forty-six days after their lord was slain, and would not desist from battle and conflict until they should revenge his death.

“In the triad of the three men who wore beards, that achieved the three good assassinations of the Isle of Britain, the first was Gall son of Dysgyvedawg, who killed the two brown birds of Gwenddolau, son of Ceidio, that had a yoke of gold about them, and devoured daily two bodies of the Cymry at their dinner, and two at their supper.

“And in the triad of the three bulls of battle of the Isle of Britain, the second is Gwenddolau ab Ceidio.

“There is a curious poem in the Black Book of Caermarthen, a MS. of the twelfth century, which evidently relates to this battle. It is in the form of a dialogue between Taliessin and Myrdin, and is so curious a specimen of these old Welsh poems, that I may give it entire. It is also curious from containing a mention of Nemhtur, the mysterious tower, which was the birth-place of S. Patrick :—

How sad to me, how sad,
Is it come to an end with Kedwy and Cadvan.
Glaring and tumultuous was the slaughter,
The shield was battered thro' and perforated.

TALIESSIN.

It was Maelgwn that I was combating,
His household before the tumult will not be silent.

MERDIN.

Before two men in Nevtur they will land ;
Before a passing object, and an apparition on a pale horse.
The slender bay will bear them.
Soon is seen his retinue with Elgan.
Alas for their slaughter, a great journey they came.

TALIESSIN.

Rhys, the one-toothed, a span was his shield ;
Even to thee he came a perfect prosperity.

Kyndur was slain ; beyond measure they deplore.
The generous ones were slain right speedily,
Three men of note, great their fame.

MERDIN.

Through and through, in excess and excess they came ;
Beyond and beyond, there came Bran and Melgan ;
They slew Dinel in their last conflict,
The son of Erbin, and his retinue.

TALIESSIN.

The host of Maelgwn, it was fortunate they came,
Slaughtering men of battle, penetrating the gory plain.
Even the battle of Ardderyd,
When will be its use.
Continually his hero they will prepare.

MERDIN.

A host of flying darts, reeking with blood was the plain,
A host of wounded warriors, frail they were,
A host, when wounds are given,
A host, when put to flight.
A host is overturned
In their combat.

TALIESSIN.

The seven sons of Eliffer,
Heroes when put to proof,
Avoid not the seven spears,
In their seven stations.

MERDIN.

Seven blazing fires,
Seven in front of battle,
The seventh is Cynvelyn,
In every chief assault.

TALIESSIN.

Seven spears that shall pierce,
Seven river fulls
Of blood of chieftains,
They shall fill.

MERDIN.

Seven score generous ones,
 Become ghosts,
 In the wood of Celyddon,
 They came to an end.

Since I am Merdin,
 After Taliessin,
 Let my prophecy
 Be made known.

"The battle of Arderyth is also frequently alluded to in the poems attributed to Myrddin. In his Avallenau he says:—

'Alas! Gwendydd loves me not, greets me not,
 I am hated by the chiefs of Rhydderch,
 For after Gwenddolau no princes honour me,
 Yet in the battle of Ardderyd I wore golden torques.'

Again—

'I have been here so long, that sprites do not shock me,
 And I tremble not at the dragon
 Of my Lord Gwenddolau and his brethren,
 Who have bred a pestilence in the woods of Celyddon.'

And in the Cyvoesi Myrddin, which is in the form of a dialogue between him and his sister Gwendydd, he calls it Gweith Arderyd ac Erydon, that is, the battle of Ardderyd and Erydon, and says of it, 'as Gwenddolau was slain in the blood-fray of Ardderyd.'

"Finally, in the metrical life of Merlin, we are told that this battle was fought between Peredwr, leader of the North Welsh, and Gwenddoleu who governed kingdoms in Scotland; that Merlin went to the battle with Peredwr, and that Rodarcus or Rydderch, king of the Cumbri, also was there, and that Merlin fled to the woods after the battle.

"This completes the traditionary accounts of Ardderyd as a mythic battle, but we can see that, concealed under these extravagant fables, are the outlines of one of those great historical struggles which altered the fate of a country. Rydderch was a Christian king; he restored Kentigern to his bishopric; was in communication with S. Columba, and received a visit from him. Aedan was solemnly inaugurated as king by S. Columba.

They were the leaders of the Christian party. On the other hand, Gwenddolau, with his sacred fire, and his birds who devoured men, was surely the type of the old paganism of the country. He is said to have been slain in the battle. Rydderch and Aedan became established in their respective Christian kingdoms. It was, in short, a great struggle between the supporters of the advancing Christianity and the departing paganism, in which the former were victorious. That it was an historical event, and that this was its character, appears from this, that it occurs in the *Annales Cambriæ*, as a real event about the year 573; ‘*Bellum Armterid inter filios Elifer et Gwendoleu filium Keidiau in quo bello Gwendoleu cecidit. Merlinus insanus effectus est,*’ and that 573 is the first year of the reign of Rhydderch over Strathclyde, and of Aidan over Dalriada.

“Where, then, was this battle fought? We ought, in the first place, to look for it in one of the great passes into the country; and a curious passage in Bower first gave me a clue to the probable situation. In his notice of S. Kentigern, he describes, evidently from some older authority, his meeting in the desert a wild man, who informs him that his name was Merlin, and that he had lost his reason, and roamed in these solitudes because he had been the cause of the slaughter of so many men: “*qui interfecti sunt in bello, cunctis in hac patria constitutis satis moto, quod erat in campo inter Lidel et Carwanolow situato.*”

“Liddel, as is well known, is the name of the river which flows westward through Liddesdale, and joins the Esk about nine miles north of Carlisle. Near the junction is the border between England and Scotland, and from thence the flat and mossy district, called the Debateable Lands, bounded on the east by the Esk, extends to the Solway Firth.

“Now, I find among the baronies which formed part of the great possessions of Ranulph de Meschines, in the reign of Henry the First, was the Barony of *Lyddale*, and that it consisted of the lands of Esk, *Arthuret*, Stubhill, *Carwindlar*, Speersykes, Randslington, Eitin, Nicol Forest, and the English part of the Debateable Lands. This barony afterwards reverted to the Crown, and was granted by James I. to George, Earl of Cumberland, under the name of the Lordships of Arthureth, Liddel, and Randslington, within the Forest of Nicholl; and from Francis Earl of Cumberland passed to the Grahams of Netherby.

“I consider that Arthuret or Arthureth is the same word as Ardderyd or Arderit, double *d* in Welsh being equivalent

to *th*, and Carwindlaw is evidently the Carwanolow of For-dun."¹

NOTE HHH.

THE S. Constantine mentioned in the text must not be confounded either with the king of the Britons, who, having resigned his crown, came to Scotland, and converted Kintyre, dying in 588, in the year of the great snowstorm; or with the son of Fergus, who succeeded S. Mochuda at Rathin, somewhat later than the year 630.

The first of these indeed is connected with S. Kentigern; for according to the Breviary of Aberdeen,² after betaking himself to S. Columba, he was directed by S. Kentigern to preach the word of God in Galwedie, where he was elected abbot.

NOTE III.

FOR an account of the colonization of the Orkneys, see a note of the late Dr. Todd's in the Irish Nennius, p. 146; also Reeves's Adamnan, p. 167. Dr. Reeves says, "We may suppose that the first wave of Celtic population extended northwards to them. Tradition says that the Fir-galeoin, a tribe of the Firbolgs, and the Picts were successively occupants of them. . . . From which it would appear that in the fifth century these islands were possessed by the Picts, whose occupation probably continued till at least the close of the sixth century." The Peti or Picts, and the Papæ, who were the Irish fathers of the rule of S. Columba, occupied the islands, but not in peace, for the Annals of Ulster at 579 record an expedition against the Orkneys by Aedan, son of Gabhron, and again in 580.

The account in the text of an evangelization of Iceland is very curious. "Ari Froda states that when Ingulf the Norwegian visited Iceland in 874, he found some Christians there, whom the Northmen call Papæ, who, not choosing to associate with heathens, went away, leaving behind them Irish books, bells, and croziers."³ Dr. Reeves quotes the Landnamabok for this fact.⁴

¹ Proc. Antiq. Soc. Scotland, vol. vi. p. 91.

² Note to the Irish Nennius, p. 155.

³ Pars Hyem., fol. lxxvii.

⁴ Adamnan, p. 169, n.

Colgan, in his *Act. Sanct. Hib.*, Feb. 11, p. 241, giving the account of blessed Erlulphus or Ernulphus, the apostle of Tyla or Iceland, mentions a mission sent forth by S. Aeth from Munster, traces of which S. Brendan found afterwards in his seven years' voyage, as is related by Angrymus Jonas in his history of Iceland.

"Interim et signis quibusdam colligere erat, nautas, nescio quos, quædam terræ littora aliquando attigisse, non incoluisse; nempe nolas, cruces ligneas, aliaque opere et arte Irlandica et *Britannica* facta, depræhendit Ingulfus, ast domuum, vel habitationum, vel culturæ vestigia nulla. Unde verisimile est, piscatores Irlandos vel Scotos (ut et hodie Anglos) juxta Islandiam piscari solitos, nonnunquam, ut fit, in terram descendisse, atque ita Christianæ religionis utensilia, nolas, cruces, casu reliquisse. Etenim Irlandi tum Christianismo, ut loquuntur, imbuti erant. Eosdem autem, quicunque fuerint, veteres Islandi Papa vel papas appellarant."

NOTE KKK.

If we assume that S. Kentigern died in the beginning of the seventh century, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, and that his life endured eighty-five years, as we shall attempt to show in a later note, his birth must be placed between 518 and 530, and the scenes at the court of Rederech towards the end of the sixth century. The latter half of that century was a remarkable one in many ways in Ireland. In 548, SS. Ciaran, Tighernach, Mac Tail, Sincheall, Odhran, and Finnen died; all except the first two by the great pestilence called the Buidhe-Connail.¹ In 552, S. Comghall founded Bangor, and in 554 King Diarmait celebrated the feast of Tara for the last time, in consequence of the curse of S. Rodanus. In 555 was the celebrated battle of Culdremhne, which was fought on account of S. Columcille's Cathach, and which led to the foundation of Hy. Constant wars are recorded. In 564, Ainmire, son of Sedna, became sovereign of Ireland. In 569, S. Ita or Midi, a celebrated saint, went to her rest; and in 576, S. Brendan of Clonfert. In 568, Aedh, the son of Ainmire, reigned over Ireland till 594, when he was slain by Brandubh at the battle of Dunbolg. Aedh Slaine succeeded to the kingdom, and, during the next few years, battles were fought at Bridamh, Sleam-hain, Cuil-Cael,

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*, t. i. p. 189.

Eachros, while in 600 Aedh Slaine and Colman Rimidh were both slain. In 601, Aedh Uaciridhnach became king, and Brandubh was slain by the Erenach of Teampulle Seanbotha, now vulgarized into Temple Shanbo.¹ It is impossible to believe that during a period when there was so much social disturbance, and when the only civilizing process was the development of the great monasteries, which necessarily implied austerity and simple living, there could have been anything like an industrial advance, such as would have filled Ireland with the articles of luxury mentioned in the text. No doubt, if any such thing did exist, it would be at the court of the king, whence the Joculator came. However, Dr. Reeves, in a communication with which he has favoured me, says,—“In the Book of Rights edited for the Celtic Society by O'Donovan, there is occasional mention of rings, which I presume were gold, and of cloaks and swords ornamented with gold.

“In the introduction to Sir Wm. Wilde's catalogue of the gold ornaments in the Museum of the R. I. Academy, there is a general account of the profusion of gold articles found from time to time in Ireland. It is in this metal that the Irish Museum surpasses the other European ones.

“In Keating's account of Guairi Aidhne (the munificent), there is a good deal said which indicates an idea of existing wealth.”

NOTE LLL.

LOCHWERWERD is commonly supposed to be the modern Borthwick, a parish in the Moorfoot district of Midlothian, which contains Vogrie and Arniston, and of which the station on the Waverley Railway is Fushie Bridge. What constitutes the parish belonged to the Collegiate Church of Crichton, and in 1596 four prebends, those of Arnaldesdon, the two Middletons, and Vogrie, of old called Lochquhariet or Lochewort, were created into a separate cure. William, son and heir of Lord Borthwick, obtained a license “ad construendum castrum in loco illo qui vulgariter dicitur Le Mote de Locherwort in 1430.”

NOTE MMM.

CAMERARIUS adds, from what source I cannot discover, “Fabricavit autem molendinum super fluvium Cludam, quod nullam

¹ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. pp. 187-236.

annonam furto sublatam ulla ratione molere posset, neque molam, aut ejus rotam, post horam nonam Sabbati, donec celebraretur Dominica dies, aquæ circumducere poterant."¹

NOTE NNN.

THE extreme longevity of S. Kentigern is an attribute shared by many of the saints. Temperance, sweet temper, and faith tend to length of days, and modern science holds that such extreme long life is not impossible. "While fully sceptical as to examples which go beyond our own experience, we cannot dispute the statements coming to us from various sources, from different countries and periods of time, that human beings have occasionally reached, and now and then exceeded, the extraordinary age of 150 years. In our own country, for example, though we may put aside as unproved the case of Henry Jenkins, alleged (chiefly on his memory of Flodden Field) to have lived 160 years; and regard with doubt that of the Countess of Desmond, whose age is recorded at 148; yet we cannot equally reject the evidence as to the 152 years of Thomas Parr's life, accredited as it is by the testimony of Harvey, who examined his body after death, and states that there were no obvious reasons why he might not have lived longer, but for those changes in the habits of life which followed his removal to London and to the kitchen of the palace.

"Instances of this extraordinary kind indeed are fully admitted by some of the most eminent physiologists, and Haller and Hufeland respectively, after citing several especial cases of life exceeding 150 years, affirm it as probable that the organization and vital forces of men may be capable in some cases of reaching 200 years of age."²

But the difficulty in the case of S. Kentigern arises from the fact that 185 years anterior to the year of his death would give the year of his birth in 418 or 429, which is too early. Mr. Skene says, "The regulating date in Kentigern's life was that of the battle of Ardderyd; that battle, fought in 573, established Rederech Hael on the throne, and he then recalled Kentigern from Wales.

"The *Annales Cambriæ* place Kentigern's death in 612,

¹ *Camerarius de Fortitudine Scotorum*, p. 85.

² *Essays on Scientific and other subjects* by Sir Henry Holland, p. 110; London, 1862.

other authorities in 601. He died on 13th January, and Joceline says on Sunday. Now Sunday fell on the 13th January in the years 603 and 614. The former is the most probable year, and the Aberdeen Breviary in the life of S. Baldred says he died on 13th January 503, by which 603 is probably meant. Joceline says he lived 185 years. If you deduct the 100, you will bring out a chronology very consistent with other events. Thus,—

" $603 - 85 = 518$, the probable date of his birth; he was 25 when made Bishop of Glasgow, therefore

" $518 + 25 = 543$, gives the date of foundation of Glasgow; he begins to overturn images, build churches, dedicate those built, define parishes, ordain clergy, and after some time Morken or Morcant becomes king and expels him; allow ten years for this work.

" $543 + 10 = 553$, date of expulsion to Wales, where he founds Llanelwy. From 553 to 573 he is in Wales.

"573 is the date of the battle of Ardderyd and of the recall of Kentigern; he is eight years bishop at Hoddelm.

" $573 + 8 = 581$ gives the return to Glasgow; S. Kentigern converts Picts of Galloway; also seeks Albania, i.e., N.E. Lowlands, and founds churches and monasteries; meets S. Columba at Molendinar before 597, when Columba died; he goes seven times to Rome when Gregory Pope, 590-604; in 603 dies.

"Now 603 is the year of the battle of Degsastan, when the great invasion of Northumbria by Aidan took place, according to Bæda.¹ Surely if Rederech were alive he would have headed it, or at least have been mentioned, but if he had died in that year, and a young son succeeded, it is intelligible that the veteran warrior Aidan should have headed the expedition."

NOTE 000.

THIS is probably Partick, which was one of the earliest possessions of the Church of Glasgow. In the *Inquisitio Davidis*² it appears as *Pathalanerhc*; in a Bull of Alexander III., A.D. 1173, it is called *Perdehic*, and a few years later (1179) *Pertheic*. In a Bull of Urban III., A.D. 1186, it is *Perthec*. In King David's time it was called *Perdec*.³ It seems probable that before 1152 Govan and Perthec, which were distinct manors, were also distinct parochial territories, the latter lying

¹ H. E. lib. i. ch. 34.

² Haddan and Stubbs, vol. ii. p. 18.

³ Reg. Ep. Glas., p. 3.

on the north, the former on the south, side of the Clyde. The islands in the river then existing between them have now disappeared or have become a part of the mainland. The Bishop of Glasgow had a residence in Perthec before 1277. In 1362 a compromise of a dispute between the bishop and chapter took place at the manor-house of Perthec. It is supposed to have stood on the bank which overlooks the junction of the Kelvin and the Clyde. There were several free tenants or vassals on both manors.¹

NOTE PPP.

It might at first sight seem that this name for Merlin was a form of Lulach. Of Lulach, the son-in-law of Macbeth, Fordun writes: "*Nomine Lulach ignomine fatuus.*" Luailach in old Gaelic is "*mimicus, gesticulosus.*"² But on the other hand, in the dialogue between Myrdinn and his sister Gwenddydd, she addresses him as Llallogan, twin brother. From the *Scotichronicon* we gather that the Laloicen in the text was Myrddin Wyllt. "By connecting these several particulars we find an air of truth cast over the history of this bard, as regards the principal incidents of his life, and there can be no reason to doubt that some of the poetry attributed to him was actually his composition."³

Joceline does not give the picturesque scene which is recorded in Bower's *Scotichronicon*, book iii. c. 31. It took place at Drummelzier, one of the outlying vicarages of the parish of Stobo in Tweeddale.

"We read that at the time when Blessed Kentigern was accustomed to betake himself to the desert, it happened on a day, that as he prayed earnestly in that wooded solitude, a certain madman, naked and hairy, destitute as it seemed of all worldly comfort, who was commonly called Lailoken, passed near him like some furious savage. And when S. Kentigern had beheld him, it is said that he thus addressed him: 'I adjure thee, whatsoever creature of God thou art, by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, if thou art on the side of God, and if thou believest in Him, to speak to me, telling me who thou art, and wherefore thou wanderest in this wild place, in

¹ *Orig. Paroch.*, vol. i. p. 20, citing *Regist. Ep. Glas.*, pp. 192, 268; and *Regis. de Passelet*, pp. 1-12, 369-383.

² *Hailes's Annals*, vol. i. p. 4; ed. 1797.

³ *Rev. T. Price's Literary Remains*, i. 145, cit. *Four Ancient Books*, vol. ii. p. 424.

company with the beasts.' Straightway the madman slackening his pace, answered, 'I am a Christian, though unworthy of the name, once the Bard of Vortigern, and called Merlin, suffering in the desert the dreadful fate to which, among the wild beasts, I am appointed on account of my sins; seeing that I am not worthy to take vengeance on mine iniquities among men. For I was the cause of the slaughter of all those that were killed in the battle so well known to those who live in this country, which took place on the field between Lidel and Carwanolow; in which battle the heavens were rended above me, and I heard as it were, a mighty voice calling to me from heaven, "Lailoken, Lailoken! for that thou alone art guilty of the blood of all those that are slain, thou alone shalt do penance for the sins of all; seeing that, given over unto Satan, thou shalt have thy dwelling among the beasts, until the hour of thy death." And when I directed my gaze in the direction of the voice which I heard, I beheld an exceeding brightness, such as human nature could not endure. For there were to be seen the squadrons of a countless host in the air, like unto lightning, grasping fiery lances and sparkling javelins in their hands, which they shook most cruelly at me. Whereupon the evil spirit seized me, who had turned away from myself, and gave me a place, as thou seest, among the wild beasts.' And when he had said this, he leapt away into the trackless thickets, known only to the animals and wild birds.

"Now blessed Kentigern, deeply bewailing his misery, fell upon his face on the earth, and said, 'Lord Jesu, this most wretched of wretched men, how he inhabiteth this wretched wilderness, among the beasts, himself like a beast naked, and out-cast, fed only on the pasture of herbage! Bristles and hair are the natural coverings of the brutes, the greensward, roots, and leaves their proper food, and behold this our brother, in form, flesh, and blood like ourselves, will die in nakedness and hunger. Wherefore, after the confession thou hast just now made to me, if thou art truly penitent, and if thou deem thyself worthy of so great a gift, there is the Saving Victim laid upon the table of the Lord. Only approach It in the fear of the Lord to take it in all humility, as Christ Himself deigneth to receive thee also; for I dare neither give It thee nor forbid thee.'

"But the wretched creature, straightway washed with water and faithfully acknowledging One God in Trinity, humbly approached the altar, and with pure faith and the greatest devotion, took the strengthening of the uncircumscribed Sacrament. And when he had received It, raising his hands to heaven, he

said, 'I thank thee, O Lord Jesu Christ, that I have obtained that most holy Sacrament which I desired.' And turning to Blessed Kentigern, he said, 'Father, if to-day my life in the world should be completed, as thou hast heard from me, the most distinguished king of Britain, the most holy of bishops, and the most noble of the nobility, will follow me this year.' The holy bishop replied, 'My brother, thou remainest still in thy simplicity, not entirely free from irreverence. Go in peace, and the Lord be with thee.' But Lailoken, on receiving the episcopal benediction, sprang forth like a wild goat escaped from the snare of the hunters, and sounding forth the joyful strain '*Misericordias Domini in æternum cantabo*,' he gladly betook himself to the thicket of the wilderness. But as the things which are predestinated by God cannot be evaded, but must take place, it happened on the same day, that by some of the shepherds of Prince Meldred, being stoned and beaten to death, he was at the moment of death thrown over a steep bluff above the Tweed, near the town of Dremmeller, upon a very sharp stake, which had been stuck into a little fish stew, and being transfix'd through the body, bowing his head, as it was prophesied, he breathed forth his soul to God. So some one sung :—

'Sudeque perfossus, lapide percussus, et undâ,
Hæc tria Merlinum fertur inire necem.'

And when blessed Kentigern and his clerics knew that the things which the possessed man had predicted of himself were fulfilled, fearing and trembling that without doubt what he had prophesied of the others would come to pass, they all began to fear and to be sad, and to furrow their cheeks with tears, and in all things to praise together the name of the Lord, to whom be honour, etc.

"Wonder not that Merlin and S. Kentigern died in one and the same year, for he was 181 when he died. Below in the 5th book, ch. xliii., it will be stated of an esquire, Joannes de Temporibus, that he lived 361 years. Some say that it was not the Merlin who lived in the time of Vortigern, but another wonderful prophet of the Scots, who was called Lailoken; but because he was a wonderful prophet, he was called the second Merlin."¹

For the history of Merlinus or Merdden Caledonicus, son of Madog Morvryn, descended from Coel Godebog, and kinsman of Urien Rheged, twin brother of Ganiada or Gwendydd, who must not be confused with the Merlin who is identified

¹ *Scotichron.* iii. 31, vol. i. p. 135; ed. Goodal.

with Ambrosius or Embrys Guletic, but who went mad on witnessing the slaughter of his kinsmen in the fratricidal strife in which he was himself engaged, and which he had assisted in provoking, see Introduction by D. W. Nash, Esq., F.S.A., to "Merlin, or the Early History of King Arthur, a true Romance, about 1450-1460, edited by Henry B. Wheatley. London, Early English Text Society, 1865."

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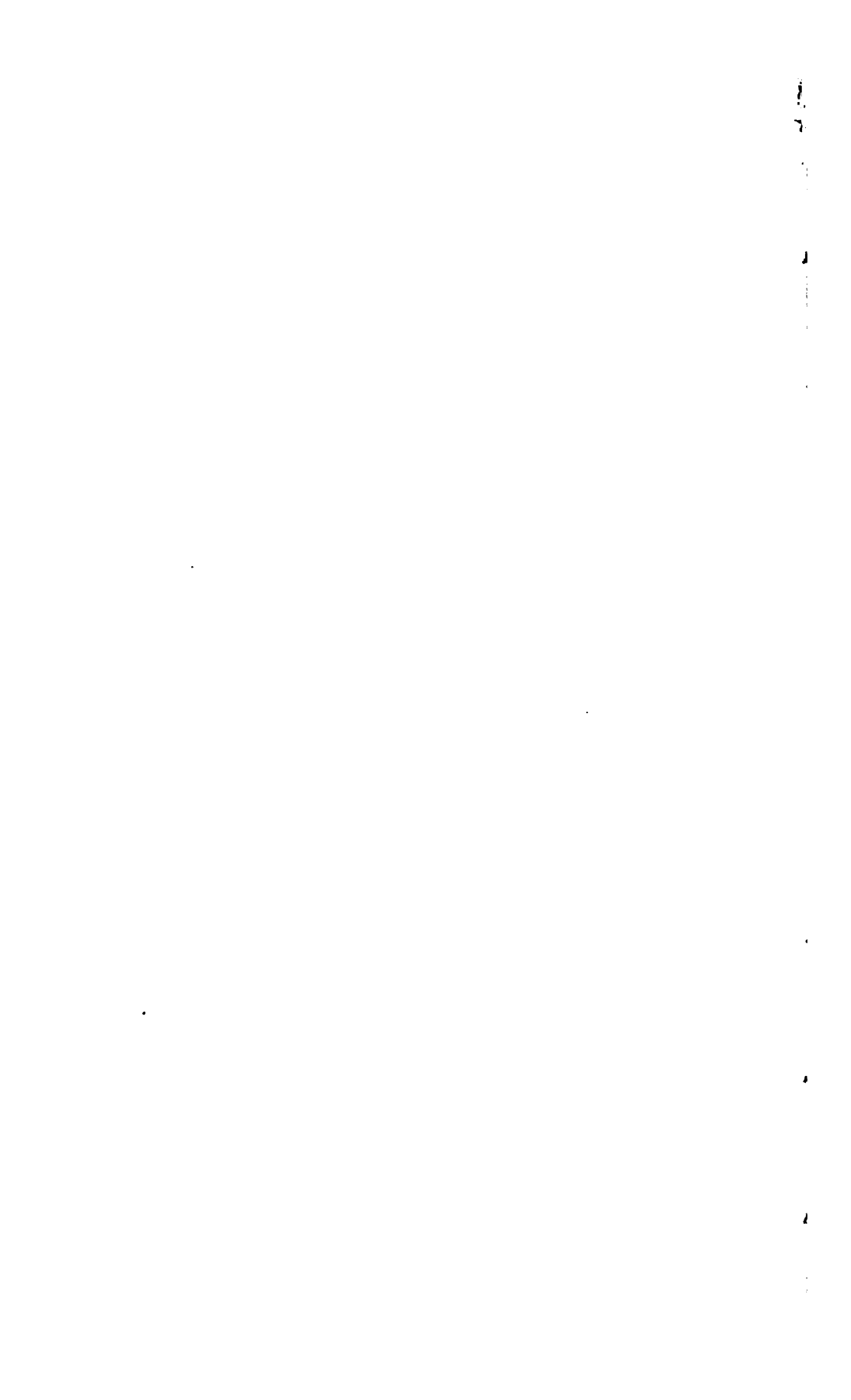
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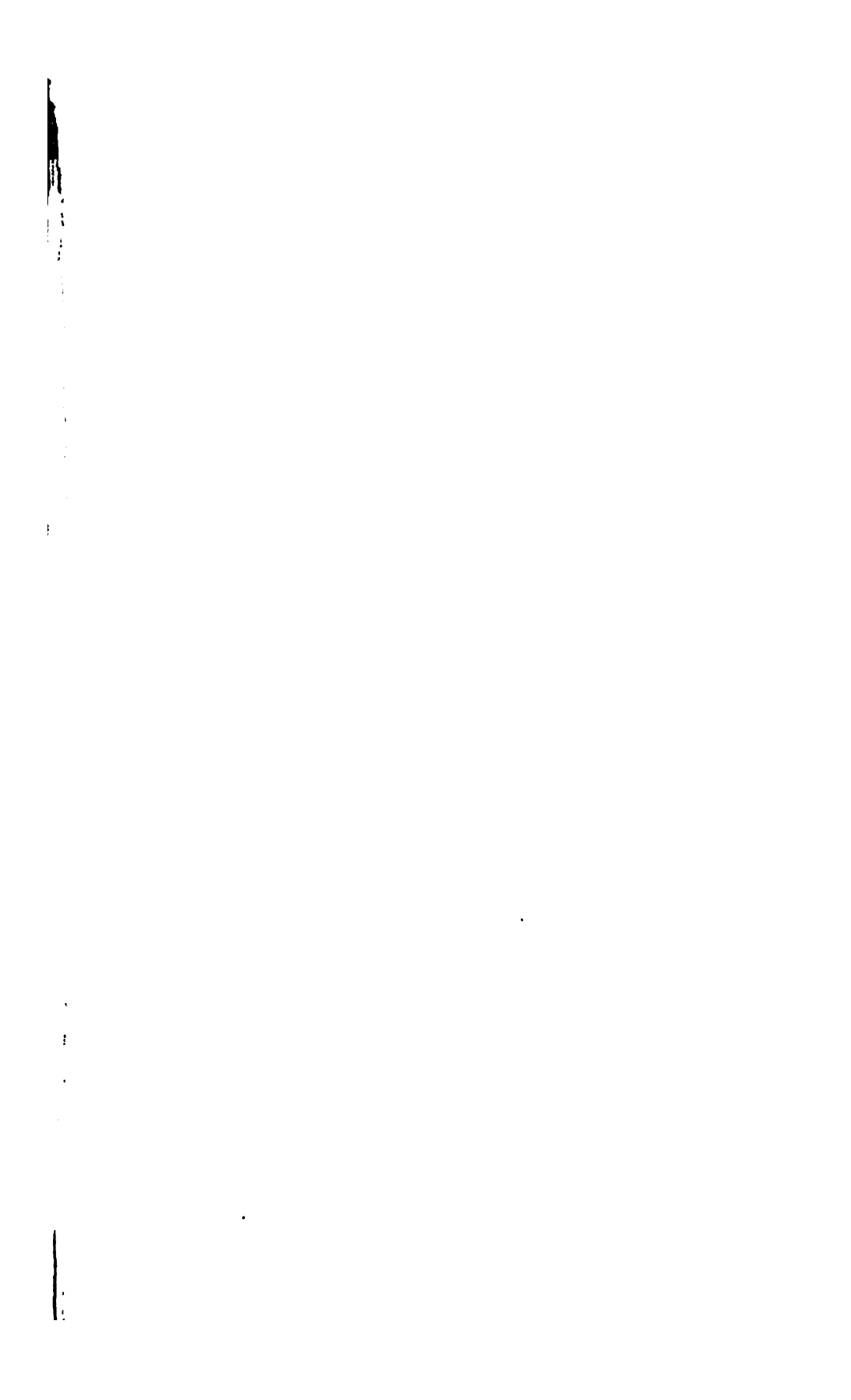
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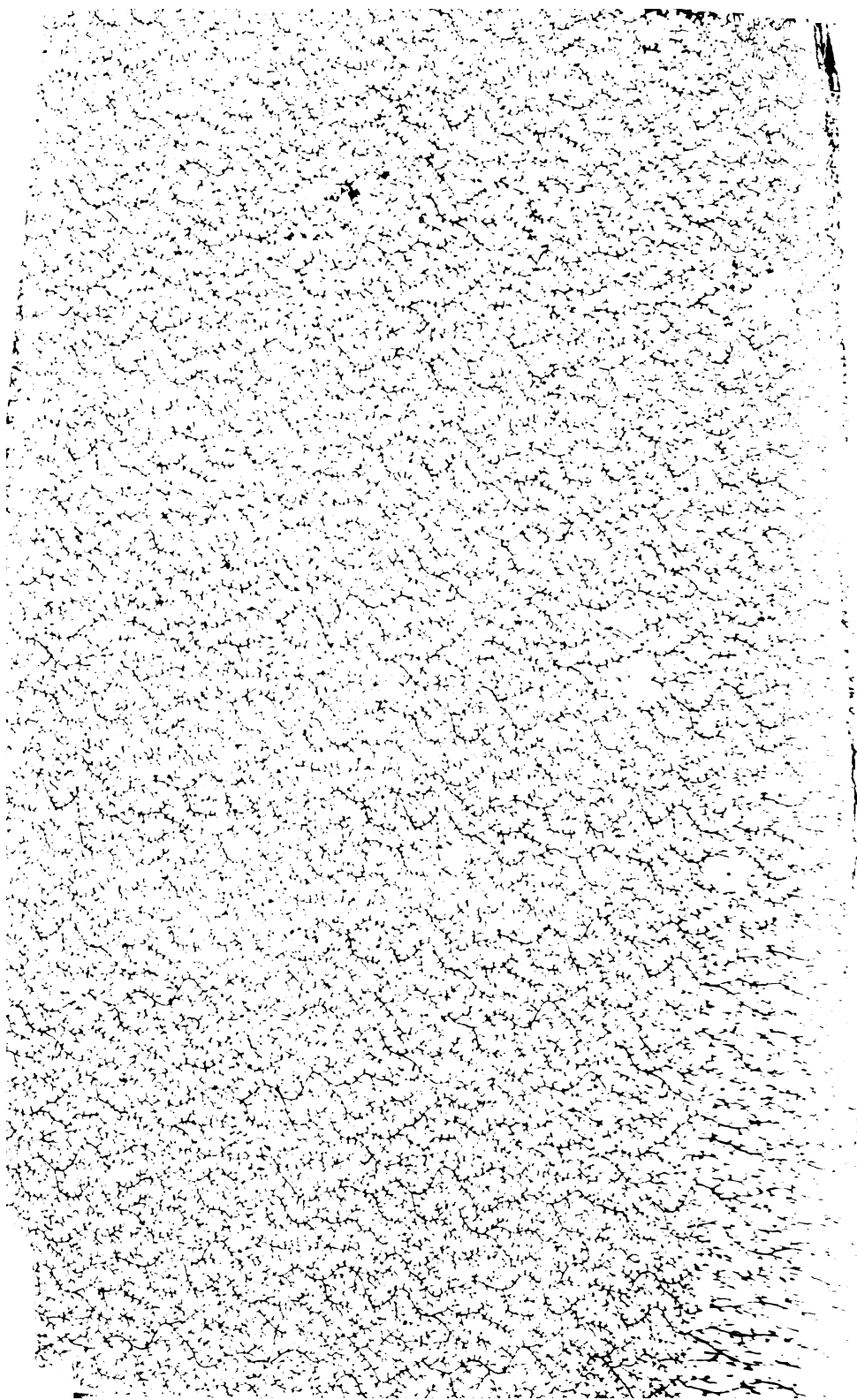
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ERRATA.

- P. xcii, line 15, for Kinsir read Kinsi.
 P. 159, 3d line from bottom, for diligat read diligit.
 P. 169, line 13, for utaque read ubique.
 P. 169, line 28, for sanctorum read sanctarum.
 P. 183, line 28, for sanctorum read sanctarum.







PL 114

